



IMAGINING THE ELECTION

A Look at What Citizens Know and Expect of Sudan's 2010 Vote

Findings from Focus Groups with
Men and Women in Southern Sudan
and the Three Areas

Conducted October 20, 2008-February 6, 2009

By Traci D. Cook
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September 30, 2009

National Democratic Institute for International Affairs



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This report and the National Democratic Institute's (NDI) focus group research in Sudan are made possible by the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (under associate cooperative agreement No. 650-A-00-09-00005-00). The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of USAID or the United States Government.

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This map is illustrative only and its inclusion does not imply endorsement of specific geographical boundaries.
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Source: United Nations 2007

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

The most serious test to date of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) is approaching. The national election scheduled for April 2010 is meant to bring political transformation to Sudan by creating an elected, more accountable and inclusive government. That can only be achieved, however, if the country's citizens have faith in the election process and confidence in the results. Based on 78 focus groups conducted from October 20, 2008-February 6, 2009 with 964 participants, this report seeks to understand the mindset of participants living in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas as they head into this historic event. These participants not only expect the election to deliver a democratically-elected government, but also to be the impetus for massive improvements in development and security. They will ultimately judge the election on whether the result is one they believe will protect and promote their interests and is a legitimate expression of their desires. An election failing that test substantially increases the likelihood of further instability in the country.

Focus Groups Results and Usage. Focus groups are semi-structured group discussions directed by a moderator and following a pre-set guideline. Unless otherwise noted, the conclusions presented here represent views commonly and repeatedly cited during the groups. The interaction between participants in a focus group provides insight into how citizens think and feel and is an even more powerful means of understanding why those attitudes 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 groups, 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 such as Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. Therefore, the conclusions of this report only represent opinions when the research was undertaken. NDI conducts focus groups in Southern Sudan and/or the Three Areas approximately every six months and is thus able to capture changes in attitudes. Such attitudinal shifts can then be measured against baseline information from previous research.

A Qualitative Research Tool. Focus groups are a qualitative, not a quantitative, research instrument. Although focus groups are a superior research method for understanding the meanings behind commonly-held attitudes, the total number of participants in focus group research is always relatively small and thus is not statistically representative of the larger population. This report reflects the opinions of the citizens of Southern Sudan and the Three Areas who participated in this study. General terms, such as 'people' and 'citizens' may be used on occasion in this report as a convenience to represent the attitudes of those participants; however, the Focus Group Participant Demographics chart as well as the Methodology Notes appearing at the end of the report should be consulted by all readers to understand the sub-set of individuals interviewed for this study.

Participant Perceptions vs. Political Realities. The *perceptions* of participants in these focus groups (and indeed in any research) do not necessarily reflect *reality*. In the context of Southern Sudan and the Three Areas, for example, the perception of participants regarding progress in CPA implementation may differ from the reality at the political level. The reasons for this are many. Communication is difficult in Sudan, and so current information is not always available. Also,

ordinary citizens often judge progress based on the change in their own lives. Larger political gains or improvements in areas outside their immediate interests (although important in the greater context) are not always viewed as progress by the average person. Participants in this study sometimes get their facts wrong and often form their opinions based on inaccurate or semi-accurate readings of the world around them. This study does not purport to provide any true picture of what is happening in Southern Sudan and Three Areas. 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 accuracy, to Sudanese political and civil society leaders so they may better understand and respond to the concerns of the general populace.

Ethnic Designations. Where possible, the focus groups are conducted among single ethnicity groups, and quotations are labeled with the tribe and section provided by the participant. In some areas populated primarily by smaller tribes, single ethnicity groups are not possible. In these cases, quotations will be labeled only with the gender and location of the participant. In the Three Areas groups, a number of ethnic designations are used, including "Nuba," "Ngok Dinka," "Misseriya," "Arab" and "Funj." While most of these terms refer to established and identifiable groups, the latter two – "Arab" and "Funj" – are used as general terms to describe sometimes amorphous populations, and their limitations should be noted. NDI uses the term "Arab" to describe focus group participants who self-identify as Arabs, even if their ethnic origins are unclear. NDI uses the term Funj to describe principally "Black African" participants in Blue Nile, which include members of more than a dozen tribes. For example, in the text of this report the two Uduk groups conducted in Blue Nile are labeled as Funj even though they are not ethnically related to many other "Funj" tribes. However, participants often use these terms differently from NDI, and it is important to distinguish between participants' characterizations of others (which are generally accompanied in this report by quotation marks or presented in italics as direct quotes) and NDI's own descriptions of focus group participants.¹ NDI's research reveals broad differences of opinion between those who identify themselves as Arabs and those who identify themselves as Funj, differences which exist at least in part because the two groups have experienced discrimination, marginalization and war in dissimilar ways. Thus, there is value in presenting the two points of view as such despite the imperfect nature of these group labels.

Limitations of Three Areas and Abyei Research. NDI previously conducted two in-depth public opinion studies in the Three Areas. For the research in this current report, fewer locations were visited and fewer groups were conducted in the Three Areas. The focus of this study was to understand opinions and attitudes on the upcoming election in Southern Sudan and to sample opinions on the same issue in the Three Areas. While conclusions can be drawn from the Three Areas groups, particularly in how attitudes there compare to those in Southern Sudan, the methodology is not as rigorous as in past reports due to the reduced number of groups. In addition, the portion of the study that concerns Abyei is limited in its analysis because the field work was conducted only among Ngok Dinka communities. NDI's preference was to collect data from both

¹ The definition of "Arab" in Blue Nile is particularly complicated due to migration and inter-ethnic integration and marriage. Many citizens of Blue Nile use the term "Arab" to describe groups that migrated to the state from the North in recent decades, as opposed to tribes indigenous to Blue Nile that may identify themselves as Arabs. Others view anyone with a light-skinned appearance as an "Arab." The term can have political connotations as well, and some individuals' self-descriptions and characterizations of others may depend on who is asking the question and in what context. Neither is there a single common use of the word "Funj." For some, the term refers to all indigenous tribes of the Funj Kingdom that existed in Blue Nile in pre-colonial times. For others, it refers only to "Black African" tribes in the state.

the Ngok Dinka and the Misseriya in order to present a comprehensive look at the situation in Abyei. The Institute was unable to do so due to security concerns. NDI believes it is important to capture the opinions of Misseriya so that they can become part of the public debate. Efforts to undertake research with Misseriya communities in or near Abyei are continuing, and the Institute hopes to provide a fuller analysis of citizen opinions on Abyei in future reports.

NDI's ongoing citizen participation program in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas is funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) through a multi-year grant. The inclusion of regular focus group research in NDI's wider Sudan initiative is intended to help policy-makers better understand the views of citizens as they make important decisions that will shape the future of the region. This is the tenth in a series of bi-annual studies NDI has conducted in Sudan since late 2004. The Institute plans to continue this research on a regular basis through 2011 and the end of the CPA interim period. NDI would like to acknowledge USAID officials in Juba and Khartoum, who provided guidance on topics of interest and shared their knowledge of Southern Sudan and the Three Areas.

While part of this study covers the same ground as previous NDI studies in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas, this is the Institute's first in-depth study on the upcoming election. Enthusiasm is high not only for the election, but also for what many anticipate will follow it: a better life. However, the election faces numerous obstacles. Many citizens are unfamiliar with basic election processes, are opposed to multi-party competition and have doubts about whether the vote will be fair. Yet, there is a clear desire to embrace democracy and the power it will vest in the people. NDI is pleased to share the views of citizens with government officials and other stakeholders as they work to create an election environment in which all are committed to a successful and peaceful outcome.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Citizens in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas desperately want to see improvements in their lives and view the election as a key mechanism for change. The quotations below reflect their concerns about their current situation and their expectations for the upcoming election.

Elections are meant to choose a democratically elected president who will listen to us because we shall have strong influence on his leadership, since we are the ones who choose him.

[Multi-party competition] is good in places like America and Britain where people don't fight over election results, but for Sudan's case, it is good to start with only two parties so that people can learn the ways of good elections.

We do not want to hear about NCP anymore... Even though that candidate from NCP is my mother; I cannot welcome her here

What makes me think an election is fair is only when the international community is involved to monitor the election.

It is always my wish to vote in the elections if the time comes... Of course, I will vote because that is what I have been waiting for.

It [voting in secret] is very good because it will never create any conflict between the people on whom they voted for.

Surely, that [voting in secret] is a bad idea. We are not educated; we cannot read or write. How will we know this is the paper for my candidate?

If the election results favor the North, then there will be war and if we Southerners win the election, then I don't know what will happen to them [the North] and maybe they can fight.

[Cheating is] very likely because elections always come with cheating

It [cheating] will be done by the NCP. They will either bribe or steal the votes from boxes or even add more votes during counting

If there is transparency during the election, then you must accept the results... If another wins, I cannot do anything but accept the reality.

I will not accept the results. Omar [Bashir] winning the election is a great threat to Southern Sudanese lives.

On development issues, things are going in the wrong direction due to delay in government programs. For example, we need hospitals, schools...

For sure things are really going in the wrong direction, because there are others killing the civilians on the road but the government is quiet about it. Peace is not widely felt in the South.

[GoSS job performance is fair] because death is not like before, and we are also having a full life, so it is in the middle. Peace is signed, but the godness of CPA is not yet achieved.

Corruption has brought about a lot of problems in the GoSS; this is what is destroying the GoSS.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report explores public opinion in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas of Abyei, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile. It is NDI's tenth focus group study in Sudan since 2004. Based on 78 focus group discussions with 964 Sudanese participants, the report examines citizens' understanding of and concerns about the national elections planned for 2010. As with all NDI public opinion studies, participants were also asked about their views on government performance, development, security, corruption, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, and related issues. Key findings are summarized below. The full results, along with selected quotations from participants, can be found in the Principal Findings section of this report.

I. Elections

- § **Participants in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas have limited knowledge of the national elections planned for 2010. They define its purpose as fulfilling a CPA milestone and as an opportunity to choose more effective and responsive leaders.** Some participants are aware of the CPA's requirement that elections be held, and thus see elections as a critical step in Sudan's transitional period. Even more important for most, however, is the opportunity to replace appointed leaders with elected ones and thereby increase the government's responsiveness to ordinary citizens. A few participants confuse the elections with the 2011 self-determination referendum.
- § **Most Southern Sudanese participants believe the 2010 election will only involve the offices of President of the Republic of Sudan or President of the Government of Southern Sudan and are unaware of the array of other offices due to appear on the ballot.** When asked what offices they will be voting for in the upcoming election, a majority of Southern participants say President of the Government of Southern Sudan, and most others say either President of the Republic of Sudan or a combination of both presidential posts. In Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, however, most participants list multiple offices, including president, governor and members of both the state and national legislatures.
- § **Almost all participants intend to vote in the election, though they are unaware of the need to register first. The only factors that could prevent them from voting, they say, are insecurity, inaccessible polling stations or ID requirements.** There is widespread enthusiasm about the opportunity to take part in the election, and most participants in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas say they are eager to vote. However, circumstances that could prevent them from doing so, they say, include insecurity, polling stations that are too distant to reach by foot or inaccessible due to rains and the need to present an ID card, which many say they do not have. There is some recognition of voting requirements, such as minimum age, Sudanese citizenship and personal identification, but few participants are aware of the need to register prior to voting.
- § **Knowledge of political parties is limited, and is particularly low among women. Nonetheless, the SPLM is the most widely recognized and supported political party in**

Southern Sudan. Southern Sudanese participants demonstrate limited knowledge of political parties. Most can identify the SPLM and NCP, but in well over a third of the groups, participants cannot name any other party. The SPLM remains Southern Sudanese participants' overwhelming preference when asked how they will vote in the 2010 election. Even most of those who can name other Southern parties say their intention is to vote for the SPLM. Many justify their choice by referring to the SPLM's role during the war.

- § **Most participants in Southern Sudan have a negative view of multi-party competition, believing it will divide Southerners and confuse voters.** The prospect of several political parties competing in the election makes many Southern participants nervous. Participants fear competition could widen tribal divisions and possibly lead to conflict, especially prior to the referendum. Some believe competition is more appropriate for a fully democratic country than a region in transition such as Southern Sudan. However, a significant minority of participants see immediate benefits to having multiple parties competing against each other because competition will spur more responsive and accountable government.
- § **Not everyone is open to the full range of political parties campaigning in their communities.** All Southern-based political parties are welcome to campaign in Southern Sudan, according to participants. Most are opposed to Northern-based parties visiting their areas, including the NCP. Reasons for this rejection are past mistreatment that participants attribute to Northerners and the NCP's perceived ability to bribe voters. A minority of participants – principally traditional authorities or residents of urban areas – are more open to Northern parties campaigning in their communities, while a few also indicate that GoSS endorsement would help assuage their concerns. In Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, most participants are open to all parties. Participants across Southern Sudan and the Three Areas expect parties to undertake a wide range of activities during the campaign, including development and voter education.
- § **Ngok Dinka participants in Abyei want residency voting requirements to be based solely on ancestry.** In Abyei, because of its special administrative status, citizens must meet an as yet undetermined residency requirement to be eligible to vote. Ngok participants² believe the best way to define residency is through ancestry, with only those who have parents, grandparents and/or great-grandparents who were born in Abyei eligible to vote.³
- § **Knowledge of the voting process is uneven across Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. The concept of the secret ballot is well-liked, but there is concern about its implications for illiterate voters.** Participants hold varied understandings of the voting process. In approximately half the focus group discussions conducted in Southern Sudan, they show awareness of the use of ballot boxes and ballot papers, and some are familiar with voting in secret. However, an equal number of participants – particularly women – do not know how voting will take place, and some talk about lining up behind preferred candidates in public, a common practice used in some Southern Sudanese cultures to elect traditional authorities. A significant number of participants voice reservations about a secret ballot, arguing that illiterate voters will not be able to recognize their preferred candidates and/or mark their choice. Participants in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan appear more familiar and comfortable with secret voting than their Southern counterparts.

² See the Preface of this report for a discussion of ethnic designations.

³ As noted in the Preface, Misseriya in and around the Abyei territory were not included in this study.

- § **Most participants say they will evaluate candidates based on their qualities rather than their political party or ethnicity. Religion is also an important factor for Arab participants in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan, while party affiliation matters for Nuba and Funj participants.** Southern Sudanese participants say they will select candidates based on their ability to bring change, to resist corruption and to unite Southerners. Some also view political party affiliation (for most, SPLM affiliation) as important. A few say they will base their decision on the opinion of traditional authorities, and some women say they will choose according to the views of their spouse. Most Arab participants in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan say the deciding factor will be the qualities of the candidate and his or her religion – some say they cannot vote for a non-Muslim – while Nuba and Funj participants say they intend to vote for SPLM candidates.
- § **There is near unanimous support in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas for the election law provision setting aside 25 percent of legislative seats for women. Opinion is divided on whether women should serve at the highest levels of government.** Both male and female participants support the separate women’s list stipulated in the national election law. Many women, and some men, would like to see the percentage increased. But while there is agreement that women should occupy legislative posts, opinion is divided as to whether women should serve in high-level executive offices. Most Southern Sudanese participants support women as candidates for governor, but women participants are split and most male participants are opposed to having a woman serve as president of Southern Sudan. In Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, Nuba and Funj participants say they would support women for any office, including president, but most Arab participants are uncomfortable voting for a woman as president.
- § **Traditional authorities will play a critical role in the election.** Participants’ responses to a number of discussion questions suggest local chiefs are likely to be highly influential throughout the electoral process. When asked whether traditional authorities should maintain neutrality during the elections or be allowed to openly support their preferred candidate, the majority of participants say they want chiefs to provide guidance on candidate choices because they are the “eyes and ears” of the community. In addition, chiefs say they expect to play an important role in voter education, are more resistant than other participants to the concept of secret voting and are more likely than others to say they will not accept the defeat of their preferred candidate.
- § **Concerns about elections center on the potential for violent conflict and vote buying.** Conflict in varying forms is the most commonly cited election concern. There are mixed views about what kind of conflict is most likely to occur, with some participants envisioning a North-South dispute and others worried about local clashes. A second major concern is that the vote will be rigged. Many say they expect widespread bribery during the election, and most Southern participants think the NCP will be the main perpetrator. Asked whether they believe citizens will accept bribes, a majority of participants say yes, but argue that citizens will still vote their conscience. A significant minority of participants, however, say they have no concerns about the elections.
- § **Most Southern Sudanese participants declare a willingness to accept the defeat of their preferred candidate, except in the national presidential race where they would reject a victory by President Bashir.** Most participants in Southern Sudan say they will accept winners of fair elections. However, there is one exception: a majority indicate they would not accept it if President Bashir were to win the national presidency. These participants believe his continued rule would be a threat to them and that he could not win an election fairly.

- § **Participants are nearly unanimous in their desire to have the international community involved in the election. The presence of international observers and an absence of conflict are key criteria by which they will judge whether elections are fair.** Of the many criteria participants say they will use to judge the elections, the two most commonly mentioned are the presence of international observers and the absence of violent conflict. Some participants also say they will consider the elections fair if voters are not intimidated, and others believe the elections can be deemed fair if the majority's choice wins, though they do not cite objective criteria for how this determination will be made.
- § **In the 2011 self-determination referendum, Southern Sudanese participants say they will vote to secede from the rest of Sudan. Ngok Dinka participants in Abyei indicate they will vote to join Southern Sudan's Warrap state in their own poll.** Since NDI's first public opinion study in 2004, Southern Sudanese participants have expressed a consistent desire for political separation from the North. That remains the case with this study. As in the past, participants describe deeply held grievances about historical mistreatment and a longing for self-rule but now add that they also want to manage their own resources. In Abyei, Ngok Dinka participants indicate they will vote to join Warrap state because they share a culture and language with its inhabitants.
- § **Most participants in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile support the unity of Sudan, believing it is the only way to prevent a return to conflict.** Some Nuba participants add a caveat that Sudan should remain united only if there is justice for all. Nuba and Funj participants in the two states believe that if the South chooses separation in the self-determination referendum, they will be given an opportunity to decide whether they want to go with the South, remain with the North or embark on some type of self-government.
- § **Participants in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan demonstrate a poor understanding – and in many cases, no knowledge at all – of the popular consultation process mandated for their states by the CPA.** Arab participants in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile are largely unfamiliar with the term “popular consultation.” However, when the process is described to them, they say it is an appropriate approach to resolving conflict issues. There is some awareness of the popular consultation term among Nuba and Funj participants, but many misunderstand its meaning, and some believe it denotes a self-determination referendum like that which is mandated for the people of Abyei and Southern Sudan.

II. Governance, Development and Security

- § **There is widespread dissatisfaction in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas with levels of development and security.** Attitudes have darkened in Southern Sudan since NDI's 2007 study of citizen opinion. Participants complain that development has been delayed for too long and insecurity has not been given the attention it deserves. Other factors contributing to increased dissatisfaction are tribalism in government, pervasive corruption and delayed salaries for public servants. In Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan, participants' views remain bleak, although Arab participants are slightly more optimistic about the future than their Nuba and Funj counterparts.
- § **Most participants in Southern Sudan have seen examples of development progress, but credit a variety of actors. Government-led efforts are considered inadequate.** Despite

general discontent with the level of basic services, most say development is moving forward. They list advances in their communities, such as new roads, expanded markets and higher quality buildings and dwellings. Participants credit a range of actors for these improvements, including the government, private citizens, investors, churches and NGOs. However, some participants believe development is driven primarily by non-governmental actors, and most declare that the government has not done enough to promote development. When asked in which areas assistance is most needed, participants say education, health services and road construction.

- § **Security is improving in some parts of Southern Sudan and the Three Areas but worsening in others. The primary sources of insecurity are tribal clashes, crime and misbehavior by security forces.** Participants' assessment of security varies according to their location. Areas that report the best security situation include towns such as Wau, Kapoeta, Ayod, Aweil and Damazin. Most groups in Upper Nile and Unity states and Nuba areas of Southern Kordofan say that insecurity is rising. Those who report improved security often credit soldiers and police with reducing crime and allowing citizens greater freedom of movement. Crime appears to be the most widespread security issue, but tribal conflict and misbehavior of security forces are also significant causes of insecurity in certain locations. Participants argue the continued prevalence of small arms among the civilian population is exacerbating insecurity.
- § **Participants rate the performance of the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) in the "fair-to-good" range.** The Southern government is praised for strengthening the SPLA and protecting the peace and freedoms that many citizens are now experiencing. Participants acknowledge the government's youth, but nonetheless say they want to see it doing more. Specifically, they talk about five key problems hindering the government's performance: corruption; tribalism and nepotism in public employment; lack of effective security strategies; delayed salary payments to soldiers and civil servants; and insufficient attention to development. Some also criticize the GoSS for not communicating effectively with citizens.
- § **Participants believe corruption is rampant in Southern Sudan.** Asked how much of a problem corruption is in Southern Sudan's government, participants overwhelmingly choose "very much," the highest level on the scale provided. Corruption continues to be defined primarily as nepotism and tribalism in government and embezzlement of public funds, as participants have defined it in past NDI studies. For the first time, many now also cite unpaid or delayed government salaries as evidence of corruption.
- § **Salva Kiir is applauded for his work as president of the Government of Southern Sudan, especially his efforts to uphold the CPA and strengthen the military. Participants urge him to do more to tackle corruption and promote development.** Salva Kiir is praised for professionalizing the SPLA, uniting Southerners, protecting the CPA and improving the condition of roads. However, many participants expect to see more from the GoSS president. Some focus on the slow pace of development and the lack of roads, schools and hospitals in their communities. Others talk of continuing insecurity and the need for civilian disarmament. Salva Kiir is the only leading politician who attracts significant levels of support across Southern Sudan's many regions and ethnic groups.

PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

This study is both a continuation of previous research that explored citizens' opinions of their government and their lives and a first look at attitudes about one of the CPA's most important milestones, the national elections. The two are connected because much of how citizens view their past and their life today colors their expectations for what the election should mean and how it should impact their future. The stakes could hardly be higher as peace itself may depend on ordinary citizens' assessment of whether the election has been fair and whether the outcome will be of benefit or harm. To determine what factors will influence that assessment, NDI conducted 78 focus groups with 964 participants throughout Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. The findings, drawn from participants' comments, are below.

1. Participants in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas view the election as an important milestone toward full implementation of the CPA and a long-awaited opportunity to choose more effective and responsive leaders.

There were two common answers about the purpose of the upcoming national election among Southern Sudan participants. First, some see it as a fulfillment of the requirements set forth in the CPA, and thus necessary and important. What's more important to other participants, however, is that the election will allow them to choose their own leaders. They see the election as a way to replace appointed politicians with leaders who have the legitimate mandate of the people and who are more responsive to their needs. A few participants state the upcoming election's purpose differently. Within this group, some view the election as a mechanism for Southerners to rule all of Sudan, either because it is the South's turn to rule or because their candidate will win the presidency. Others mistake the election as the referendum or view it as only a means to prepare the population for the referendum.

It was written in Naivasha that the elections will be there in 2011 and that the citizens will have their rights to choose their favorite leader. (Nuer Jikany Man, Melut)

The purpose [of the election] is to elect the leader of our choice, and so he will be guided by the word of the majority, which is democracy. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

Elections are meant to choose a democratically elected president who will listen to us because we shall have strong influence on his leadership, since we are the ones who choose him.
(Nuer Gawaar Woman, Muogong, Ayod County)

It [the election] means that Omar has been in power a long time, and it is the right time he should step down, and we take over the leadership of Sudan. (Nuer Gawaar Woman, Wau Payam, Ayod County)

It is a way of preparing Southerners for the referendum in 2011. (Moru Man, Yambio)

Like Southerners, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile participants say the purpose of the election is to allow Sudanese to choose their own leaders. There are also participants who believe the point of the election is to bring development. In Abyei, the election is viewed as simply a contest for president

by some Ngok participants,⁴ a few of whom believe they will be “replacing Bashir.” Others, mostly women, confuse it with a time when they will be able to choose whether to join the North or the South. Among those who understand the election is not a self-determination referendum, there is a sense it will be meaningless to Abyei residents unless they first understand their political status.

The purpose of the election is we want our country to be democratic, and it can give people their rights.
(BN⁵ Funj Woman, Deim Monsour)

[The purpose of the election is] so that the Sudanese people will choose who will rule the Sudan.
(SK Nuba Man, Dilling)

[The purpose of the election is] to give citizens the right to choose who to represent them.
(SK Arab Misseriya Man, Lagawa)

[The election's] purpose is the provision of schools, water and a better future
(BN Arab Woman, Abu Gerin)

[The purpose of the election] is to achieve development. (SK Misseriya Man, Kharsana, Keliak County)

This is to determine the incoming president, the new president of Sudan, based on whether it is a Northerner or a Southerner. (Dinka Ngok Man, Agok)

I think it is about determining whether we will belong either to Warrap or Kordofan and we will elect the president, after we have decided...It is an election to elect a president who will replace Omar, and also we people will determine where to go South or North. (Two Dinka Ngok Women, Agok)

We can only go for elections when we've joined one side during the referendum, and we know whether we shall go North or South. After that, elections and campaigns would be meaningful to us...The current state of Abyei – not being for either side of North or South doesn't make campaigns meaningful and helpful to the citizens.
(Two Dinka Ngok Older Men, Abyei)

Southern Sudanese participants view their role in the election primarily as one of decision-maker. They say their most important duty during the election will be to choose leaders they truly support and ones they believe will best serve themselves and the interests of the people. Part of making their “true choice,” participants indicate, includes refusing bribes, or, if bribes are taken, ignoring the bribers' voting instructions. Some participants also believe it is their duty to counsel others about the necessity of avoiding conflict. Others, particularly younger participants and chiefs, say it will be their responsibility to teach their fellow citizens about the voting process. Three Areas participants view their role and primary responsibilities in the election in much the same way as Southerners, saying their most important duties are to vote for the person they support and to refrain from participating in conflict or cheating.

I will vote for only the candidate I desire and who I know has good objectives for Southern Sudan. (Nuer Lek Younger Woman, Bentiu)

I will avoid all kinds of corruption that may come across my way like bribing and any other acts that may influence me to go against the right direction. (Dinka Padang Woman, Malakal)

⁴ See the Preface of this report for a discussion of ethnic designations.

⁵ BN is an abbreviation for Blue Nile and SK is an abbreviation for Southern Kordofan.

Elections are not meant for conflicts. I can therefore advise people not to quarrel. They should remain calm and chose only their best candidate. (Nuer Chief, Malakal)

As an individual I can help by taking these messages to other people who have not heard about the election, so people who have not heard about the election get ready for it.
(Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

My role is just to participate in the voting (BN Arab Man, Al Disa)

Our aim to make the election a success is not to bring conflict. (BN Funj Man, Jorot)

Your vote should not be based on bribes taken from the contesting parties, but instead vote according to the work of the party. (SK Nuba Woman, Heiban)

[My role in the election is] to be honest... To point out any corruption.
(Two SK Arab Misseriya Women, Um Adara, Keliak County)

I can vote for whomever I want and the rest of my family can do the same. When everyone votes for whom they want, then the election is fair. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Abyei)

We can talk among ourselves so that we cannot be diverted by bribing. We should agree to reject whoever bribes...Bribery can kill our future. (Two Dinka Ngok Men, Agok)

2. Fair elections in Sudan can be measured by the presence of international observers, good security and the primacy of both freedom of choice and majority rule, participants in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas say.

Southern Sudanese participants have many criteria for judging whether the election will be fair, but four are mentioned most often. The presence of international observers alone will be enough for some to conclude the election is fair.⁶ For others the measure of a fair election will be a campaign, including the release of results, that is free of violent conflict. Of lesser importance but still mentioned multiple times are beliefs the election will be fair if the majority's choice wins or if there is no intimidation. Participants define "no intimidation" as simply allowing people to vote as they wish. Those who focus on assessing the election's credibility based on majority rule do not cite objective criteria for how this determination will be made, other than through their estimate of a candidate's or party's visible support or their own intuition. In addition to these four criteria, a number of participants mention other measures they will use to judge the election. These include adequate voter education prior to the election, a neutral election commission, the absence of bribery or vote-buying, transparency in election procedures such as voting and vote-counting and an election outcome they trust, specifically the defeat of Omar Bashir and/or an SPLM victory.

What makes me think an election is fair is only when the international community is involved to monitor the election. (Murle Man, Bor)

If there will be international observers watching us, then I will conclude that the election is fair... There must be international observers. (Two Nuer Lek Men Group 2, Bentiu)

⁶ Some participants speak about the need for national observers as well.

I think when people go to vote without fighting and results are announced, we will say it was done well, but when it does not happen this way, then it is definitely bad. (Kakwa Woman, Wuluturu, Yei County)

If you are left to choose your candidate without being forced to vote another, then I think it is a fair election. (Zande Woman, Yambio)

People will just have to see which party has the most supporters, but if the party with the least supporters wins, then immediately you can suspect unfairness. Since the political candidate seemed to have many supporters, how come the one with the least votes won? (Woman, Juba)

All the residents of Aweil and other parts must be educated on electoral process and other activities pertaining to the elections, so that the voters are enriched about electoral process and so this would create a good atmosphere and enhance a fair election. (Dinka Malual Woman, Aweil)

Three Areas participants have many of the same criteria as Southerners for judging whether the election will be fair. These include the presence of international monitors, voting their true choice, an absence of conflict, an absence of cheating and a secure environment. Some Arab participants who embrace the idea of election monitors want domestic monitors but not international ones.

It [the election] will be fair if each person has the right to vote for his or her candidate. (BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

If there are no conflicts [the election will be fair]. (BN Arab Woman, Al Disa)

We want international observers to come and see what will happen during the elections. (BN Funj Woman, Deim Monsour)

We will think the election will be conducted fairly when we don't see any cheating happening during the election. (BN Funj Woman, Jorot)

If there is monitoring from the regional and African nations, then one can say it is fair. (SK Nuba Man, Dalami)

The election should be nicely monitored...No cheating should be there...Security. (Three SK Arab Women, Um Adara, Keliak County)

[For the election to be fair] very tight security has to be set up in the whole country and the international community comes and monitors the process of the election. (Dinka Ngok Older Man, Abyei)

- 3. There is little knowledge of the array of offices that will appear on the ballot in Southern Sudan; most believe the election is only for President of the Republic of Sudan or President of the Government of Southern Sudan. Three Areas participants are more knowledgeable, except for the Nuba and Ngok Dinka.**

When asked what offices they will be voting for in the upcoming election, most Southern Sudanese participants say President of the Government of Southern Sudan (by about a three-to-one margin over any other office), and many of the rest say either President of Sudan or a combination of both presidential posts. There are only a handful of participants who mention that governors and MPs

will be elected and just a very few that mention smaller offices. A few participants declare that regardless of what other offices are on the ballot, they will vote only for President of Southern Sudan because in doing so they will have accomplished what they want out of the election. Others disagree, saying they will vote in state and county level elections because the work done in those offices affects them directly.

The elections are meant for one office only, the office of the President of Sudan... Where we want our son to be the leader. (Two Nuer Jikany Men, Palouge)

I will only vote for President of South Sudan... I will not vote again because I am already confident of what I have done (Two Nuer Chiefs, Malakal)

I will vote at the county and state levels because that is where I am directly affected, and I will vote for the person who I know will help us. (Nuer Gawaar Woman, Wau Payam, Ayod County)

Most participants in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile list multiple offices that will be on the ballot in the 2010 elections. These include president, governor and members of both the state and the national legislative assemblies. The exception is Nuba participants, who note only the presidential election. In Abyei, Ngok Dinka mention only elections for the President of the Republic of Sudan or President of the Government of Southern Sudan. Abyei is unique because the residents there have citizenship in both Southern Korodfan and Warrap states per the CPA. When asked about how this will affect the offices they will vote on, most Ngok say they will only vote in the governor's race in Warrap and not for the governor of Southern Kordofan. A few, though, note that the Ngok NCP supporters among them will vote in the Southern Kordofan elections.⁷

We will not vote in Southern Kordofan; we will vote in Warrap state (Dinka Ngok Man, Agok)

Abyei is mixed with NCP and SPLM, so those who support NCP will vote in Southern Kordofan and the SPLM supporters will vote in Warrap. Though they [NCP supporters] are few, they can be considered. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Abyei)

4. Participants have a strong desire to vote but say insecurity, distant polling locations and ID requirements could deter them.

Most participants in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas not only say they will vote but also declare they are eager and enthusiastic to do so. Only a significant personal event – such as illness, giving birth or death – will prevent them from voting, they say.

It is always my wish to vote in the elections if the time comes... Of course, I will vote because that is what I have been waiting for. (Two Nuer Gawaar Men, Ayod)

I am ready to vote. I have prepared my family to vote. My boys have IDs, and we are ready to vote (Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

Nothing will stop me from voting only if I die on that day. (Dinka Bor Woman, Pariaak, Bor County)

⁷ The data used to reach this conclusion is limited because some participants thought the moderator was asking about how they would vote in the Abyei referendum.

The only thing that possibly stops me from voting is if I am sick. (BN Funj Man, Deim Monsour)

Nothing will stop me from voting (SK Nuba Woman, Dalami)

Nothing can stop me... I will not miss it [voting]. (Two SK Arab Misseriya Women Um Adara)

Nothing can stop us from voting (BN Arab Woman, Al Disa)

I will vote because nothing can stop me from voting (Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

Despite the strong commitment to voting, Southern Sudanese participants are able to imagine several circumstances that could stop them. Insecurity is mentioned most often, particularly insecurity either on the way to or within the polling station area. Polling locations that are far or cost too much to reach will also be a deterrent to voting, some say. A third worry is the ID requirement: participants note they do not have identification or cannot afford it. Other obstacles to voting include the presence of only corrupt or bad candidates on the ballot, a lack of voter education and a voting process that is not friendly to the illiterate. In Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile participants list similar concerns, including poor roads, insecurity, lack of identification and voter intimidation. Ngok participants say they intend to vote unless the election has been rigged or they are not free to make the choice they want.

If security is not good like it is now, then I will not vote... If the government will not disarm those civilians with guns, I will not vote because they will eventually kill us during the election. (Two Nuer Chiefs, Malakal)

If the security is not good [I will not vote]. Security should be assured, so that people can freely and properly vote in the election. (Woman, Juba)

If the polling points will be accessible by footing then I think nothing will stop me from voting but if they are not easily accessible, then I will not vote. (Nuer Gawaar Chief, Ayod)

Nothing can stop me from voting but things like the lack of IDs can prevent some people from voting. The vast majority of Southern Sudanese have no identity card, and I appeal to the government to either let people vote without an ID or issue the IDs in time before election.

(Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

I don't have a national ID card. It is too expensive for me to purchase it. (Dinka Abiliang Man, Malakal)

If that system of secret ballot will be introduced, I will not vote because I cannot read or write. (Nuer Lek Man Group 2, Bentiu)

Let there be access roads during the election. Otherwise, some people who are far will not vote. (SK Arab Misseriya Man, Lagawa)

The only way that I will not vote is if I have no identification card. (BN Funj Man, Keili)

If there are conflicts somewhere, it may prevent me from voting. (BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

If I foresee a chance that the election will be rigged and the free will of the people will not be exercised, I will not vote. (Dinka Ngok Man, Agok)

5. **Knowledge of the voting process in Southern Sudan is limited and based partly on past non-democratic practices. The concept of voting in secret is well-liked, but there is significant concern among participants about its effect on illiterate voters.**

Knowledge of the voting process is uneven and varied among Southern Sudanese participants. The most familiar concepts are ballot boxes and some form of ballot papers, although these are mentioned in only about half of the groups. Some participants speak of voting in secret, but an equal number say they do not know how voting will be done⁸ and an almost equal number talk about lining up behind candidates in public, something practiced in certain Southern Sudanese cultures to elect chiefs and others. In addition, some of those who mention ballot boxes indicate they believe there will be two ballot boxes labeled with simple choices, such as yes/no, North/South or NCP/SPLM, or there will be a box for each candidate or party. Also, some participants expect there to be symbols on the ballot, while others expect pictures.

People will move to familiar stations, be called in one-by-one into a private place, given a ballot paper that has pictures of those people contesting and make a mark on the person they are voting for or write the names of the person. (Murle Man, Bor)

I have no idea [about voting]...I will just follow what the government will say.
(Two Nuer Lek Women, Bentiu)

What I think is that a Dinka will stand and a Zande will stand. People of different tribes will stand in line and their supporters will line behind them. (Zande Man, Yambio)

People will go to the stations nearby and in the stations there will be two boxes, one for the person from South and likewise from the North, in the room. There will be two photos, one of the South and other of the North, and you will be in the room to mark the person of your choice. (Dinka Padang Woman, Malakal)

Most participants react favorably to the concept of casting their vote in secret. They value secrecy because intimidation is less likely and because it reduces the likelihood of conflict, since supporters of a candidate will not know any individual voter's choice. There are even a few who like the idea of a secret ballot because it allows people to take bribes but still vote their true choice. However, at least one participant in just under half the groups raises reservations about voting in secret. Illiteracy is the central issue for most. These participants say that illiterate voters will not have the ability to cast their vote correctly if done in secret, fearing especially that these voters will not be able to recognize their preferred candidates and/or will not be able to make a mark at the appropriate place. Chief and elder participants in this study are particularly concerned about the difficulty voting may pose for the illiterate and also mention more than others their preference for voting in public.

[Voting in secret will be] very good if I will make my choice alone where no one can intimidate me
(Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

It [voting in secret] is very good because it will never create any conflict between the people about whom they voted for. (Younger Woman, Yirol)

It [voting in secret] is very okay because some people might have taken bribes to vote wrongly but when in private then they will be able to exercise their full rights. (Toposa Younger Man, Kapoeta)

⁸ Lack of any knowledge of the voting process is more common among female participants.

Surely, that [voting in secret] is a bad idea. We are not educated; we can not read or write. How will we know this is the paper for my candidate? (Nuer Jikany Man, Palouge)

We only want physical boxes and not papers because we are illiterate... We are illiterates. Who is then going to write for us, and why should we hide ourselves during voting? We do not want that idea. (Two Nuer Chiefs, Malakal)

It [voting in secret] is not okay because democracy is basically openness and if the ballot boxes are in private, then it's not democracy exercised. (Toposa Elder, Kapoeta)

- a. **Knowledge of the voting process is relatively high among Blue Nile Arab participants; less so among Ngok Dinka in Abyei. Participants in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan are comfortable with the secret ballot; Ngok Dinka are not.**

Blue Nile Arab participants have a relatively sophisticated understanding of the election process and talk about ballot papers, ballot boxes, party symbols and voting in secret.⁹ When asked about voting, most Ngok participants in Abyei say they only know that there will be a place designated to vote. Most participants in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan appear more familiar than Southerners with the secret ballot and endorse it as the appropriate election method.¹⁰ In Abyei, however, most Ngok Dinka participants do not like the idea. They believe it is important to know how people voted, so there can be no cheating. Some are also worried that illiterate voters will be confused and perhaps misled to vote for someone they do not support. Like some Southerners, Ngok participants expect there to be two ballot boxes, one marked NCP and one marked SPLM.

A voter picks a paper having a symbol of the party and puts it inside a box in the presence of monitors. (BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

It [voting in secret] is fine... It is the way it used to be before. (SK Arab Misseriya Woman, Um Adara, Keliak County)

I think that [voting in secret] will be a right way for voting to take place. (BN Funj Woman, Chali)

It [voting in secret] is not good because it involves a lot of secrecy rather than everybody voting in an open place for everyone to see... It might result in another secret plan for rigging the election. (Dinka Ngok Man, Agok)

It is not good. People will be confused. What about those who don't read? Who will be directing their vote? (Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

6. **There is some recognition of voting requirements such as age and national identification, but few participants in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas mention voter registration. Ngok participants in Abyei want residency voting requirements based solely on ancestry.**

In just over half of the focus groups, Southern Sudanese participants say a national identification

⁹ Moderators in the Blue Nile Funj groups and the Southern Kordofan Nuba and Arab groups failed to get the participants to understand the question correctly.

¹⁰ Moderators failed to get Nuba participants in Southern Kordofan to understand the question correctly.

(ID) card is necessary to vote. As noted earlier, the ID requirement is concerning for some, who believe they do not have the ability or the funds to acquire a card. The next most recognized voting requirement is age, followed closely by Sudanese citizenship. Only a handful of participants mention a registration requirement. A few groups – all women’s groups – say either they did not know of any voting requirements or believe there are none. In two groups, participants indicate political party cards will be required to vote.

You need to have a national ID card for you to vote. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

With the required voting age, if you are below 18 years, you will not vote. (Kakwa Chief, Lasu, Yei County)

I think Jinsia¹¹ [is required to vote], but for us here in Yei, few people have the Jinsia, maybe people in Juba... For poor people like us, we women cannot afford it. (Two Women, Yei)

Among participants in the Three Areas who answer the question on voting requirements,¹² identification and age are the most well-known. In Abyei, because of its special administrative status, participants were also asked about residency requirements for voting. Ngok participants believe the best way to define who is eligible to vote in Abyei is through ancestry. Most say only those who have parents, grandparents and/or great grandparents who were born in Abyei should be eligible. Ngok participants believe Misseriya who could claim any type of residency in Abyei are few. Their bigger concern is other Arabs who may come on election day claiming to be Misseriya.

If a person has an ID card that can allow them to vote. (BN Funj Man, Deim Monsour)

Where a person’s parents were born [should determine eligibility to vote] because this would reflect the true identity of your origin and qualify you to be a real citizen of Abyei by birth. (Dinka Ngok Older Man, Abyei)

A person is known by the names of their father, grandfather and great grandfather, so where I was born does not matter, but what matters is where I belong. For example, I was born in Khartoum, but I don’t have land in Khartoum. I rent from those who have. It is so because that is the land of their forefathers. So anyone whose great grandfathers were not born in Abyei, should not vote in Abyei. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Abyei)

My concern is that many Northerners may come to Abyei claiming to be Misseriya on election day and interrupt the results of the elections. (Dinka Ngok Man, Agok)

- 7. SPLM is the most widely recognized and supported party in Southern Sudan and Abyei.¹³ Participants in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas expect parties to undertake a wide range of tasks, including development and voter education, during the campaigning period.**

Southern Sudanese participants demonstrate limited knowledge of political parties. Most can identify the NCP and the SPLM as political parties, but in well over one-third of the groups, participants cannot name any other party. Female participants are much more likely than males to be unaware of other political parties.¹⁴ Of the Southern-based political parties, the name recognition

¹¹ *Jinsia* is the Juba Arabic word for identification card.

¹² Moderators failed to get some participants in the Three Areas groups to answer the question.

¹³ As noted previously, all findings relating to Abyei are from the Ngok Dinka perspective only.

¹⁴ Two-thirds of the groups that could not name any party other than NCP and SPLM were women’s groups.

of the SPLM is high, with the party mentioned in all but a few groups.¹⁵ After SPLM, the next most recognized Southern parties are SANU¹⁶ and UDF,¹⁷ cited in just over a third of the groups. USAP,¹⁸ SSDF,¹⁹ and UDSF²⁰ also garner mentions, but only in a smaller number of groups. In addition, groups that name these parties are mostly clustered in Unity, Jonglei and Upper Nile states and are more likely to be Nuer. The findings on political party knowledge are consistent with past research and do not appear to have changed to any significant degree.

Participants were also asked to think about all the offices they would be voting for on election day and to name the party affiliation of their chosen candidates. SPLM is the overwhelming preference of most participants, many of whom say they would not consider voting for a non-SPLM candidate. The main objections to non-SPLM candidates are either that they are unknown or were not part of the “struggle” for freedom and peace during the war. However, there are a significant minority of participants who are willing to consider candidates from other political parties. These participants say they appreciate all candidates with good qualities and embrace the right of all parties to participate in the election process. Participants from smaller tribes make up a disproportionate number of groups open to other parties.

In Abyei, most Ngok participants indicate they will vote for SPLM candidates for the various offices that will be up for election. Most would not consider voting for a different party for any offices.²¹

I think SPLM [candidates will receive most of my votes] because the party is the only one I know.
(Woman, Yei)

I believe those people [candidates for office] must have participated in the struggle for freedom. Therefore, they must come from SPLM. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Melut)

No [I cannot vote for a non-SPLM candidate] because we only know SPLM... Because it is only SPLM that liberated us. (Two Toposa Women, Kapoeta South)

I cannot [vote for a non-SPLM candidate] because I do not know him, and where was he when the SPLM was fighting for peace? (Nuer Lek Woman, Bentiu)

I will just vote for any god candidate from any party, not necessarily that all will be from one party.
(Nuer Jikany Woman, Malakal)

They [candidates I will vote for] will come from different parties. (Madi Woman, Nimule)

As long as he is a Southerner, I will vote for him [a non-SPLM candidate]... Yes, I will vote for him because

¹⁵ Five groups could not name any political party, including the SPLM. All were women’s groups.

¹⁶ SANU is an acronym for Sudan African National Union.

¹⁷ UDF is an acronym for United Democratic Front.

¹⁸ USAP is an acronym for Union of Sudan African Parties. There are two factions of USAP, but most participants seem unaware of this.

¹⁹ SSDF is an acronym for Southern Sudan Democratic Forum. It is also the acronym for the Southern Sudan Democratic Front, and the former South Sudan Defence Force (now integrated into the SPLM). Because participants generally identified political parties using their English acronyms, it is not possible to confirm which party they were referring to when citing “SSDF”.

²⁰ UDSF is an acronym for United Democratic Salvation Front.

²¹ Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan participants were not asked to identify the party affiliation of their preferred candidates. However, in answer to a different question, Funj and Nuba participants in those states say that one of the ways in which they will determine which candidates to support will be an SPLM party affiliation.

we all fought for the same freedom. (Nuer Chief, Malakal)

Yes, I will vote [for a non-SPLM candidate] because it is clearly stated in the CPA that every Sudanese has a right to contest. (Toposa Man, Kapoeta)

The SPLM brought us peace, and we can vote for them. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Abyei)

We cannot vote for anyone who is not an SPLM person... We support SPLM, and we cannot vote for other parties. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

Despite the relatively low level of knowledge about political parties, participants in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas appear to have high hopes for party activities. Political parties are not simply expected to campaign and share their visions for the future of Sudan and Southern Sudan, they are also expected to accomplish many other tasks. In particular, many participants feel political parties should undertake development projects to prove their worthiness²² and engage in voter education on election procedures. Others believe parties should be responsible for providing security for voters, and there are also participants in the South who urge political parties to remember it is their duty to unite Southerners.

They [political parties] should pick their best candidate who will then come and talk to us and tell us their objectives. (Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu)

We need food here in Palouge, and those who want to be the leaders should construct roads to Nasir. (Nuer Jikany Man, Palouge)

Any political party who wants our votes should have done something visible in this area. We don't want to vote for any party who has not developed our area. We want schools and hospitals. (Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

They [political parties] should tell us the procedures to follow during voting (Nuer Lek Younger Woman, Bentiu)

They [political parties] should guarantee security in the states, such that people should not fear during the elections. (Dinka Bor Woman, Pariaak, Bor County)

They should unite us such that we have a common accord during elections against the Arabs... They should unite all Southerners as a family. (Two Nuer Chiefs, Malakal)

They [political parties] should improve the roads and construct hand pumps and boreholes for us. (SK Arab Misseriya Woman, Lagawa)

They [political parties] should improve education and any other thing needed by the community. (BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

They should build schools, hospitals and youth centers to strengthen and unite the youth. (Dinka Ngok Man, Abyei)

²² It is unclear whether all participants are referring to actual development projects or to promises of development projects, although some are clearly referring to actual projects they believe parties should undertake during campaigning.

We expect our political party to come and create awareness [of the elections] and show us the symbols which are going to be used during the elections. (BN Funj Woman, Chali)

During campaigning, participants in Southern Sudan would like to hear the political parties talk about the issues most important to them – peace, development and unity among Southerners, including plans to combat tribalism. In certain areas, especially in Jonglei, Upper Nile and Unity states, security is one of the main topics participants want discussed. Some believe parties should address corruption as well. In Southern Kordofan, both Arab and Nuba participants say political parties need to focus on development and security issues when campaigning. Funj participants in Blue Nile would most like to hear about the election so they understand the process. Arab participants in that state want political parties to offer their programs for development.

If a political party came to our Nyamlel today, we want them to be speaking about development issues.
(Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

They should talk about peace in Southern Sudan. (Toposa Woman, Narus, Kapoeta East County)

They should talk about us being one as Southerners with the same skin color and under one government.
(Nuer Jikany Woman, Melut)

We need the parties to talk about development – health, education, bridges – and to get rid of the insecurity and dashes between farmers and the pastoralists. (SK Nuba Woman, Kadugli)

We want them to tell us more about the coming election and the ballot paper and who will be the candidates in the election. (BN Funj Woman, Jorot)

Let them talk about developing our place (BN Arab Woman, Abu Gerin)

- 8. Most participants have a negative view of multi-party competition, believing it will divide Southerners and confuse voters. Some, though, argue that competition will make political parties more accountable.**

The prospect of multiple political parties competing in the election makes many Southern Sudanese participants nervous. There are two primary reasons for this. The first is fear that political competition will bring division, and possibly conflict, among Southerners. Participants see this as particularly dangerous prior to the referendum. The second objection to political competition is a sense that Southern Sudan is simply not ready for multiple political parties. Some participants understand and appreciate the value of multi-party competition but believe it is more appropriate for a fully democratic country than a transitioning Southern Sudan, with its politically immature and uneducated population. They contend that the population, the candidates and the parties will not know how to respond to a process that produces so many losers. They are also concerned about the level of confusion that could result from competition among many political parties and express a preference for having only two, or at most three, parties competing.

[Multi-party competition] is not good because it can lead to tribal division in South Sudan.
(Dinka Rek Man, Tonj)

It [multi-party competition] is a bad thing because we are still a young government, so we cannot offer many political parties. We want to stand as one so that we win in the election so that in the referendum, we can be able

to separate (Man, Juba)

[Multi-party competition] is good in places like America and Britain where people don't fight over election results, but for Sudan's case, it is good to start with only two parties so that people can learn the ways of good elections. (Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

Multi-party is good in a democratic country, not in a transitional country... Many parties will confuse and divide us since we are not mature in politics. (Two Dinka Bor Men, Bor)

[Multi-party competition] is not a good thing because it will confuse us. Most of us do not even know political parties, so it is frustrating (Kakwa Woman, Wuluturu, Yei County)

A significant minority, however, see benefits to having multiple parties compete in the election. They view competition as a way to provide the population with a greater array of choices and as a catalyst to prompt the government and political parties to address the needs of the people. Also, for some multi-party competition is affirmation that democracy is taking root in Southern Sudan.

[Multi-party competition] is a good thing because it will allow people to choose the best. (Fertit Woman, Wau)

If there are many [political parties], they can compete and each one will be able to look out for the party he likes and votes for it, but if there are only one or two parties, then there is no competition and choice. (Woman, Juba)

[Multi-party competition] is good because competition makes people struggle to provide quality services. Having a single party leads to continuation of the same corrupt leaders. (Toposa Younger Man, Kapoeta)

It's good for them [multiple political parties] to compete in the elections. Maybe there will be one political party that will know and talk about the lives of civilians and maybe the ways of governance can change positively. (Nuer Lek Man Group 2, Bentiu)

Yes, it [multi-party competition] is a good thing because we are now in a democracy. (Zande Woman, Yambio)

Many participants express concern about any events, like joint rallies or debates, that bring political parties into their communities at the same time. For some, the risk of conflict at such an event is too high, while others are more worried that joint events would be confusing for a population unfamiliar with political competition. Some of the concern about the latter issue is clearly a misunderstanding of the logistics, such as a perception that people will not have enough time to listen to parties if they come all at once. The smaller number of participants in favor of multi-party events views them as a good way to compare the parties. In Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, Arab participants are not opposed to joint political events, but some Nuba and Funj participants have the same concerns as their Southern counterparts about the conflict and confusion they may cause.

It's [a joint political party event] not okay because they might end up fighting especially if others perceive one party as more popular... It's not okay, because it might lead to hatred and consequently conflict. (Two Toposa Women, Nurus, Kapoeta East County)

That is not good for many candidates to come at the same time. People will kill themselves. (Nuer Gawaar Woman, Muogong, Ayod County)

It is not a good idea because we shall not even have time to give full hearing to one party and that will cause

confusion amongst ourselves. At least one party at a time, then we can have time to listen to each of them. (Nuer Lek Younger Woman, Bentiu)

It [a joint political event] is okay. They are all Southerners. It will also enable us choose the best candidate. (Nuer Gawaar Chief, Ayod)

It is okay for all of them political parties to come [here together] because their active competition during campaign will eventually help us know who the best leader for us is. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Malakal)

The constitution gives them [political parties] the right [to hold joint events]. (SK Misseriya Woman, Um Adara, Keliak County)

Parties have the right to discuss their programs [at joint political events]. It's not bad. (BN Older Man, Disa)

They [political parties] should come to the area one at a time. (SK Nuba Woman, Julud)

[At joint political party events] something might happen like quarreling between the parties and the community. (BN Funj Woman, Chali)

9. Southern Sudanese participants say all Southern-based political parties are welcome to campaign in their communities, but most say the NCP and other Northern-based parties are not. Most participants in the Three Areas embrace campaigning by all political parties.

Despite their discomfort with multi-party competition, most Southern Sudanese participants say all Southern-based political parties are free to campaign in their area. In part, participants arrive at this conclusion because they see all Southerners as having an equal right to freedom of movement and speech, and they view the freedom to campaign as a confirmation of their democracy. There are also some participants who say they will value having access to more people who may listen to their concerns and who may be able to bring change. The one caveat that some add is that all parties who come to campaign must support unity among Southerners.

He [non-SPLM candidate] is welcomed. This is his land and these are his people. He has the right to rule them as long as he is willing and working hard to rule them well. (Nuer Gawaar Man, Ayod)

It is okay. We are a democracy. If they are registered as a political party, they can come and talk to us. (Kakwa Chief, Lasu, Yei County)

It is okay [for non-SPLM parties to campaign in this area] because we have to see the weaknesses of the parties. Maybe someone from the other party will bring something which will help the community. (Madi Woman, Nimule)

I can welcome them [non-SPLM parties]. Maybe there will be a candidate who will listen to me and implement his promises. (Nuer Lek Woman, Bentiu)

If they [non-SPLM Southern parties] preach unity among the southerners, then it is okay though they are not SPLM. (Dinka Rek Man, Tonj)

However, some participants are adamantly opposed to any Southern party other than SPLM campaigning in their area. This is a more common sentiment among Dinka participants than others. These participants say they know only the SPLM because it was the only party to stand with them through the war. There is some indication that those who oppose campaigning by non-SPLM Southern parties would reconsider if they knew the SPLM and/or GoSS had approved of the activity. Communicating that a party is registered with the appropriate authorities also may reduce such resistance.

That [non-SPLM] party should never try to come for campaign here in our town. We know only SPLM, who have stood with us during long struggle. It is up-to-date. We honor it, and it deserves our votes in this state. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

They [non-SPLM Southern parties] should not come. We want only one party which Salva is now heading. We need to develop South Sudan first, get education and health services then they can come after, but now we cannot accept them. (Nuer Jikany Man, Palouge)

It [campaigning by non-SPLM Southern parties] is okay, unless the channel through the government is not followed. (Dinka Ciec Man, Nyang, Yirol East County)

If they [non-SPLM parties] are selected by the Southern Sudan government for that mission and we know who they are, they can come [to the area]. (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil)

Many participants oppose any campaigning by NCP in their areas, even if done by Southern NCP representatives. This objection stems in part from past deeds and treatment that participants attribute to the NCP. There is also significant concern about the NCP's ability to bribe voters and thereby alter the outcome of the election. In just over a quarter of the groups, participants indicate they are open to NCP campaigning in their areas. These participants tend to be from urban areas or are chiefs or elders. They say their acceptance is based on the NCP's partnership in the CPA and the right for all to campaign. Some also say an NCP representative who is a Southerner will have his people's interest at heart. A few comments indicate GoSS approval could increase the number of people willing to accept NCP campaigning in their communities.

This question is mean... Somebody who has been to Khartoum cannot ask this because we have really suffered at the hands of Arabs. Therefore, I don't need to listen to their politics. (Dinka Padang Woman, Malakal)

No way. We do not want to hear about NCP anymore... Even though that candidate from NCP is my mother. I cannot welcome her here. (Two Nuer Lek Men Group 2, Bentiu)

Not okay [for NCP to campaign], because they will bring a lot of resources to influence people to vote for them... Not okay, because they will try and bribe the locals to vote in their favor. (Two Toposa Women, Nurus, Kapoeta East County)

It [NCP campaigning in the area] is okay if they have good documents. Officials can allow them. (Dinka Rek Man, Tonj)

It is okay [for NCP to campaign in the area] because at the signing of the CPA it was SPLM and NCP that participated. They are our opponents; let them come. (Zande Woman, Yambio)

If his [the NCP candidate] aim is to work hard for South Sudan, he is welcomed. (Nuer Chief, Malakal)

There are similar negative feelings about other Northern-based parties campaigning in participants' home areas. Most opposed to it because they view all "Arabs" as responsible for past mistreatment, regardless of party. They also voice the same concerns about bribery by well-funded Northern parties. In the minds of participants, other Northern-based parties are no different from the NCP, and they see no reason to allow these parties to campaign in their communities. A minority of participants indicate other Northern-based parties are free to campaign in their areas but say they will need to know that these parties are registered by the government.

I feel unsafe for any Arab to be amongst us. We want to develop ourselves and not have Arabs among us again... There are so many skeletons in Southern Sudan because of the Arabs and now them again amongst us? No way. (Two Nuer Jikany Women, Melut)

If these parties did not do anything during the war, what can they come to campaign for now? (Shilluk Man, Malakal)

Our primary aim was to get away from the Arabs, so I do not see any reason why they should come to us... We are okay with our SPLM and do not need any Arab party. (Two Nuer Gawaar Chiefs, Ayod)

It is not okay [for Northern-based parties to campaign in the area] because we have heard they may bribe people (Dinka Rek Woman, Tonj)

I believe in democracy. Whoever has supporters in my area can come for those people (Dinka Abiliang Man, Malakal)

It is okay for them [non-NCP Northern-based parties] to come and tell us what their party plans are, and we shall choose from what is good and bad. (Kakwa Chief, Lasu, Yei County)

They [Northern-based parties] must report first to the authorities. It is like when I am going to your house, I must take permission before entering (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil)

In Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states, most participants are open to any political party campaigning in their area, including NCP, SPLM or other Northern-based parties. The exception is among Arab participants in Southern Kordofan: some are okay with the SPLM campaigning and others are not.²³ Most Ngok Dinka participants in Abyei say they will accept the presence of different political parties, although some believe precautions, such as increased security, should be taken to avoid conflict.

It's a good thing for all parties to campaign here. It is democracy. (BN Arab Man, Al Disa)

We want them [political parties] to come and campaign so we can listen to what they are going to do. (BN Funj Man, Keili)

All parties have a chance to come and compete, it is no problem for them to come [to the area]. (SK Nuba Man, Dalami)

No problem. It is the right of everybody [to campaign]. (SK Arab Misseriya Man, Kharsana, Keliak County)

²³ This finding is based on limited data.

It is not okay for SPLM to come and campaign here (SK Arab Misseriya Woman, Lagawa)

It is very good, and I hope they [political parties] come to campaign. (Dinka Ngok Man, Agok)

It does not matter which party comes [to campaign] but what each party has been doing
(Dinka Ngok Woman, Abyei)

It [campaigning by all political parties] is okay as long as it is on different days and security is strengthened.
(Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

10. Southern Sudanese participants will evaluate candidates based on their ability to bring change, resist corruption and unite Southerners. Incumbents will be judged on past performance.

Many Southern Sudanese participants say that their voting decisions will be based on the candidates' personal qualities. If the candidate is an incumbent, performance and effectiveness will be the criteria. If the candidate has not served, participants say they will assess the candidates' potential leadership qualities through speeches and information obtained from others. Another criterion important to some is political party affiliation. This appears to refer primarily to a desire to support SPLM candidates. A few participants say recommendations by traditional authorities will be the key factor for them and some women say they will follow the choice of their spouse. A very low number of participants indicate tribe will be the determining factor in their vote.²⁴ Several specific qualities are important to participants. First, candidates must demonstrate they are capable of bringing positive change to people's lives. Second, participants say will vote for candidates who are not corrupt. A third quality important to participants is the ability of a candidate to unite Southerners.

It's a candidate's qualities [that are important]. He must be someone who is known to be good and responsible and talking about the duties of the nation. (Kakwa Chief, Lasu, Yei County)

I will only vote according to capability of the candidate...My decision will depend on the candidate's previous performance, speeches and promises during the campaign. (Two Toposa Men, Kapoeta South)

The candidate I will vote for must have brought electricity and clean water and must hate corruption and tribalism and has a vision for South Sudan by building schools, hospitals and roads. (Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu)

The candidate whom I will vote for must be a member of SPLM and must have fought alongside the SPLA for our liberation from the Arabs. (Nuer Gawaar Chief, Ayod)

I will first know that the candidate is clean from any illegal cases like corruption and tribalism.
(Nuer Lek Woman, Bentiu)

I will only vote for a person who will stop corruption. (Madi Woman, Nimule)

In order to determine how incumbents will be viewed, participants were asked if they will return

²⁴ These findings are similar to those of past studies: participants prefer to judge candidates on their qualities. However, this is dependent upon a reasonable level of familiarity with candidates. In absence of that, party or tribe may be the default criterion upon which candidates are judged.

their current SSLA representative to parliament. Most participants answered in the abstract, saying they will only return people to offices who have proven they are effective leaders, worked hard and accomplished something for their constituents. It is not clear why most participants chose to answer in the abstract. One possibility is that they do not yet know enough about the performance of their SSLA representatives. Some participants also place a high value on “clean” candidates and say they will look at an incumbent’s time in office to determine if the candidate has been corrupt. Of the smaller group of participants who chose to answer the question about their actual SSLA representative, most indicate they will not return their MP back to parliament. In fact, participants in only two groups say they will return their MP versus at least one participant in thirteen groups saying they would not. The primary reasons for the dissatisfaction with SSLA representatives are a lack of demonstrable results, specifically with regard to development, and a lack of consultation with the public.

We would return them [incumbents] if they are doing okay and representing us actively, but if they have been inactive and doing nothing then we would wish to replace him or her with a more active individual.
(Dinka Ciec Man, Nyang, Yirol East County)

Let the election come, and you will hear the news. The list of the losers will be many due to their corrupt acts.
(Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

- a. **Arab participants in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile will choose candidates based on their qualities and religion. Nuba and Funj will vote based on political party affiliation. Ngok in Abyei will vote for Southerners who have good qualities.**

Most Arab participants in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan say the deciding factor for their candidate choices will be the qualities of the individual and religion. Some say they cannot vote for a non-Muslim. Most Nuba and Funj participants say their main criterion for candidates will be political party and declare their intention to vote for SPLM candidates. Some participants in Blue Nile also talk about the qualities of the candidate as a factor. Most Ngok say they will vote based on qualities and accomplishments of the candidate, as long as the candidate is a Southerner.

[I will vote] according to the political party. (SK Nuba Woman, Julud)

Religion and qualities of the candidate will mostly influence for whom we shall vote.
(SK Arab Hawazma Woman, Kadugli)

Religion, of course, it will influence me...I can't vote for someone who is not a Muslim...Islam comes first.
(Three SK Arab Misserya Men, Kharsana, Keliak County)

The religion of the candidate...The qualities of the candidate [are most important].
(Two BN Arab Women, Abu Gerin)

You vote for the party you belong to. (SK Nuba Man, Dilling)

I will decide to vote for a person who is a member of the SPLM. (BN Funj Woman, Deim Monsour)

I will vote for a person who is well-qualified. (BN Funj Woman, Chali)

I can vote for a person according to his leadership qualities: a person who puts people first and wealth last. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

[A candidate] must be a Southerner and black like us rather than somebody linked to Northerners and has some funny background and skin. (Dinka Ngok Man, Abyei)

- 11. There is near unanimous support for the election law provision to set aside 25 percent of legislative seats for women. Most participants in Southern Sudan believe that women can also serve capably at the gubernatorial level, but only some female participants say a woman should be president.**

Both male and female participants support the idea of setting aside 25 percent of the seats in the state legislative assemblies, the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly and the National Assembly for women. Women participants in Southern Sudan view the quota as an expression of their rights and as a good mechanism to have their voices heard in government. Many would like to see the percentage increased to better reflect the gender distribution in the population, although some say that the increase should come after women are more seasoned in politics. Male participants agree with the quota for a variety of reasons ranging from support for the concept of equality to the belief that women can have good leadership qualities, including being less prone to corruption. Some men also agree with women that the percentage should be increased. Three Areas participants view the 25 percent set-aside for women in the National Assembly and state legislative assemblies as appropriate and beneficial. Many feel as one male Arab participant says, “Women have a role to play.”²⁵ Women, and a few men, in the Three Areas feel the quota is too small.

Twenty-five percent for ladies should be done so that they represent us...It is good; what a man does, a woman can do. (Two Shilluk Women, Malakal)

It [the twenty-five percent quota] should be increased to fifty percent because women are the majority. (Toposa Woman, Kapoeta)

That percentage is okay to us women now because we are still new in politics. Our percentage need to be increased in the future as we shall be developing in politics. (Dinka Bor Woman, Pariaak, Bor County)

It is a good idea that women can also rule alongside men. (Nuer Gawaar Chief, Ayod)

In fact it should be increased to 50 percent, such that corruption in GoSS reduces because it is the men who are corrupted and not women. I believe women can do better than men. (Nuer Gawaar Man, Ayod)

Women have important roles to play. It [25 percent quota for women] is very good. (SK Nuba Chief, Um Durdur, Kauda County)

That [25 percent quota for women] is the best thing the government did. (SK Misseriya Woman, Um Adara, Keliak County)

It [25 percent quota for women] is very small. Women are very clever, and they should be given a little more than 25 percent. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

²⁵ Quotation is from an older Arab man in Disa, Blue Nile.

Almost all participants in Southern Sudan agree that it is good for women to occupy legislative posts at the state, SSLA and national levels, but opinion is more divided about whether it is appropriate for women to serve in higher level offices. Most women believe females have the capacity to serve at the gubernatorial level, but they are almost equally split on whether a woman could be President of Southern Sudan. Most men are comfortable with a female governor, although a significant portion have concerns about a woman's ability to handle tough problems. A woman serving as the Southern Sudan president is an idea most male participants say they cannot support. The concern of both men and women who object to a female Southern Sudan president is that the current situation is too fragile and the stakes too high to risk a female president, who would be untested in military matters, at this time. For the offices they consider appropriate for women, both male and female participants say they will have no hesitation voting for a woman in the upcoming election, though men are more likely to indicate the woman must be educated and qualified for the position she is seeking.

A woman has the right to contest as a member of the Southern Sudan parliament and every office in government. (Woman, Juba)

It is okay for women to contest for both parliaments [state and GoSS] so that they can voice their grievances...And it also promotes the rights of women. (Two Elders, Kapoeta)

It is okay [for a woman to be Governor] because women are proving to be better leaders than men. For example, when we had a man as a governor, we were frequently being attacked by LRA rebels but with the appointment of a woman, LRA attacks have been controlled...Let women try their luck even for the post of President of Sudan. (Zande Woman, Yambio)

All the offices are okay for women to run for them except for the Southern Sudan president's office because anything can happen here in Sudan, like going back to war. A woman cannot lead people through a long struggle like the two decades the SPLA fought the war with Arabs. (Dinka Bor Woman, Pariaak, Bor County)

We cannot allow a woman to become a president now because the job is hard for her. We are in a war recovering period, but in the near future it would be possible... Women can rule Southern Sudan after separation. (Two Dinka Malual Chiefs, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

I can vote for her [women candidates] depending on which qualifications she has...I can vote for her if she will be better. (Two Dinka Abiliang Men, Malakal)

- a. **Nuba and Funj participants in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile say women can capably serve in any office, including president. Arab participants in those states mostly object to a woman president, and some to female governors as well.**

Most Funj and Nuba participants in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile believe that it is appropriate for women to run for any office, including president, and say they would have no problem voting for women candidates. Most Arab participants in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan support women running for state assembly or National Assembly, but in Southern Kordofan, most say they would not like to see a woman running for governor or president, and in Blue Nile most male and some female participants would object to a woman running for president. Blue Nile Arab male participants have mixed views on whether they would accept a woman candidate for governor. Both male and female Arab participants say they will have no hesitation in voting for a woman candidate for offices they consider suitable, though a few male participants note that the women must be qualified. Ngok participants in Abyei were not asked about voting for women at different levels of government, but most express no reservation about voting for female candidates.

If she is a strong woman, no doubt we will vote for her to be President of Sudan. (SK Nuba Man, Dilling)

It is good that women can run for the position of governor. (BN Funj Man, Keili)

Absolutely, we can [vote for women candidates]. Women are our mothers, sisters and wives.
(BN Funj Man, Jorot)

It's okay for a woman to be a member of either the state legislative assembly or National Assembly but not president or governor. (BN Arab Man, Abu Gerin)

A president! Are you joking? Who will accept her?...Islam does not agree.
(Two SK Misseriya Men, Kharsana, Keliak County)

It is okay for a woman to run as a candidate for all offices except President of Sudan.
(BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

Yes, I will automatically vote for a woman because they really struggled, fought and suffered with men in the war; so it is necessary they are considered. Some women even have better leadership qualities than some men.
(Dinka Ngok Older Man, Abyei)

As long as she possesses the leadership qualities desired in her; and she is able to lead us [I can vote for a woman candidate]. (Dinka Ngok Man, Abyei)

12. It is not expected, or desired, for traditional authorities to maintain neutrality in elections in Southern Sudan. Ngok agree with their Southern counterparts, but other Three Areas participants have mixed views.

Most Southern Sudanese participants do not see a need for traditional authorities to remain neutral in elections. They point to the unique role that traditional authorities play in their communities, functioning as both the eyes of the community, bringing information and knowledge back to citizens, and the liaison to government, representing the needs of citizens to a higher level. As such, most believe that it is appropriate for traditional authorities to not only openly support a political party or candidate, but also to guide the voting choices of their people. There are some participants, however, who believe neutrality would be a better course. These participants say that because traditional authorities represent all the people and in some cases act as administrators, it is better for them to be neutral. A few are also worried about potential conflict if traditional authorities choose sides.

The chiefs are the eyes of the community. They know a lot about most of the people [political candidates], so they should support parties or candidates. Otherwise, people will be deceived or messed up.
(Kakwa Woman, Wuluturu, Yei County)

It is okay for them [traditional authorities] to support a candidate openly because they are the ones in charge of civilians and know the sufferings of the civilians. They will help people choose the candidate who will help them.
(Nuer Lek Man Group 2, Bentiu)

Traditional leaders are the middle men between citizens and government, and we know which government is good for our people. So it is good to guide them. (Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

It is not okay [for traditional authorities to support a party/candidate], they are for everybody, and therefore they should be neutral. (Zande Woman, Yambio)

[Traditional authorities] should be neutral because they are for all people, and if they take one part, it will not be okay. People will divide. (Dinka Abiliang Man, Malakal)

There are mixed views in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile on whether or not traditional authorities should remain neutral during the elections. Most Southern Kordofan Nuba participants say traditional authorities should maintain neutrality. Southern Kordofan Arab participants are split on the issue – some say traditional authorities should be neutral; others see it as the duty of traditional authorities to support a candidate or party so they can lead people to make the right choice. Almost all Blue Nile Funj participants say traditional authorities should openly support a candidate or party. Blue Nile Arab participants have mixed views. Some believe it is improper for traditional authorities to influence their people, while others believe it is the duty of these authorities to lead their people to the right candidate or party. In Abyei, most Ngok participants want traditional authorities to guide their people in choosing a party or candidate.

Traditional authorities should be neutral. (SK Nuba Woman, Heiban)

Traditional authorities should be neutral, only representing the views of the people
(SK Arab Baggara Man, Um Safifa)

I think it is good for them to support [a party or candidate] because they are our leaders. They are the ones to direct us. (SK Arab Misseriya Man, Lagawa)

It is not good for traditional leaders to be neutral because they are our leaders. (BN Funj Woman, Jorot)

They should be neutral so as not to influence other people's decisions. (BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

They've got to support a party or candidate so he can direct his people how to vote. (BN Arab Man, Al Disa)

They [traditional authorities] should support parties of their choice so that they may be a guide to their people on who to vote for and in what party. (Dinka Ngok Man, Agok)

13. Most participants believe electing a National Assembly representative will provide a valuable link to Khartoum.

The idea of electing representatives to the National Assembly seems appropriate to most Southern Sudanese participants, in part because the South, though it has its own government, remains within Sudan as a whole.²⁶ In addition, they believe having representatives in Khartoum protects Southern interests and provides the South with a valuable source of information about what is happening in the North and with the central government. There is some opposition to electing National Assembly representatives from the South because of concerns about bribery and a belief that there is no longer any reason for Southerners to “mix with Arabs” since they have a government of their own.

²⁶ It is unclear whether participants understand they currently have representatives in the National Assembly, though some quotations indicate they do not.

It [electing representatives to the National Assembly] is a good idea because we are not yet separated from the Arabs. (Nuer Gawaar Woman, Muogong, Ayod County)

It is okay [to elect representatives to the National Assembly because] Khartoum is the center and being the center there are a lot of things there where we need to be represented... We need GoSS to be represented fully in Khartoum such that some of the things missing for South should not missed again.
(Two Dinka Padang Women, Malakal)

It is okay because that person [the National Assembly representative] is getting information from the Khartoum government and giving it to us in the South. (Madi Woman, Nimule)

It's not a good idea [to elect representatives to the National Assembly] because we are aiming at being away from the Arabs. He might be bribed and start stealing our oil again. (Nuer Lek Man Group 2, Bentiu)

There is nothing that should again mix us with the Arabs. So why vote for a person to go to the Arab area, yet we have a government of our own? I cannot and will not vote for a person to go to Khartoum.
(Nuer Gawaar Chief, Ayod)

Almost all participants in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile are eager to be represented in the National Assembly.²⁷

We are waiting for that [electing a representative in the National Assembly] to happen.
(SK Nuba Man, Dalami)

We must have our representative in the National Assembly. (SK Arab Man, Um Safifa)

That is what we need: elect one person to represent us in the National Assembly in Khartoum.
(BN Funj Woman, Chali)

It is good. Let them [National Assembly member] represent us. (BN Arab Woman, Abu Gerin)

14. The potential for conflict and a rigged vote are participants' major concerns about the election. There is no agreement on what type of conflict risk – North-South, South-South or both – the election poses.

Conflict in varying forms is the biggest election concern for Southern Sudanese participants. Some fear a conflict with the North, both if a Southerner wins the national presidential election – in which case it will be started by the North – and if a Southerner loses the national presidential election – in which case it will be started by the South. Others fear conflict could erupt among the Southern candidates and their supporters. Another major concern voiced by participants is that the election will be rigged. They talk about cheating both as the North stealing the election and more generically as being practiced by candidates and parties of all stripes. Although a large number of participants express their concerns about conflict and cheating, a similar number say they have no fear or concerns about the elections at all. This group says they have faith in God and government and declare their readiness to confront any problems. Nothing, they say, will make them fearful of completing that task.

²⁷ Ngok participants in Abyei were not asked their opinion about having a representative in the National Assembly.

If the election results favor the North, then there will be war and if we Southerners win the election, then I don't know what will happen to them [the North] and maybe they can fight. (Dinka Rek Man, Tonj)

People will have competition for power; leading to more division among people of the same area and other conflicts. (Dinka Ciec Man, Nyang, Yirol East County)

What I am worried about is that most people, especially the political parties, may try to bribe which is bad. They can even cheat and this can spoil the elections. (Man, Juba)

My fear is that Northerners might rig the elections. (Moru Man, Yambio)

We have no fear. We are ready for the elections. (Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

I have no concerns or fears at all because I am 100 percent eager to vote for my favorite candidate (Nuer Gawaar Woman, Muogong, Ayod County)

In the Three Areas, some participants say they have no concerns about the election, but others believe the elections could be a catalyst for conflict. Because of past conflict in the territory, Ngok participants are especially worried about the possibility of conflict in Abyei during the announcement of results. If the SPLM wins, the Ngok participants say the Misseriya will likely start fighting, and if the NCP wins and claims Abyei, the Ngok say they will have no choice but to take up arms. There is also a concern among some Ngok participants that the election will upset the already fragile NCP-SPLM partnership in the Abyei Administration.

There are no fears [related to the election] because all the people are ready. (SK Nuba Woman, Kadugli)

I am afraid of insecurity...I think the parties will cause conflict. (Two SK Arab Women, Lagawa)

There is fear because we believe the election is going to cause violence between the two governments. (BN Funj Woman, Jorot)

Conflict may occur if the results are not as expected. (BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

There will be conflict if Arabs corrupt the voting and then claim Abyei to be part of the North. Then, we will fight. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

I predict the cooperation weakening between the SPLM and NCP [in the Abyei Administration] since each will be trying to grab a chance to remove the opposing party, and so the two parties will stand on different terms of interest, bringing more hatred. (Dinka Ngok Man, Abyei)

There is no agreement among participants about what type of conflict is mostly likely to occur if the election were to spark renewed fighting. Southern Sudanese participants are almost equally divided between those who say the conflict would be a North-South one, those who say it would be South-South and those who say it would be both. Those in the North-South camp believe the election is mostly about the office of president, so if there is conflict it will be over that issue. Those who think the conflict will be of South-South origin offer two reasons. Some say Southern Sudanese tribes will clash over the results of the various elections; others say Arabs will bribe Southerners to go against each other as in the past. Those who envision an all-encompassing conflict say it will be the result of an unwillingness to accept defeat at all levels.

It will be a conflict between North and South because Southerners will claim that the president must be from the South and the North will not accept. (Man, Wau)

I think it will be a North-South conflict because each region wants the presidential seat. The Arabs don't want to lose it, and the Southerners will not accept a loss. (Nuer Gawaar Chief, Ayod)

Tribal conflicts will come in when people support their own tribemate even at the state level and county level where there are many tribes. (Murle Man, Bor)

[The election will cause conflict] between the South themselves...Arabs use the Southerners to fight themselves...Between the Southerners since they are used as tools. (Three Dinka Rek Women, Tonj)

It will be between all Sudanese because the Arabs will fight us if we win and again we will fight ourselves since every tribe wants the president to come from them. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Melut)

Ngok participants believe even if an election-related conflict begins as a smaller Ngok Dinka-Misseriya conflict in Abyei, it will inevitably spread to a larger North-South conflict because the NCP will support the Misseriya and the SPLM will support the Ngok.²⁸

Any fighting that starts here in Abyei is first started between Ngok and Misseriya then in the process, NCP supports the Misseriya and the thing spreads so it involves both North and South.
(Dinka Ngok Woman, Abyei)

Everything here starts between Ngok and Misseriya and when Misseriya are defeated then SAF intervenes, therefore forcing the SPLA to also come in and it becomes a North-South conflict.
(Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

- 15. Southern Sudanese participants' strong desire to have the international community involved in the election is driven by a belief that it can reduce cheating, prevent conflict and provide a truthful assessment of the election results. However, most participants are opposed to international Arab and Muslim election observers on the grounds that they will be biased.**

Southern Sudanese participants are nearly unanimous in their desire to have the international community involved in the election. They believe the international community will be able to improve security and reduce cheating through close monitoring of the election process. More importantly, however, participants view the international community as a neutral witness that can speak honestly about the election results. Because of the positive feelings they have about the CPA, some participants suggest only those countries who participated in the peace process should be involved in the election.

[The international community] should be involved to reduce cases of cheating. They should be there as active and trusted internationals. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

²⁸ There was not enough data to draw a conclusion about participants' views of potential types of conflict in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan.

Okay for them [international community] to be there because I am afraid without them we shall fight ourselves. They should provide security and must be the ones to count the votes. (Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu)

It is okay that they [international community] will come in order to tell who won the elections and must make sure that elections are done fairly and peacefully by providing security and telling who has won the elections fairly. (Nuer Gawaar Chief, Ayod)

It is a good idea for them [the international community] to come because I believe they will not favor one side or the other. They will talk the truth. (Nuer Jikany Man, Melut)

They [international community] need to be involved to act as an independent group...It [the election] will not succeed if we don't involve the international community so that the election reflects the rights of the majority. (Dinka Padang Woman, Malakal)

Yes, the international community should be involved but not the international community [as a whole]. Only those who participated in the achievement of the CPA. There are the likes of America, Britain, Norway, Kenya and others. (Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

Most Southern Sudanese participants are opposed to having Arab and Muslim election observers as part of an international monitoring group. They say shared language, ethnicity and/or religion will bias the judgment of these observers in favor of the NCP and Omar Bashir. Some participants feel differently. They say if the Arab or Muslim observers are part of an international body or sanctioned by the government, then they would accept them out of a sense of fairness.

An Arab is always an Arab. They will favor Omar and will work hard to rig the election. (Nuer Jikany Man, Melut)

No, it is not okay because all Arabs are the same. Whether the Arab is from Egypt, Saudia Arabia, United Arab Emirates, Iraq or other countries, they are all the same...All fish have the same smell whether from lakes or rivers and this is the same thing with Arabs. It is not okay to have them as observers. (Two Zande Women, Yambio)

Muslims should not be there because they will favor Omar to win the elections. (Nuer Lek Younger Woman, Bentiu)

Although you are black and a Muslim, it is just skin color. Your heart has already joined the Arabs' faith, and you will always support them. So I don't think it is a good idea for Muslims to be there [as observers]. (Nuer Lek Man Group 2, Bentiu)

For me, there is no problem with that [Arab observers]. They will be accepted to come and monitor as an international body, provided they do not take sides. (Madi Man, Nimule)

It's [Arabs as observers] okay so that they can come and witness for themselves...They can give feedback to the Arab world...They can witness our victory. (Three Toposa Women, Kapoeta)

It [choosing international observers] is the government's work. If the government agreed, then nobody will be opposed down here (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil)

- a. Nuba, Funj and Ngok participants want the international community to be involved in the elections. Most Arab participants are opposed.

In Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, most Nuba and Funj participants believe an international community presence reduces the likelihood of conflict and cheating. Most Arab participants in those states are opposed to international community involvement in the elections because they believe it will be biased or will cause problems. However, there are a significant minority of Arab participants who indicate an international presence will be accepted. All Ngok participants in Abyei want the international community to be involved in the elections for the same reason as Nuba and Funj.

International monitors must be involved. (SK Nuba Chief, Um Durdur, Kauda County)

It will be good for them to be involved because they will help us to restore order if conflict arises. (SK Nuba Woman, Heiban)

We want the international community to make sure the coming elections are without any cheating (BN Funj Woman, Kurmuk)

We should fear the western countries because they might sympathize with the South more than the North. (SK Arab Hawazma Man, Kadugli)

Those coming from outside will cause problems. (BN Arab Woman, Abu Gerin)

We don't have any objection [to international observers]. If they are going to administer the elections legally, then that is okay. (SK Arab Misseriya Man, Lagawa)

They [international community] should come to monitor and observe the process of the election, since there is a chance of conflict regarding the results of the election. (Dinka Ngok Older Man, Abyei)

They [international community] should watch the vote so people don't cheat. (Dinka Ngok Man, Agok)

16. There is a high likelihood of cheating, mostly perpetrated by the NCP, in the election, according to Southern Sudanese participants. Bribes will be accepted, but most say they will maintain allegiance to their original choice.

Southern Sudanese participants believe the likelihood of cheating in the upcoming election is high. They say that bribes will be common, that cheating always happens in elections and that cheating is the natural result of everyone wanting to win. Participants also think cheating will be more likely if there are no election monitors. "Arabs" and the NCP are identified as the most likely perpetrators of cheating in the election, and bribery is thought to be its most likely form. However, some participants also point a finger at those in power in the South, saying these officials will engage in bribery as well. In addition to voter bribery, some participants are concerned about the possibility that the electoral commission could be bribed, or intimidated, to change the true outcome of the election. Another form of cheating that worries some is mischief with the ballot papers or the alteration of the vote count.

[Cheating is] very likely because elections always come with cheating (Younger Woman, Yirol)

For sure, cheating will be very likely. People want to maintain their offices because they are used to stealing money. Now they won't want to lose their seats, and they will cheat to keep them.

(Nuer Jikany Woman, Melut)

Even in local elections, it [cheating] has always been there, and for this case it is very likely because Arabs want the seat, and we also want the seat. Everyone will work hard to take that seat. (Nuer Jikany Man, Palouge)

If the elections are closely monitored, there will be less cheating..If nobody monitors, the cheating will be very likely. Cheating is obvious in an election. (Two Zande Women, Yambio)

If there will be no observers, it will be very likely. Even me, I will vote twice for a Southerner.
(Nuer Lek Woman, Bentiu)

[Cheating is] very likely because Omar will make sure that any way possible of getting the seat is made use of.
(Dinka Bor Woman, Pariaak, Bor County)

We all know that the Arabs will never accept defeat, and in this case they will bribe those counting the votes to give them more votes. (Nuer Gawaar Woman, Muogong, Ayod County)

It [cheating] will be done by the NCP. They will either bribe or steal the votes from boxes or even add more votes during counting (Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

The electoral commission will be given money to cheat by the president [Bashir] because he does not want to lose his position...People in big offices will do the cheating by threatening the life of the electoral commission.
(Two Madi Women, Nimule)

Most participants believe that voters will accept bribes that are offered to them.²⁹ Some participants even admit they personally will take bribes if offered. Many say the issue of bribes is an economic one: they and others simply could not afford to turn down bribes. However, there is also belief among some that any money used for bribery by the NCP is a result of stolen revenues from Southern natural resources. Thus, these participants consider the bribes their rightful property. When asked if the bribes would affect how people vote, most participants say it will not. They believe people will accept the bribes but still vote for whom they wish. A smaller number of participants think some would be too ignorant to understand they could make a different choice or the bribe would make the voter think well of the briber.

They will accept [bribes] because currently there is a belief that the money used to bribe during campaigns is an accumulation of corrupted resources from the past governments. (Toposa Woman, Kapoeta)

I will take the money and vote for the freedom of our children because this money comes from the blood of our children, which is oil. (Dinka Bor Woman, Pariaak, Bor County)

People will automatically accept, but many will hold to their original vision of SPLM.
(Dinka Ciec Man, Nyang, Yirol East County)

For my case, I can kill two birds with one stone: take the money and vote for the party of my choice.
(Dinka Abiliang Man, Malakal)

It depends on the awareness of the bribed individuals. If he knows what to do, it cannot change his vote for his candidates, but for the unaware locals, they will vote for the person who bribed them.

²⁹ Bribes are mostly spoken of as money and food, but a few participants mention beer and tobacco as well.

(Nuer Jikany Man, Melut)

They will obviously vote in favor of the bribes because they will consider him or her as a good person who has brought food and will also hope to get more next time. (Toposa Woman, Narus, Kapoeta East County)

- a. **Nuba, Funj and Ngok participants say there will be cheating in the election, mainly by the NCP. Arab participants in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile have mixed views on whether cheating will occur but see all parties and candidates as the likely culprits.**

Most Nuba and Funj participants in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile believe it is likely that cheating will occur in the election. If cheating occurs, it will be perpetrated mostly by the NCP and Arabs, according to these participants. Some Nuba participants also believe that parties and candidates in general, not just the NCP, will be cheating. There is no consensus among Arab participants in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile about whether there will be cheating in the election. If cheating occurs, Arab participants say it will come from parties and candidates in general, though one group believes it is the SPLM who will engage in cheating. In Abyei, Ngok participants indicate cheating is likely because the stakes are high in Abyei, and both sides want to win. The type of cheating most likely, they say, will be NCP efforts to bribe voters and election officials.

There will be too much cheating (SK Nuba Man, Dalami)

Very likely [that cheating will occur in the elections], and this cheating will occur specifically from the National Congress Party. (BN Funj Woman, Kurmuk)

If there is no international monitoring it will be from all parties. (SK Nuba Man, Dilling)

[Cheating in the elections is] very likely. The Nuba have closed areas where no Arabs or someone from the government side will be present during registering and voting
(SK Arab Misseriya Man, Kharsana, Keliak County)

[Cheating in the elections] is not at all likely... the people in the department of statistics have the exact number of the population of the areas, so they will find out. (SK Arab Baggara Man, Um Safifa)

[Cheating] is likely, especially in Abyei where Misseriya are few and would want to win Abyei for the North. They will do all things, even stealing to try to make Abyei a Northern town. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Abyei)

[Cheating is] very likely, and it will be from the NCP bribing our people to vote for them in the election.
(Dinka Ngok Older Man, Abyei)

Nuba and Funj participants in Southern Kordofan have mixed views on whether people are likely to accept bribes to vote. Most of these participants are convinced, however, people will vote as they wish, even if they accept bribes. Most Arab participants in Southern Kordofan expect people to accept bribes if offered, though they also believe people will still vote their true choice. In Blue Nile, most Arab participants think voters will reject any bribes. In Abyei, Ngok participants say there are at least some people who will accept bribes, although there are also those who reject any NCP bribery attempts. Most agree that, even if some people in their community accept bribes, they will still vote the candidate of their choice.

Some people will accept the bribes because the financial situation is poor. (SK Nuba Man, Dalami)

If bribes are offered during the election time, we will reject the bribes. (BN Funj Man, Jorot)

[After a bribe] I will still vote for who I really support. (SK Nuba Woman, Julud)

I will accept the bribe and put it in my pocket. Then I will go and put my paper in the place I want to vote
(BN Funj Woman, Deim Monsour)

Based on the current financial situation, people will easily accept it [a bribe].
(SK Arab Misseriya Man, Lagawa)

You accept the bribe and vote for who you support. (SK Arab Hawazma Man, Kadugli)

No one will accept to be bribed. (BN Arab Man, Al Disa)

The issue depends on personal integrity. There are those who will accept it [a bribe], and there are those who will reject it. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Abyei)

For me, I can accept bribes and still vote for whom I want. When the person who gave me the bribe says something I can take him to police. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

17. There are high expectations for the election to bring change, especially in development, and thus many express frustration when asked for their reaction to a possible postponement. Postponement also raises fears the referendum will be delayed.

Many Southern Sudanese participants believe they will see significant changes after the election. They expect a consolidation of democracy, a reduction in corruption, peace and unity among Southerners and most of all increased development. Much of the reason for the optimistic outlook is based on a belief civilians will be able to choose leaders who are more in touch with and responsive to citizen concerns. Some participants indicate, however, they expect changes because a Southerner will win (or only *if* a Southerner wins) the national election. Any postponement of the election causes concern because participants are anxious for change and because it raises questions about postponement of the referendum. Some also believe any postponement would be the fault of NCP and would indicate a plot by Khartoum to “steal resources” or delay the CPA. It is important to note, however, that citizens generally have limited knowledge of the specific timing of the election, and so it is not known what length of postponement may be acceptable and what may not.

The election will bring about reduction of nepotism and tribalism, but above all it will entrench democracy.
(Toposa Elder, Kapoeta)

I believe our nation will be peaceful and develop just like Khartoum [after the election]. We shall have elected a president by civilians. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Melut)

The change that is expected [from the election] is development, and the majority-elected person will reduce things like corruption and unite people as blacks to be ready for 2011 referendum. (Dinka Rek Woman, Tonj)

We believe the new [elected] leaders will abolish corruption completely. (Nuer Chief, Malakal)

There is no doubt that some changes will be noted if the results of the forthcoming election favors the South more than North. More progress and developmental changes will be observed. (Dinka Malual Woman, Aweil)

- a. **Both Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile participants believe the election will bring change. Those in Southern Korofan would view any postponement negatively, but most Blue Nile participants would not. Ngok Dinka in Abeyi have mixed views.**

Most Southern Kordofan participants expect the election to bring change to the state, primarily through an increase in development. However, some Nuba participants express cynicism by saying nothing will change after the election. Postponement of the election would be disappointing to most in Southern Kordofan because they are ready for change, although some Nuba indicate they would accept a postponement if they understood the reasons for it. Blue Nile participants agree that the election will bring important changes, such as development. Arab participants have no concern about election postponements, and most Funj participants feel a postponement will give them time to better prepare. Some Funj, however, say they will be upset by any postponement because it means the CPA is not being implemented. Ngok participants in Abyei have mixed views on any postponement of the election.³⁰ Some say postponement is not a problem because it gives them time to better prepare and bring more Ngok from Khartoum. Others believe delays in the election will create more problems and will perpetuate their unresolved status. As with Southern Sudanese participants, it is important to note that participants in the Three Areas have limited knowledge of the timing of the election, and so it is not known what length of postponement may be acceptable and what may not.

I am expecting development and equality between the two parties [after the election]. (SK Nuba Man, Dalami)

I do not see any change being brought by the election. (SK Nuba Man, Kadugli)

It [the election] will bring stability and development... Educational standards will improve
(SK Arab Misseriya Woman, Lagawa)

The election will bring great change, like development in the country. (BN Funj Woman, Kurmuk)

There'll be improvement in medical and educational services and roads [after the election].
(BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

If the reasons for postponement are convincing there is no problem.
(SK Nuba Chief, Um Durdur, Kauda County)

It [postponement of the elections] will be very bad because people are anxious to change the present situation. We want change. If it is postponed for another year, it will be misery. (SK Nuba Man, Dilling)

We want it [the election] to be before 2011. (SK Arab Misseriya Man, Lagawa)

It is okay for the election to be postponed so that people are ready to vote for the coming election.
(BN Funj Man, Deim Monsour)

³⁰ There was not enough data to conclude what changes the Ngok participants expect the election to bring.

There will be a great reaction if the election is postponed... We will go back and take guns and fight because there is no implementation [of the CPA]. (Two BN Funj Men, Keili)

What we want is everyone's participation, and if postponing [the election] means that, then it is okay.
(Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

That move [postponement] will press more problems on the people of Abyei since the fate of our future is bleak. We prefer now to later. (Dinka Ngok Man, Agok)

18. Discontent in Southern Sudan has increased since 2007 due to frustration with spotty development, concern about greater insecurity, salary delays, tribalism and corruption.

Attitudes have darkened in Southern Sudan since NDI's 2007 study³¹ of citizen opinion, in which most Southern participants were slightly positive about the region's progress. In contrast, participants in this study have mostly negative views about what they see transpiring in their communities. For those in relatively secure areas, lack of development is the primary reason for their discontent. Participants say they appreciate some things about life in Southern Sudan today, like peace and freedom of speech and movement, but that without development it means little. Basics, such as clean water, schools, hospitals and roads, are lacking, and participants see few signs that these necessities are on the horizon. Some feel like the GoSS has not seriously pursued development at the local level, and their pleas for help have been ignored. This is reflected in the comment of one participant who says, "The government is very far from civilians."³² In some areas of Southern Sudan, the more pressing concern is security. The form of insecurity differs by location, but most participants talk of inter- and intra-tribal conflict and the problem of small arms proliferation. Urban participants also worry about crime.

On developmental issues, things are going in the wrong direction due to delay in government programs. For example, we need hospitals, schools, etc. (Toposa Man, Kapoeta)

Since the signing of CPA, there is now freedom of movement even at night, but generally things are going in the wrong direction because there is no development, no roads and no schools. (Nuer Jikany Man, Melut)

Things are going in the wrong direction because the government does not listen to the civilians' cries. We cried for clean water, roads and hospitals and no one has ever said a word from the government.
(Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu)

Wrong direction because... death is still common because of internal tribal fighting
(Dinka Rek Woman, Tonj)

Things are going in wrong direction because our cows are taken by Murle and Nuer. We can't say things are in a right direction when our cows are raided by other communities. (Dinka Bor Woman, Pariaak, Bor County)

For sure things are really going in the wrong direction, because there are others killing the civilians on the road but the government is quiet about it. Peace is not widely felt in the South. (Nuer Gawaar Man, Ayod)

³¹ Traci D. Cook, *A Place to Call Their Own: Southern Sudanese Comment on the Hard Work and Struggles of Self-Governance*, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, September 2007.

³² Quotation is from a younger man in Tonj.

We here in Yambio are just surviving. We don't live well because of LRA. They have surrounded us along the DRC border, and we are here like prisoners locked up. (Zande Woman, Yambio)

Less important but also contributing to the dissatisfaction of some participants are three other issues: delay in the payment of public sector salaries, tribalism and nepotism in government and the civil service and corruption. The frequent and long delays in salaries for public servants and soldiers disrupt life in a way that is felt strongly at the local level. Without pay, teachers and health workers go on strike, and soldiers nearby are more likely to use their guns for untoward purposes. Participants say they feel excluded from their own government because employment in the civil service is tainted by tribalism, where one tribe dominates key positions,³³ and nepotism, where getting a job is only possible through relatives. Government corruption is detested because of the adverse impact participants believe it has on local development projects. Unemployment is another major reason why urban participants believe Southern Sudan is headed in the wrong direction.

Things are in the wrong direction because, though we now have schools and teachers sometimes teaching us, there is always a time when they feel frustrated because of their salaries and discontinue the lessons. . . The so-called freedom fighters, soldiers, do not even get their monthly salaries, making things go in the wrong direction. (Two Younger Women, Yirol)

Everything is going in the wrong direction, and it's the government messing up everything. There is no good work now from government officials; they are just seated in Juba corrupting money, practicing tribalism and nepotism. That's why there are no schools and hospitals. (Nuer Chief, Malakal)

Wrong direction because there is rampant corruption in the government systems, and citizens are basically neglected. (Toposa Elder, Kapoeta)

Although one is educated, you will never find a job unless you have a relative in that sector. (Nuer Lek Man Group 2, Bentiu)

A small group of participants, in about one-fifth of the groups, report they are happy with the progress made in Southern Sudan thus far. These participants tend to reside in more urban areas, and more specifically, all note improvements in development and/or security.

Things are really changing fast and are taking the right trend because there is no more war, and we now have schools and hospitals. (Nuer Gawaar Woman, Muogong, Ayod County)

To my surprise, it [Southern Sudan] is already heading in the right direction because the roads have now improved a lot. (Dinka Malual Woman, Aweil)

We now have peace, and there is development in terms of roads under construction. And children have access to education, which shows that things are getting better and better. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Malakal)

[Southern Sudan is moving in the] right direction because at least now we have some level of stability in terms of security. (Toposa Younger Man, Kapoeta)

³³ No one tribe is accused of practicing tribalism exclusively. Indeed, which tribe dominates any particular office, according to participants, is usually determined by which is the majority in the area or by who is the head person in a government office.

- a. **In the Three Areas, Nuba and Funj participants are dissatisfied with the direction of their states. Arab participants in Southern Kordofan have mixed views, but those in Blue Nile are generally positive.**

In Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, Nuba and Funj participants are mostly negative about the direction in which their states are headed. Both groups are frustrated with the lack of development since the CPA, and Nuba in Southern Kordofan worry about growing insecurity. Arab participants in Southern Kordofan have mixed views on the current situation, with some reporting improvements and others having a more negative outlook. In Blue Nile, Arab participants are mostly happy with the direction of the state, though some note they want to see more development.³⁴

The situation is very bad. There's nothing tangible seen: no development, we are not seeing peace, no drinking water; no education, no health services. We are just suffering
(SK Nuba Chief, Um Durdur, Kauda County)

The citizens are supposed to be provided with all the necessary services like roads, water and health but nothing is done now. Security is very poor. This is due to the absence of government and laws. (SK Nuba Man, Dilling)

Things are not going in a right direction because since the signing of the CPA there is nothing we have seen like development. (BN Funj Man, Deim Monsour)

The development situation is staying the same because there are no roads, and we need water.
(SK Arab Hawama Woman, Kadugli)

Security-wise, it is okay because very few Nuba are living here, and they are friendly and we are inter-married.
(SK Misseriya Woman, Um Adara, Keliak County)

In our region, peace was signed but things are not good. If a nomad goes a little distance from the others, he will face problems. His cattle will be raided, and he will be beaten up. (SK Arab Hawazma Man, Kadugli)

Things are fine, but we need doctors and schools. But generally, things are going in the right direction. (BN Arab Woman, Al Disa)

19. CPA implementation does not meet the expectations of participants, and opinions are mixed about the CPA's chances of survival.

Most Southern Sudanese participants rate implementation of the CPA as only fair or poor. They say the CPA was a promise not only of peace but also of development, and without fulfillment of that promise, they deem implementation to be failing. Participants also have a broader interpretation of peace than just a cessation of hostilities between North and South. They believe that peace as promised in the CPA means an end to insecurity, regardless of its cause.

The implementation of the CPA is poor because the promises made are not implemented. We do not have hospitals, schools and roads. There are people grabbing our cattle at night, and they kill us when we resist surrendering our cattle, and the government is quiet about the issue. (Nuer Gawaar Chief, Ayod)

³⁴ Ngok Dinka participants in Abyei were not asked about the direction of that territory.

[CPA implementation is fair] because we now have peace but in reality what was signed in it is not put into practice. We are lacking roads, schools, and hospitals. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Malakal)

The CPA is fair but is not being experienced totally...Peace was only written on white papers. Nothing at all was done. No development, no total peace. Security is not well brought. (Two Nuer Jikany Men, Melut)

[Implementation of the CPA is] poor because the peace signed in 2005 does not prevail in our state Western Equatoria. We have frequent attacks from LRA, Ambororo and Dinkas...It [CPA implementation] is not going the way they told us. Insecurity still prevails in our state. (Two Zande Women, Yambio)

[CPA implementation is] fair because the rate of robbing is not yet died out and insecurity among ourselves is high. (Dinka Rek Man, Tonj)

For some, dissatisfaction with CPA implementation is more about specific protocols or provisions of the agreement that have been ignored or violated. In particular, there is a perception that the South is not receiving its fair share of oil revenue as prescribed in the wealth-sharing protocol, that the issue of Abyei is taking too long to resolve³⁵ and that border demarcation is being ignored. To a lesser degree, nepotism and corruption also color attitudes about CPA implementation. Those who cite these issues are disappointed the CPA has not resulted in an efficient and effective government.

Implementation of the CPA is fair. The NCP is taking too long to implement some parts of the CPA, like the Abyei protocol. Sharing of oil resources is unfair and, in fact, NCP is trying to change the context of CPA. (Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

Implementation of the CPA is fair because the Abyei conflict is not resolved and border demarcation is not agreed. (Dinka Ciec Man, Nyang, Yirol East County)

It's poor because most things or terms that were agreed upon in the CPA are not properly accomplished. For instance, sharing of wealth is not done as it is stipulated in CPA. (Toposa Younger Man, Kapoeta)

CPA implementation is going on poorly because of too much nepotism...Corruption is also rampant and that's why people don't get their salaries on time. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Melut)

Participants in about one-third of the Southern Sudan groups have more positive feelings about CPA implementation, generally rating it as 'good.' These participants say they are pleased with the CPA for the peace and freedoms, specifically freedom of speech and movement, it has brought. Some also cite improvements in services and security. For others, the greatest achievement of the CPA thus far is the establishment of their own government.

[CPA implementation is] excellent because we have now so far spent quite a number of years without any fighting with Arabs, thus making our living standard progress well. (Younger Woman, Yirol)

[CPA implementation is good] because there is free movement of people from one area or state to another, which was not possible in the past and this can all be attributed to the peace brought by CPA. (Toposa Woman, Narus, Kapoeta East County)

³⁵ On July 22, 2009, the Permanent Court of Arbitration in The Hague issued a ruling concerning the delimitation of the Abyei Area. Both the NCP and the SPLM have stated they will accept the Court's ruling.

The implementation of the CPA is good because there are no more gun shots now, and we have our own government. (Nuer Lek Younger Woman, Bentiu)

CPA implementation is good because we have witnessed most of our priorities, such as development of infrastructure and peace amidst us. (Nuer Gawaar Woman, Muogong, Ayod County)

In Southern Kordofan, men tend to say implementation is poor, while women are somewhat more positive. Most men, both Arab and Nuba, decry the lack of development and security, while most women, though troubled by those issues, are more appreciative of the CPA's role in bringing peace. Most of the Funj participants in Blue Nile say implementation of the CPA is poor because of lack of development. Arab participants in that state are mostly positive about CPA implementation because of improved security.³⁶

There is nothing in the CPA. Every year if the president or his vice comes he first gives promises, but they do nothing. Electricity comes on monthly basis; education is poor... The CPA is just an advertisement. There is no security, and all are armed. (Two SK Nuba Men, Kadugli)

This agreement brought nothing to us, no services... There is weakness from the government. Every person is serving his people according to their needs. But there is no government for all, nor is there a government which can bring development to the people. (Two SK Arab Misseriya Men, Lagawa)

It is not bad... The CPA made most of the places stable. (SK Arab Baggara Woman, Um Safifa)

Concerning the CPA, it's good. The ceasefire made us able to sleep in our homes peacefully without fear. (SK Nuba Woman, Julud)

The implementation of the CPA is absolutely poor because the people of Blue Nile still have no electricity and no good roads. (BN Funj Man, Jorot)

It [implementation of the CPA] is good because there is no more war. Things are stable and there is security. (BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

As in the 2007 study, there is no consensus among Southern Sudanese participants on whether the CPA will survive until the 2011 referendum. Those who believe the agreement will last speak of the determination of both the GoSS and Southerners to see it through, regardless of the obstacles in its path. Some also believe the existence of GoSS, the force of the SPLA and the agreement's international witnesses give the CPA strength past agreements did not have. Participants who are skeptical of the CPA's prospects focus on unresolved issues, such as border demarcation and Abyei, and on problems within Southern Sudan, such as insecurity, underdevelopment and corruption. Some find it hard to believe the CPA can hold until 2011 when they see such little progress toward resolving these issues.

The CPA will reach 2011. Nobody in the two parties wants to be the victims of war again. (Dinka Abiliang Man, Malakal)

The CPA will hold until 2011 regardless of hard situations like what happened in Abyei and other insecurity situations. The SPLM will still abide by the CPA. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

³⁶ Ngok Dinka participants in Abyei were not asked about CPA implementation.

It will last because the CPA was signed permanently by the government, and now we Southern Sudanese have a government and a government is not anything that is easy to be broken up by any irrelevant issues. (Man, Juba)

Yes [the CPA will hold] because it is guided by international bodies and the two parties that signed it. That is to say, SPLM and NCP agreed on a specific time period. (Toposa Elder, Kapoeta)

There's nothing that will stop this peace I believe because from the time of Anyanya One, no step has ever been taken like this step. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Melut)

It [the CPA] is very difficult to reach [2011] because the most important sections are not done. . . It is not possible to do elections. . . I'm sure it will not reach because borders are not clear. (Three Shilluk Men, Malakal)

No [CPA will not hold] because of the Abyei problem, and also the government has not yet implemented the issue of the border demarcation, and it is very crucial towards peace attainment. (Toposa Woman, Kapoeta)

I doubt whether it [the CPA] will reach [2011]. What makes government good is when it serves its people and makes them aware of the issues of governance, but now look at us, we are lacking peace, clean water and all basic needs. (Nuer Lek Man Group 2, Bentiu)

I don't think it will hold till 2011 because of tribalism and corruption. . . I do not believe it will hold till 2011 because its contents like development and general security are not improved. (Two Nuer Jikany Men, Palouge)

Both Arab and Nuba participants in Southern Kordofan have mixed feelings about whether the CPA will last until 2011. Some believe the lack of development and security are signs the agreement is destined for failure, but others have more faith. Most participants in Blue Nile give the CPA a greater chance of survival, believing that stable security and signs of development are enough to ensure it will hold until 2011.

It [the CPA] will not hold because until now there is no security, people are still being killed there is robbery. . . We don't have peace here; we don't have services here (Two SK Nuba Chiefs, Um Durdur, Kauda County)

No, [the CPA will not hold]. A war will evolve, and there will be destruction. (SK Arab Misseriya Man, Lagawa)

They will solve any problems [with the CPA]. (SK Misseriya Man, Kharsana, Keliak County)

I think it [the CPA] will last because road construction has taken place in some of the areas, especially in Kurmuk town. (BN Funj Man, Keili)

It [the CPA] will hold because the situation is better now. (BN Arab Woman, Al Disa)

20. Most Southern Sudanese participants acknowledge development gains, but they remain unsatisfied with the scale of GoSS development activities.

The development situation in Southern Sudan is improving, according to most participants. This is the first time that a majority of participants in any NDI study in Southern Sudan have noted

improvement in development.³⁷ Road construction appears to be a major reason for this change in perception. Increased construction or improvement of schools and health clinics is also a factor. However, this finding is seemingly incongruous with participants' overall dissatisfaction with the direction of Southern Sudan and CPA implementation, in part due to the slow pace of development. One explanation may be that some of the gains participants talk about, such as the construction of permanent homes with iron-sheet roofing, the expansion of markets and local development projects, are credited to non-governmental actors, such individuals, communities, churches or NGOs, rather than the GoSS. As one participant from Malakal puts it, "Development is improving on an individual basis but not in what the government is doing for the people."³⁸ In addition, development is in the eye of the beholder. In just under one-third of the discussion groups, participants indicate they believe there has been no positive change in development, even though other groups held in some of the same locations talk of development progress. There is no discernible ethnic pattern to participant responses: some Dinkas, Nuers and members of smaller tribes, including those in Equatoria, think development has improved and others of those same tribes do not. What is clear, however, is that the scale of development activities undertaken in Southern Sudan thus far remains unsatisfactory to most.

Participants' development priorities have remained consistent since NDI began its studies in 2004. Education and health top the list, with road construction and, in some places, clean water noted as important secondary concerns.

It [the development situation] is improving as we can see roads under construction. . . We did not have banks before and houses built of iron sheets, but we have them now. . . We now have schools constructed of concrete and children go to school in the rainy season. (Three Nuer Lek Women, Bentiu)

It [the development situation] is improving Roads have been constructed, and we have hospitals, schools and some permanent buildings built of iron sheets and concrete (Nuer Gawaar Man, Ayod)

It [the development situation] has improved. Though the rate of development is very low, this is a step forward. (Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

When you look at the private sector, I can say we are realizing at a slow pace, things are changing..But when you look at the government side, there are no tangible things seen on the ground done by the government. (Madi Man, Nimule)

Development is completely not there. We have no roads and schools and hospitals. (Nuer Jikany Man, Melut)

The development situation is still the same because I can't see any development on the side of the government. The offices or structures here are built by private individuals. (Toposa Man, Kapoeta)

- a. **Most participants in the Three Areas believe there has been little improvement in development, though some Arab participants say progress has been made.**³⁹

In contrast to participants in Southern Sudan, most in Southern Kordofan say they have seen little or no development.⁴⁰ Those who note some progress tend to attribute it to non-governmental sources.

³⁷ NDI's first public opinion study was conducted in late 2004. Past studies on Southern Sudan can be viewed at www.ndi.org.

³⁸ Quotation is from a middle-aged man in Malakal.

³⁹ Ngok Dinka in Abyei were not asked about development.

⁴⁰ Nuba participants in Southern Kordofan agree almost unanimously that there has been no development in the state.

Most Blue Nile Funj and some Arab participants say there has been no improvement in the development situation, but other Arab participants say that significant strides have been made. Development priorities in Southern Kordofan differ slightly depending on ethnicity. In this study, Nuba participants place the highest priority on education and health, with roads and water as important secondary priorities. Arab participants consider roads and water the highest priorities with education and health as important secondary concerns. In Blue Nile, Funj and Arab participants agree education is the top development priority. Improvement in health services is important to both groups as well. Beyond these two priorities, Funj talk about the need for roads, and Arabs emphasize access to water.

There is no development in this area. We heard that we shall have a 2 percent share from the oil, but there is nothing in this regard. (SK Nuba Man, Kadugli)

People are coming and talking about development but until now nothing is done. We still suffer from lack of proper schools and many other things. (SK Nuba Woman, Julud)

The development is only from the international donors, not the government.
(SK Misseriya Woman, Um Adara, Keliak County)

No improvement [in development] because there are no hospitals, no schools and no road construction.
(BN Funj Woman, Chali)

They said development is going on well, but it hasn't reached us. (BN Arab Man, Al Disa)

It [development] is improving because there has been much progress in areas like education and health
(BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

21. Participants' assessment of security in Southern Sudan depends on where they reside, with reports of security improving in some areas and worsening in others. Tribal conflict, soldier and/or police misbehavior, and crime are the major sources of insecurity.

Overall, the number of groups that indicate security is improving is about the same as the number that feel it is getting worse. Participants' security assessments depend on where they reside, and in some instances, there are widely diverging views even within the same village or town. Also, there is a gender difference: women are more likely to say security is improving, while men believe it is getting worse. Areas that report the best security situation include towns like Wau, Kapoeta, Ayod and Aweil.⁴¹ Most groups in Upper Nile and Unity states believe that insecurity is rising.

The participants who say security is improving are pleased with the resulting greater freedom of movement. Most attribute this to an increased presence of armed forces and/or better policing. Although these participants are appreciative of the improvement, some say security remains less than ideal. In areas where participants say insecurity is rising, crime, soldier and/or police misbehavior and tribal conflicts are blamed. The type of insecurity described by participants is related to location. Tribal conflicts⁴² are most often cited in Upper Nile, Unity and Jonglei states, although some

⁴¹ Although generally positive about security overall, participants in Aweil are concerned about the influx of Arabs into their area.

⁴² This research took place between October 2008 and February 2009, prior to serious clashes in both Upper Nile and Jonglei states.

participants in Western Equatoria and Lakes states also speak of tribal problems. In the states of Eastern, Central and Western Equatoria, there are multiple insecurity sources including crime, soldier and/or police misbehavior⁴³ and the LRA. Crime, and the related issue of armed civilians, appears to be the most widespread security issue, as it is cited by participants in almost every state. There appears to be awareness that the government has taken steps to disarm civilians, but some say these efforts have failed. Participants believe the government's poor disarmament record and/or its refusal to deploy greater numbers of police and soldiers to the states are at least partly responsible for the insecurity they are experiencing.

The security situation is improving because the death rate is low compared to the past days. For example in the past, 20 people could die in a single day, but nowadays only one person dies in three months.
(Toposa Man, Kapoeta)

It [security] is now improving because when Gatluak Deng⁴⁴ came in he changed everything. People used not to move in the evening starting at 6:00 p.m., but we can now walk around all night.
(Nuer Jikany Woman, Malakal)

The security situation is improving because the government has brought a lot of security personnel patrolling throughout the nights... Since they brought the security personnel, there is no more looting. The situation is improving. (Two Men, Wau)

Today, you find even the boda boda guys are being killed. Shops are being broken into and commodities stolen.
(Kakwa Woman, Wuluturu, Yei County)

It [security] is getting worse because there some civilians who kill others at night. One can never sleep peacefully.
(Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu)

We have been crying and praying to God for peace in Southern Sudan and now things are getting worse... The Dinkas are here killing us daily with pangas and axes, is that good? (Two Nuer Jikany Women, Melut)

Security is not good because of tribalism. People are beginning to hate each other, causing insecurity.
(Moru Man, Yambio)

[Security is] getting worse. Our current situation from Nuer attacks makes our security very poor, and we can only be compared with those of Abyei whose area is now a war zone.
(Dinka Ciec Man, Nyang, Yirol East County)

Soldiers are scaring civilians at the local bars, restaurants, hotels and lodges. They go in with their uniforms and guns, which make civilians not to enjoy their peace and freedom made by CPA. (Madi Man, Nimule)

Security is worse because even the soldiers rob us on routes to Nasir, and this is because they are not paid by the GoSS. (Nuer Chief, Malakal)

It [security] is getting worse because there were people who were not disarmed. They now kill people at night and on roads. (Nuer Gawaar Woman, Wau Payam, Ayod County)

a. Security is poor in Southern Kordofan, according to Nuba participants, but those

⁴³ Harassment by soldiers is also mentioned as a security problem in some of the Upper Nile groups.

⁴⁴ Gatluak Deng is the governor of Upper Nile state.

in Blue Nile say it has improved.

Most Nuba participants in Southern Kordofan believe security in the state is deteriorating.⁴⁵ Almost all Arab and most Funj participants in Blue Nile say the security situation there has improved, echoing the findings of NDI's 2008 research.⁴⁶

We don't have any security currently. (SK Nuba Chief, Um Durdur, Kauda County)

Security is getting worse. In the past, there were solutions for the problems of insecurity, but now those are not solved. (SK Nuba Woman, Dalami)

The security situation is good now because people are now free and have a right to do what they want to do in their respective areas. (BN Funj Woman, Jorot)

It [security] is improving because after the war one can travel up to Kumuk and Geissan or anywhere within the state or even all over Sudan. (BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

It [security] is improving because we are not seeing any problems. (BN Arab Woman, Al Disa)

22. GoSS job performance ratings remain in the “fair-to-good” range. Significant concerns about corruption, tribalism and nepotism in government, insecurity and slow development prevent participants from rating the GoSS higher.

Job performance ratings for GoSS have not improved since NDI's 2007 study. Most participants in this study, as in the past, say GoSS performance can be judged as falling somewhere between fair-to-good,⁴⁷ or as one participant says, “[the GoSS] is doing good things and bad things.”⁴⁸ Of those who give the GoSS its best ratings, most are Dinka or are from Equatoria. Those who give the GoSS the lowest marks are a mix of tribes, including Nuer, some from Equatoria and even a small number of Dinka.

Participants who are the most positive about GoSS talk about the peace and freedoms they are enjoying, note some progress in development and are thankful to have their own government. Others, though, cannot look past serious questions they have about the operation of the GoSS around four issues: government corruption, tribalism and/or nepotism in public employment, insecurity and lack of development. Younger participants are also frustrated by a lack of jobs. Nevertheless, some participants say they will be patient with GoSS because it is a young government with many priorities.

I think it [GoSS] is doing a good job because they have made us feel there is a government and stopped war and killing (Kakwa Woman, Wuluturu, Yei County)

[GoSS job performance is fair] because death is not like before, and we are also having a full life, so it is in the

⁴⁵ There is not enough data to draw a conclusion about Arab attitudes on security in Southern Kordofan. NDI's last study in Southern Kordofan, which took place in mid-2008, found both Nuba and Arab participants reporting severe security problems. See Traci D. Cook, *Losing Hope: Citizen Perceptions of Peace and Reconciliation in the Three Areas*, National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, March 2009.

⁴⁶ See Traci Cook, *Losing Hope*, op.cit.

⁴⁷ Participants were asked to rate the job performance of the GoSS on a scale of excellent, good, fair or poor.

⁴⁸ Quotation is from an older Dinka woman.

middle. Peace is signed, but the godness of CPA is not yet achieved. (Dinka Rek Woman, Tonj)

[GoSS is doing] fairly well because we have roads, hospitals and some few schools, but corruption in the government is hindering our progress to a better tomorrow.

(Nuer Gawaar Woman, Muogong, Ayod County)

I would say very poor because peace without food means nothing. There is no development and worse still no hospitals and clean water for us. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Malakal)

I do not know the good rule of the GoSS because there are people beating us up at night. We get killed and the government is doing nothing. How can we then say the government is fair [in its performance]?

(Nuer Jikany Man, Palouge)

The government has come and yes they have brought peace, but they fail to provide jobs.

(Dinka Malual Man, Aweil)

It [GoSS job performance] is fair because each boss in an office employs his or her relatives only... Because the top ranked officials only promote their tribemates. (Two Men, Wau)

[GoSS performance is] fair. We do not expect everything to go well because this is a baby government.

(Zande Woman, Yambio)

What I can say is that they [GoSS] have a lot of work, and the government is still young. They are trying to work hard. It [GoSS performance] is now fair I should say. (Nuer Chief, Malakal)

Participants were asked to name two things the GoSS has done well since its establishment. Answers fall into four broad categories. Some highlight specific examples of development, such as roads and schools and hospitals⁴⁹ and mobile telephone networks. Others say peace and freedoms of speech and movement are the GoSS's biggest achievements. The government also gets a lot of credit for its professionalization of the SPLA, which participants say has strengthened the army to provide a better defense, improved the standard of living among soldiers⁵⁰ and made civilians safer by moving soldiers to barracks outside of towns. Finally, for some participants the greatest achievement of the GoSS is its creation, which has given them a government of their own and united Southerners under one banner. Most participants can easily name two GoSS accomplishments, but there are a few discussion groups that say the GoSS has done nothing of value.

Roads have been developed, and we now have many vehicles throughout Southern Sudan, and educational levels have been improved in that both boys and girls have equal rights to education.

(Nuer Gawaar Woman, Wau Payam, Ayod County)

Roads have been built and hospitals have also been constructed. (Toposa Younger Man, Kapoeta)

Now we are able to talk to our relatives through phones and other means of communication. (Murle Man, Bor)

It [the GoSS] has brought peace. There is freedom of movement from Khartoum via Renk to Malakal which was

⁴⁹ While these participants appreciate the hospitals they now have, many also note that a chronic lack of medication in those facilities makes them less useful than they expected.

⁵⁰ Participants applaud the paying of soldiers, but some are worried delays in soldier salaries will cause problems in the future.

not there... And we now have freedom of speech. These two things have shown that we now have peace. (Two Nuer Jikany Men, Melut)

What I know it [GoSS] has done is unite all soldiers together and allocated them to barracks. We now have our own army for our defense. (Nuer Chief, Malakal)

The GoSS is paying soldiers and organizing the soldiers as a government. (Murle Man, Bor)

The fact that we have our own government in our territory proves that the government has done a lot. This never existed in the war and back past that, and so we're now able to manage our things in the South. (Dinka Malual Woman, Aweil)

They have lifted the name of Southern Sudan. Now everyone knows that Southern Sudanese have their own country. (Man, Juba)

I can say it [GoSS] has done nothing because it has not constructed schools, there is no food to eat and there are no health facilities. How can I say it has done something good? (Nuer Jikany Woman, Melut)

- a. **Participants in Southern Kordofan rate the state government's performance as poor and decry the integrated government; those in Blue Nile have mixed views.**

Most Nuba and Arab participants in Southern Kordofan believe their state government performs poorly. Some even declare there is no government. Corruption, lack of development, insecurity and a poor job market are key reasons for the low ratings. In Arab and Funj participants in Blue Nile have a mixed view of the state government's performance. Some appreciate peace and security and limited progress in development, but others say promises have been broken and the government's efforts have not reached them.

There is not [a state] government to be rated... One can rate the job of the government only if one sees something is done, but there's nothing been done, how can one rate it? (Two SK Nuba Chiefs, Um Durdur, Kauda County)

Financial corruption is very common in the state. People don't receive their salaries for months. (SK Nuba Man, Dilling)

[State government job performance] is poor. Security is weak. The government does not care about the security of the citizens. (SK Arab Hawazma Man, Kadugli)

[State government job performance] is fair in the case of security, but the weakness is inside the development. (BN Funj Woman, Chali)

[State government job performance] is excellent because things are better now. There are no problems. (BN Arab Man, Abu Gerin)

[State government job performance] is poor because the government doesn't fulfill its promises according to its schedule. (BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

Participants in Southern Kordofan remain dissatisfied with the SPLM-NCP integrated government, saying it has achieved little and portraying the two parties as often in conflict. Participants in Blue Nile are more positive than those in Southern Kordofan, but not everyone is satisfied the

government is working well, due to frustration with the pace of development.

No, there is not any work [by the integrated state government]. The CPA brought this combination, but nothing else (SK Nuba Man, Dilling)

[The integrated SPLM-NCP state government] is very bad. They are always quarrelling over power. (SK Misseriya Man, Kharsana, Keliak County)

There is a contradiction between the two parties. For example, if the governor belongs to the SPLM, then he will work for the benefit of his people, the Nuba, and if you are an Arab, you will not be put into consideration at all (SK Arab Hawazma Man, Kadugli)

The two governments are working well in their positions. (BN Funj Woman, Diem Mansour)

The integrated government is not working well in their positions. The NCP are working opposite to the SPLM. (BN Funj Man, Deim Monsour)

They are working well together; one can not even differentiate (BN Arab Man, Al Disa)

It's good because both Africans and Arabs are getting equal official posts in the government and there is no discrimination. (BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

We are not seeing any good thing [from the integrated government]. (BN Arab Woman, Abu Gerin)

23. Participants believe corruption is rampant at both the GoSS and state levels, with money meant for development diverted for personal use and government offices plagued by ethnicity-based discrimination. Most, however, remain hopeful that the GoSS can reduce corruption if it pursues appropriate actions.

“All government officials are thieves”⁵¹ captures the sentiment of most regarding corruption. Out of the 44 groups answering the question in Southern Sudan, the majority in 34 say corruption in government is “very much” a problem, the highest rating on the scale used.⁵² The other 10 groups indicate corruption is a problem to a lesser degree, though none say there is no problem at all. As seen from earlier findings in this report, corruption also contributes to participants’ feeling that Southern Sudan is headed in the wrong direction and drags down GoSS performance ratings.

Although there are a few references to corruption in daily life, such as small bribes to policemen, participants are most concerned about corruption at high levels of government, both in the GoSS and states. Similar to the 2007 study, participants define corruption as misuse of public funds and as tribalism and nepotism in government, especially in employment. They say proof of these forms of corruption is easily seen through the ostentatious lifestyles of some government officials, who own multiple cars, live in luxurious homes and have children educated abroad, and through government offices that are staffed from top to bottom with a single ethnic group (with the group varying according to the location).⁵³ What is starkly different from the 2007 study is that many participants

⁵¹ This phrase is from a quotation by a middle-aged woman in Bentiu.

⁵² Participants were asked to rate how much of a problem corruption was in the Southern Sudan government on the following scale: very much, somewhat, a little or not at all.

⁵³ As noted earlier, tribalism in government is seen to be perpetrated by various groups, depending on which is in the majority in an area or which controls a given government office.

now also view delayed or missing public sector salaries as a major sign of corruption. They believe money for salaries is budgeted and available but is stolen by officials before it can be distributed to public servants like soldiers and teachers. Government corruption is not an abstract problem for participants. Corruption, they say, is directly responsible for the lack of development in their areas because money meant for roads, schools and hospitals is diverted to the pockets of government officials.

Corruption has brought about a lot of problems in the GoSS; this is what is destroying the GoSS.
(Woman, Juba)

[Corruption is] very much. If government officers can have seven new model cars in their compounds, where did they get much money? Is that not a corruption? (Dinka Abiliang Man, Malakal)

The level of corruption is very, very high. GoSS ministers have built themselves very luxurious houses in Juba, East Africa and even Australia. Even people in Uganda are asking why these people are not building in their own country. (Moru Man, Yambio)

[Corruption is] very much. Take an example if you are a head of a department, the majority in your office must be from the community you come from whether they are qualified to take up the posts or not. Is that one not corruption? (Dinka Padang Woman, Malakal)

Corruption is very much because some specific tribes in Sudan want to dominate. In some offices they employ the same tribe right from watchman to the top officials. Even top military commanders are from the same tribe. (Toposa Man, Kapoeta)

[Corruption is] very much in GoSS. We have enough budget per month but people are not getting that budget, like soldiers and teachers their money is always missing. What is that if not corruption?
(Nuer Jikany Woman, Malakal)

[Corruption is] very much because public servants are not paid. Where do their salaries go? I believe it is the government officials at the top eating the money. (Zande Woman, Yambio)

[Corruption is] very much. It has caused underdevelopment and financial problems. That is why we have less payment of the employees. If corruption was not there, people would be paid according to their grades.
(Zande Man, Yambio)

[Corruption is] very much because the money meant for development is being eaten up by the big government officials. There are no roads, schools and hospitals, and the soldiers and teachers do not get paid.
(Nuer Gawaar Man, Ayod)

The magnitude of the problem does not yet make it insurmountable, according to most participants. If the GoSS is serious, they say, it can reduce the level of corruption. Participants want the government to pursue three main courses of action: support for powerful anti-corruption offices, enforcement of merit-based hiring rules and, most of all, tough treatment for corrupt officials, including removal and imprisonment. Some participants are more cynical and do not believe the GoSS itself can effectively tackle corruption. These participants doubt the GoSS has the requisite political will to reduce corruption, since many are benefiting from the status quo.

I think the government can reduce it [corruption], especially when Salva Kiir works hard it will be reduced to a small amount. But if not, it will remain that teachers will continue without pay and other things.

(Kakwa Woman, Wuluturu, Yei County)

Of course it [corruption] can be reduced if the Anti-Corruption Commission is strengthened by putting in patriotic citizens who will not aim at self-benefit. (Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu)

I believe the government can reduce it [corruption] by removing the corrupt officials. . . If the government can remove and jail those thieves, I believe the level of corruption can be reduced. (Two Nuer Chiefs, Malakal)

[The GoSS] can reduce [corruption] if the corrupt are arrested and held responsible. . . If no action done to those who lose money, the rest will imitate. (Shilluk Woman, Malakal)

If the government can practice equality and above all create a balance in terms of employment [corruption can be reduced] because at the moment there is a lot of nepotism. . . [Corruption can be reduced] only if the government can employ people based on merit and not nepotism. (Two Toposa Women, Narus, Kapoeta East County)

GoSS will not reduce the level of corruption because if top officials are corrupt who do you think will reduce it? (Murle Man, Bor)

I believe it [GoSS] will not because corruption has been there for a long time and it is not doing anything to remove it. (Nuer Lek Younger Woman, Bentiu)

In over three years, the government has failed in all ways to combat corruption, so I do not think corruption will reduce. (Younger Woman, Yirol)

24. Most participants applaud Salva Kiir's work as President of the Government of Southern Sudan, especially his efforts to protect the CPA and to reorganize the SPLA. In the future, they want him to work harder to find solutions for development, corruption and tribalism.

Opinions of Salva Kiir's job as President of the Government of Southern Sudan are significantly better than those of his government. Most participants believe he is doing a good job and credit him for various improvements in the region. Kiir's work in maintaining the CPA, including preventing a relapse into war and protecting the South from outside aggression, and his strengthening of the army are especially applauded. Some participants are positive about Kiir's performance as President, but add that he must do more in the critical areas of development and security. Kiir escapes criticism among some participants because they distinguish between him and others in his government. They say that while he has done well, those "behind him" who are leading the government astray. Kiir's reviews are weakest in Upper Nile and Unity states. Participants there believe he has done little to improve security and has not delivered any development.

Salva Kiir has done a good job because when he sees there is a problem in any area he will go and solve it. (Madi Woman, Nimule)

Kiir is a strong leader and he listens to advice, which is good for a leader leading a big nation like Southern Sudan. He united the soldiers, which is making us proud of Southern Sudan. (Nuer Chief, Malakal)

He [Kiir] has done a good job because our [soldier] husbands have salaries now, although it is sometime delayed. . . It's a good job done by Salva Kiir to pay our soldiers because they had no pay [before]. (Two Women, Yei)

He [Kiir] has done a good job because he has really tried to protect Southerners from external aggression and political enemies. (Toposa Elder, Kapoeta)

Salva is following in Garang footsteps, and he is careful on the CPA, although the NCP is pulling back, he is being careful not to let the devil slide off the edge. (Dinka Malual Chief, Nyamlel, Aweil West County)

He [Kiir] had done well, but he has to listen to us. Even we cry for peace because there are criminals disturbing us here, and no one is taking care of them. (Nuer Gawaar Woman, Muogong, Ayod County)

Salva Kiir is doing well. He is a good man, only that people under him and advisors are the wrong people. Whatever bad thing is happening in his government is done by these people. (Dinka Abiliang Man, Malakal)

The President is working well but the people behind him are the ones letting him down... Kiir has no tribalism in his government; it is only his ministers practicing tribalism and corruption. (Murle Man, Bor)

I have not seen anything good from his work because we expected development and disarmament of civilians, yet he has done nothing about them... We are still suffering from hunger and some civilians are killing others on routes to Nasir yet the government is still quiet about those problems. Salva has done nothing good for us at all. (Two Nuer Jikany Women, Malakal)

He has done nothing good and that's why we the Nuer are still suffering running to other people's areas. He did not disarm the civilians. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Melut)

In considering what advice they would provide to Kiir, participants talk about a wide range of topics, from disarmament to unifying Southerners to strengthening the military. The most common are entreaties to Kiir to focus on development, reduce corruption and eliminate tribalism. Beyond that, many participants simply want to know that President Kiir is listening to their concerns and understands their needs. They believe this can best be accomplished through personal visits to their communities. In a few groups, participants also want Kiir to be more responsive to their advice, particularly regarding the performance of local leaders.⁵⁴

He [Kiir] should pay the soldiers well, and he must build roads, schools and hospitals and should disarm the civilians. (Nuer Gawaar Chief, Ayod)

I would like to advise him [Kiir] to continue doing his best by working on the eradication of corruption, reshuffling those who do wrong things in the government or sending out those who are corrupt. (Madi Man, Nimule)

I would advise him to fight tribalism because if tribalism is not left out it will cause fighting amongst us. (Man, Juba)

You, Mr. President, have to work on our roads by using competent companies and build schools, health centers and develop agriculture. (Moru Man, Yambio)

Kiir, you need to visit people in each state and county for advice that can help your government. (Dinka Bor Woman, Pariaak, Bor County)

⁵⁴ This finding is location-specific and primarily concerns participants in Yirol and Bentiu.

I can advise him [Kiir] to visit us and talk to us at least once in a while...He should walk throughout the whole of Southern Sudan and talk to us just as a father talking to his children.
(Nuer Gawaar Woman, Wau Payam, Ayod County)

Change and replace leaders whom people think have gone astray because that person is not serving the people well and not living by the vision of majority. (Dinka Ciec Man, Nyang, Yirol East County)

In each NDI study in Southern Sudan, a mock vote is held near the end of every focus group to test the relative support of the regions' most recognized political leaders. Participants are given a verbal ballot and asked to cast their vote for the post of President of the Government of Southern Sudan. The ballot in his study included Salva Kiir, Riek Machar, the speaker of the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly, James Wani Igga, and the Secretary-General of the SPLM, Pagan Amum, among others.⁵⁵ The results show that, as with NDI's 2007 study, Salva Kiir is the only candidate whose appeal crosses geographical and ethnic boundaries throughout the South. He has strong support among Dinkas and wins some mixed ethnicity areas in Wau in Western Bahr el Ghazal and the Equatoria states. Riek Machar remains the top choice for Nuer participants, although Kiir receives votes in a few Nuer groups as well. In the three states of Equatoria, the two most popular choices are James Wani Igga and Salva Kiir.⁵⁶ It is unclear to what extent Salva Kiir's position as the current president influences participants to vote for him in this exercise.

25. Participants have mixed views about whether Salva Kiir should run for President of the Republic of Sudan or President of the Government of Southern Sudan.

There is an almost equal split among those who want Salva Kiir to run for President of Sudan and those who want him to run for President of Southern Sudan. Only a few offer a reason for their preference. Participants who argue he should try for the national presidency believe he is the South's best hope to win that office. Participants who want him to remain in the South fear a power vacuum if he leaves for Khartoum and believe his experience is needed to maintain the South's negotiating position with the North over the CPA.

Kiir should run for President of Sudan because he is the only man who can compete with Omar.
(Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

I want him to contest at the national level...He seems the most influential candidate
(Two Zande Men, Yambio)

We prefer Salva Kiir to be President of Southern Sudan because he has been there for too long for Bahsir to overcome him and play tactics with him, unlike with a new person. (Dinka Malual Man, Aweil)

Salva Kiir should run for President of Southern Sudan...we don't want other power hungry people under him to take advantage here in the South. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

⁵⁵ The full list of choices included Salva Kiir, Riek Machar, Pagan Amum, James Wani Igga, Nhial Deng Nhial, Deng Alor, Kuol Manyang and Rebecca Garang. Participants were also given the option of choosing someone whose name did not appear on the list.

⁵⁶ It is important to note that focus groups are not polls. This exercise is conducted only to provide a general sense of the ethnic and geographic strength of various leaders. The precise level of support for any leader cannot be assessed using this methodology.

He should run as President of Southern Sudan because we as Southerners want our own government in the South, where we separate from the North. (Man, Juba)

26. Participants in Southern Sudan support the sanctity of majority rule in the abstract, saying they will accept the loss of a preferred candidate as long as the election has been fair. Election of governors from tribes or clans different from their own does not cause concern, most say.

Most Southern Sudanese participants contend they will accept the results of an election in which the candidate they voted for lost. Because the majority wins, losing is a part of democracy, they say. However, these participants note they must be convinced that the election was fair. Participants in about one-fifth of the groups will not accept a loss by their candidate. They are concerned any candidate other than their choice will be an unknown quantity who could adversely impact their interests. Some also say they will not believe the accuracy of results if their candidate is the loser. Three of the four groups with traditional authorities indicate they would not accept a loss by their candidate.

When asked more specifically about a loss by their preferred candidate in a fair Southern Sudan presidential election, most participants again indicate they will accept the results. Their only caveat is that the candidate must be a Southerner and must serve all. There are a few participants who say a president who is not Salva Kiir or a member of the SPLM is unacceptable.

It is a democracy. If no rigging has been applied, I will accept the results..I will first find out if there was no rigging then I can accept that he wins today and I will win tomorrow. (Two Dinka Abiliang Men, Malakal)

I will automatically accept the results because the majority vote counts according to any constitution, and I would go by majority as long as there is no rigging (Dinka Ciec Man, Nyang, Yirol East County)

I won't feel good because my choice has been defeated. How will I know whether that winner will deliver what I want? I would call for a re-election. (Nuer Lek Woman, Bentiu)

I cannot accept the results, and if I have powers, then I can start to fight with the winner...I cannot accept the results because my choice should not lose. (Two Nuer Gawaar Chiefs, Ayod)

As long as he is our son here in the South, and he will work for the interests of all Southerners, I will accept the results [of the Southern Sudan presidential election]. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Melut)

I will not agree with the results if it happens that Kiir loses the election in Southern Sudan. . .He deserves the right to enjoy the fruits of struggle for many years. He deserves our votes. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

The vast majority of participants indicate that electing a governor of a different tribe than their own is not a concern, even if their vote was cast for a member of their own tribe.⁵⁷ These participants say, as long as there has been no cheating and the winner will serve all, they will accept a governor from another tribe because he is a “son of the state” and has been chosen by the majority. There are

⁵⁷ The use of the word ‘tribe’ here refers also to sections and clans. In Lakes state, for example, when participants say they will accept a governor from a different tribe, they are talking about Dinka Ciec versus Dinka Gok or some other section or clan.

a handful of participants who fear a governor outside of their tribe would not distribute services equally.

If my tribemate fails to win the office of governor, then that doesn't mean everybody is incapable or unsupportive. So I would follow the will of the majority; we will accept the results.
(Dinka Ciec Man, Nyang, Yirol East County)

If there was not cheating during the elections, I can accept the results because we all have the same rights of ruling our state, irrespective of the tribe one comes from. (Nuer Gawaar Man, Ayod)

Elections are about winning and losing. Two people cannot win at the same time. . . I will accept the results and follow the winner as long as his work is in the interest of all. (Two Nuer Chiefs, Malakal)

I cannot accept [a governor from another tribe] because maybe he will work for the interest of his tribe. Being in the same state will not make him accept me as his subject, due to tribalism which is rampant in Southern Sudan now. (Nuer Lek Woman, Bentiu)

27. A victory by President Omar al-Bashir in the election is an unacceptable outcome to most Southern Sudanese participants.

Most Southern Sudanese participants would reject a victory by President Omar Al-Bashir. Their reasons are varied. Some see continued rule by Bashir as a threat to Southerners or to the CPA; some think it is not fair for Bahsir to lead again since he has failed to produce results in his time in office; and some doubt that Bashir could achieve victory fairly because they perceive him as unpopular. Participants say their response to a Bashir victory will be “fighting”⁵⁸ or declaring immediate independence for the South, though many participants speak emotionally about this subject and it is therefore difficult to ascertain to what degree their responses reflect real intentions. When reminded about the 2011 self-determination referendum, participants split on whether it would change their reaction to a Bashir victory. Some believe fighting will be necessary because there is no guarantee the referendum will be conducted under Bashir’s rule. Others indicate they are willing to wait for the referendum. The international community’s declaration that Bashir had won in a fair election would be a persuasive to some but not to others who note that even the international community can be bribed or tricked. The smaller number of participants who indicate they will accept a win by Bashir do so for varied reasons. The two most common are that they respect majority rule, or that they do not care about the election because they are waiting for the referendum.

I will not accept the results. Omar winning the election is a great threat to Southern Sudanese lives.
(Dinka Abiliang Man, Malakal)

I will not accept the results and instead call for a re-conduct of the elections because I really doubt him getting many votes. . . I will not accept the results, because it is not fair for him to lead us again and if there will be anyone fighting him, I will join him. (Two Nuer Gawaar Women, Muogong, Ayod County)

⁵⁸ Some participants appear to define “fighting” merely as opposing, but others are clearly talking about taking up arms and refer to going “into the bush.” Past research demonstrates that though participants may talk of “fighting” in any number of contexts, the term does not necessarily predict actual conflict. However, their use of this word is an indication of how strongly some opinions are felt.

We would rather go back to war than wait for him [Omar Bashir] to rule us again...I cannot accept the results I'd rather commit suicide by looking for him and killing him if possible
(Two Nuer Lek Men Group 2, Bentiu)

I will not accept Omar to rule over me again. We need to declare the South to be an independent state [if he wins the presidential election]. (Dinka Bor Woman, Pariaak, Bor County)

What is the guarantee that the referendum will take place under Omar's leadership if he wins the election again?
(Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

The referendum is what matters to me because if Bashir wins the elections and yet we have referendum in 2011, we shall separate...He is the president now, so we don't care about him even if he stays up to 2011.
(Two Kakwa Chiefs, Lasu, Yei County)

I will accept the results [if the international community declares a Bashir victory fair]. We trust them; that is why we invited them as observers. (Dinka Abiliang Man, Malakal)

[If the international community declares a Bashir victory fair] I would say they were bribed and instead continue the fight. (Nuer Lek Woman, Bentiu)

We shall accept [a Bashir victory] on the condition that it is just and fair.
(Zande Man, Yambio)

I will accept [a Bashir victory] because my vision is not the presidency but a separate Southern Sudan, so I would take it easy and await the referendum. (Dinka Ciec Man, Nyang, Yirol East County)

Participants have mixed views about whether it would be acceptable for a party other than NCP and SPLM to win the presidential election. One side believes majority rule must be respected. The other worries a third party will be unknown and believes only signatories to the CPA should have the right to contest in, and rule after, the next election.⁵⁹

I can accept the results because him [a winner other than NCP or SPLM] winning the elections means that he has the majority support of all the Sudanese (Nuer Gawaar Woman, Muogong, Ayod County)

I will accept [a winner other than NCP or SPLM] because it symbolizes fairness in elections...It will be fair because we have many parties both in the North and South. (Two Toposa Men, Kapoeta)

I cannot accept the results because we do not know him [a candidate not from SPLM or NCP] and his party. We know only NCP and SPLM and would vote for any SPLM candidates... Where was he during struggle for peace in Sudan? You cannot come during peace and win elections before the real fighters get the taste of leadership.
(Two Nuer Lek Men, Bentiu)

We don't need any other party apart from the two parties because these suffered during the war... The rest of the parties did not participate during the war... The CPA belongs to SPLM and NCP.
(Three Dinka Rek Men, Tonj)

⁵⁹ Only about half of the groups in the study answered this question.

28. In the abstract, most Southern Sudanese participants say they could not support a Muslim or Arab SPLM candidate for President of the Republic of Sudan. Top Muslim SPLM members are not well-known, but Malik Agar is the presidential choice of most who are informed.

When asked if they could vote for any SPLM member who is also a Muslim or an Arab for President of Sudan, most Southern Sudanese participants say they could not. They worry that, even though the candidate says they are SPLM, their true loyalty will lie with the North and they will implement Northern policies, such as forced Islamicization and shari'a law. There are a significant minority of participants, though, who could support a Muslim or Arab SPLM candidate in the national election. These participants believe religion should not be a part of politics. They only ask that the Muslim or Arab candidate be someone who has been with the party for an extended period of time, preferably from the beginning of the second civil war.

I cannot vote for him [a Muslim SPLM presidential candidate] because religion of the leader influences the majority to follow him in the long run...I will not vote for a Muslim again. They will bring us back to Islamic control in the future (Two Dinka Bor Women, Pariaak, Bor County)

If he is SPLM and Muslim, I will not vote for him because he will collaborate with the Northerners, and it will result in fighting. Even if he is black and SPLM, I will not vote for him. (Man, Juba)

I cannot vote for an Arab [SPLM presidential candidate]. He is just here to fool us again and will never speak for our rights. (Nuer Lek Woman, Bentiu)

Why an Arab again? I hate Omar because he is an Arab with bad rule. Now, for me to vote for any Arab again, no way, even though he is a member of the SPLM. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Melut)

Muslim or not Muslim is not an issue. We just want a god leader. (Fertit Woman, Wau)

I would vote for him. Even if he is a Muslim, he is still a person in our party...Religion doesn't count much; it is the party and its vision that matters. (Dinka Ciec Man, Nyang, Yirol East County)

I can vote for him if he was with the SPLM since the war broke out in 1983 through the 2005 CPA. Therefore, he knows all the politics of the SPLM, and he loves it. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

Some of the SPLM's top Muslim leaders are not well-known to Southern Sudanese participants. From a list that included Yassir Arman, Abel Aziz, Malik Agar and Monsour Khalid, most participants could identify only one or none. The most recognized are Malik Agar and Yassir Arman. Groups that could identify the names were asked who from the list they would prefer to run for President of Sudan. Malik Agar is their first choice, though a significant number also choose Yassir Arman. The religion and ethnicity of the names on the list were not revealed to the participants, though some identified certain names as "Arab."

I would want Malik Agar to stand because he was one of the first people who came to our state when the SPLA captured Western Equatoria. (Zande Woman, Yambio)

Malik Agar. The reason is that he has been with the SPLM, and he deserves the right to enjoy the fruits of peace by being president. (Dinka Bor Man, Bor)

- a. When choosing among a small list of Muslim SPLM leaders, there is a slight preference for Malik Agar as the national presidential candidate among Nuba, Funj and Ngok in the Three Areas.**

Nuba, Funj and Ngok participants were given the same small list of top Muslim SPLM leaders as Southerners and were asked to choose their preferred candidate for the national presidency. Overall, Malik Agar is their first choice. However, the preference of Agar over others on the list is not strong, and some participants may have been choosing on name recognition alone. After Agar, Abdel Aziz is popular among Nuba participants and a few Funj participants mention him as well. However, some Funj participants would prefer Monsour Khalid and a few say Yassir Arman. In Abyei, Yassir Arman is a close second preference to Agar and one group prefers Monsour Khalid.

- 29. Participants in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas were well-informed about the population census, and most indicate their personal experience with it was positive. However, there is a widespread belief that the census was conducted unfairly.**

Most Southern Sudanese participants say they received information about the census prior to April 2008, citing the radio as the primary source but also mentioning word of mouth and sensitization efforts by officials. Participants who took part in the census appreciate that they were counted and relish the idea that the census could finally help them “know their real number.” They also view the census as an important precursor to the elections and an essential tool in improving government service delivery.

I heard about it [the census] on the radio and people used to talk about it...I heard about it from representatives of the GoSS in the department of the Census Commission. (Two Nuer Jikany Men, Melut)

It [the census] was a good experience because it will enable us to know our real number and maybe it will help our government to budget as well. (Two Nuer Gawaar Women, Wau Payam, Ayod County)

At least one participant in a majority of the Southern focus groups indicates they were not counted in the 2008 census. In half of those groups, the reason given is that the participant(s) was away from home during the census;⁶⁰ in the other half, the participant(s) says enumerators did not visit their areas. These participants, and particularly those in the latter group, are pre-disposed by virtue of their non-participation to believe the census was unfair. However, most other participants – even those who say they were counted and even those who say their experience was positive – concur. Participants say enumerators did not reach some citizens in remote villages, in certain cases due to rain or poor roads, in other cases because of insecurity and in some instances because the enumerators did not have adequate transportation or staff resources. Some Southern Sudanese participants also talk of the exercise having been unfair because many Southerners were in Khartoum or outside the country. Other reasons for doubting the census include a reported shortage of questionnaires and the lack of questions on ethnicity and religion.

[The census] was not conducted fairly, because most people were not counted. Questionnaires were not enough and the questions on tribes and religion were not there. That will give the Arabs the chance of stealing our people. (Nuer Lek Man, Bentiu)

⁶⁰ Some participants do not understand that they may have been counted even if they were not home. Family members home at the time of an enumerator’s visit were asked to list all people in the family.

It [the census] was not conducted fairly because our people in Kenya, Uganda and USA were not counted. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Malakal)

Most people were not counted in my village... People in remote areas were not counted due to lack of transport for enumerators. (Two Toposa Women, Kapoeta East)

Participants' experiences and opinions on the census in the Three Areas generally mirror those of Southern Sudanese – there are concerns about missed households and the fairness of the exercise – with a few important differences. Opinions among the Funj in Blue Nile are more uniform in their condemnation of the census as unfair due to what participants believe are many uncounted residents, including Funj who are in Ethiopia. Arabs in Southern Kordofan were not happy with the census boycott initially called for in that state, with some believing there were untoward motives behind it. A few Arab participants also view the census as fair in their areas, but unfair in Nuba areas.

Some of the people were not counted correctly during the population census... Some were not counted because some of the citizens of this country are still in the neighboring country. (Two BN Funj Men, Jorot)

In some areas everyone got counted and some areas were not accessed, so we cannot say it is fair because we were not all counted. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Abyei)

It [the census] is fair everywhere except in the Nuba Mountains. (SK Arab Misseriya Man, Kharsana, Keliak County)

Most participants in Southern Sudan believe there are more Southerners than Northerners in Sudan. Participants offer different explanations for their belief – Southerners have more wives and children, are the majority in the national army, are the majority in Khartoum, etc. – and a few qualify it by saying there are more Southerners *if* the Diaspora is counted.

30. Southern Sudanese participants express unwavering support for political separation from the North, and some paint an almost halcyon view of a post-independence Southern Sudan. Even the prospect of Salva Kiir becoming Sudan's president does not change the commitment of most to separation.

In each of NDI's public opinion studies in Sudan since 2004, a question has been asked about the 2011 self-determination referendum. Participants' answers have been remarkably consistent, more so than on any other question in the studies. Across age and ethnic groups, they have never wavered in their strong desire for political separation from the North. As in earlier studies, participants focus on deeply held grievances about past mistreatment and their longing for self-rule. In this study, they add that it is time for Southerners to manage their own resources. The advent of the Government of Southern Sudan appears to have raised the confidence of some in their ability to govern, and they believe gaining complete control over the South's resources (rather than these being administered from, and shared with, "Khartoum") is the only way they can prosper. Some participants who support secession paint an almost halcyon picture of a post-independence Southern Sudan. They speak of unity among Southerners, a corruption-free government and widespread development. Describing his view of the region after 2011, one young man in this study says, "When we are separated, I believe we shall have 100 percent of the benefits of our oil revenue. There will be good roads, schools, hospitals, clean water and peace in South Sudan."⁶¹

⁶¹ Quotation is from a younger man in Melut.

The majority in only two groups out of the forty-two Southern groups answering the question indicate they will vote for unity. Their reasons are varied. In Wau, participants in a younger men's group want to continue to live and trade with the North. In Kapoeta, participants in a younger women's group name several different reasons for their unity vote, among those are a fear of returning to conflict and a feeling that the GoSS is too corrupt.

We will be divided; even children know that. All these years they have been developing Khartoum without the South. (Kakwa Chief, Lasu, Yei County)

I will vote for separation because I do see us now being able to rule ourselves. We need freedom and development. (Nuer Jikany Woman, Melut)

[I will vote for] separation because for the last 10 years we have never benefited in terms of development, so basically there is no reason to remain united. (Toposa Elder, Kapoeta)

[I will vote for] independence because unity is not attractive to us. The Arabs cheated us. (Shilluk Man, Malakal)

[After separation] there will be peace and unity among Southerners... We shall now be in charge of our resources, and I believe our country will develop. (Two Nuer Jikany Women, Malakal)

We shall be in charge of our own resources [after separation]. Oil and gold and all their benefits will come to our children and our land. There will be many schools, roads and hospitals, and I believe no one will again die of disease and hunger. (Nuer Gawaar Chief, Ayod)

The commitment to separation is so strong that even when participants are provided with a scenario in which Salva Kiir is elected president prior to the 2011 self-determination referendum, the opinion of most is unchanged. Many believe that Kiir's election to the presidency would be a trick by the North, either to remove him after the South has voted for unity or to maintain control over the South's resources. Some also indicate they simply can no longer contemplate living under Arab rule, as reflected in the comment of one participant who says, "We are tired of the Arabs and their ruthless rule."⁶² In just over one-tenth of the groups however, participants say the election of Salva Kiir as President of Sudan would cause a change of heart. These participants say they would feel obligated to support their fellow Southerners and would be comfortable they now have control of their own resources. It would, therefore, be possible for them to cast their vote for unity.

You will never confuse me to vote for unity. Separation is all we need. (Nuer Chief, Malakal)

That cannot change the way I will vote. Separation is what we are all waiting for. We want Arabs to leave us alone... They are just fooling us by putting Salva into power. They want to steal our resources, so I will still vote for separation. (Two Nuer Lek Men Group 2, Bentiu)

I will vote for separation to solve this problem once and for all... Even if he [Kiir] is president, I will not vote for unity. They [Arabs] will still come back to power and bring us back under their control. (Dinka Padang Woman, Malakal)

⁶² Quotation is from a middle-aged man in Ayod.

I can still vote for separation because Salva being president means nothing. They will steal our wealth. We need to manage our own wealth without the Arabs. (Nuer Gawaar Chief, Ayod)

If Salva has become the president, then that is what we wanted. The country is now under us. No more separation. (Nuer Gawaar Woman, Wau Payam, Ayod County)

It [Kiir's election as president] will automatically change our decision from separation to unity because our SPLM leader won, so we have to unite to remain intact with him. (Younger Woman, Yirol)

31. Participants in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile prefer a united Sudan. Awareness of “popular consultation” in those states is mixed, and some Nuba and Funj continue to misinterpret it as a self-determination referendum. Ngok Dinka say they will vote to join Warrap state because of shared culture.

Most participants in the Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile want Sudan to remain united. They believe unity is the only way to prevent more conflict. Some Nuba participants add a caveat that Sudan should remain united only if there is justice for all. Nuba and Funj participants in the two states believe that if the South chooses separation in the self-determination referendum, they will be given an opportunity to decide whether they want to go with the South, remain with the North or begin some type of self-government.⁶³ All Ngok participants say they will vote to join Warrap state in the Abyei referendum. Warrap is where they belong, participants contend, because they share the same culture and language with people there. These participants have high expectations for life after the Abyei referendum, saying they believe the territory will experience a massive influx of growth and development as a result of self-governance.

[I want Sudan] to be united, so that there are no conflict. (SK Nuba Woman, Julud)

Sudan should remain united because if any part of the Sudan separates, the whole Sudan will divide into many countries. (SK Arab Misseriya Man, Lagawa)

I want Sudan to remain a united country. (BN Funj Man, Kurmuk)

If Sudan will be separated into two countries, it means this conflict will become very bad. (BN Funj Man, Deim Monsour)

If there is justice, let it [Sudan] be united, but if it is not the case, it is better to separate. (SK Nuba Man, Dilling)

[If the South separates] we will appoint our own president... We will join the South. (SK Nuba Woman, Dalami)

It [the South choosing separation] means that the people of southern Blue Nile will be given a chance for them to choose whether to go North or South or have independence. (BN Funj Woman, Deim Monsour)

If the South separates from the North, then the people of southern Blue Nile will go to South Sudan. (BN Funj Woman, Jorot)

⁶³ This is consistent with findings from past studies.

We will vote to go to Warrap because we share many things in common. We were in Warrap before we came to Kordofan. We are different from the North. We are different in culture, language and even color. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Abyei)

We will vote to go to Warrap because we belong there. We share so many things like the same culture and color. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

[After the Abyei referendum] Abyei will be a wonderful place. The land will be divided and given to its citizens, and there will be very many tall buildings and even sky scrapers. (Dinka Ngok Older Man, Abyei)

Most Arab participants in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile are unfamiliar with the term “popular consultation.” When it is described to them, most think it is an appropriate approach to resolve the conflict in their states. There is some awareness of the term popular consultation among Nuba and Funj participants in the two states, though definitions participants provide are often vague or incorrect. Some still equate popular consultation with a self-determination option. After popular consultation is described more fully, some like the idea because it gives them a voice in the state assembly, but others are concerned the process will not result in their full rights. When asked what they will instruct their legislative representatives to accomplish during the popular consultation process, there are many vague and varied answers, ranging from requests for development to entreaties to implement the protocol to appeals for justice and equality. This may be due in part to a lack of understanding of the process.

It [popular consultation] is good because it can solve problems. (BN Arab Woman, Damazin)

I heard the term popular consultation... [It means] the people of Blue Nile will have to choose either to go to the South or the North... [It means] if they want to have independence. (Three BN Funj Men, Kurmuk)

It is a good that we can choose someone to represent the voice of the Blue Nile people in our parliament... That [popular consultation] would not be the final solution to the conflict in Blue Nile. We are not given our rights. (Two BN Funj Men, Jorot)

[We will tell our legislative representatives] you are elected to represent the voice of your people and to implement the protocol of Blue Nile state. (BN Funj Man, Keili)

32. Ngok Dinka participants report some improvements in Abyei, but most say much remains to be done. UNMIS receives high marks for its work since the May 2008 crisis.

According to Ngok Dinka participants, there have been small improvements in Abyei since the May 2008 crisis, such as the removal of Brigade 31 from the town and the creation of an Abyei administration. Now that the administration is established, some say it is trying to address the security situation but that fear is still high. These participants specifically cite their concern over an increase in Misseriya in Abyei and the occupation by the Misseriya of what they claim is the Ngok area of Alal Payam. There are also concerns about the new Joint Integrated Unit (JIU) in Abyei. Most Ngok believe the new JIU still has elements, including commanders, of the old unit, in violation of the Road Map agreement. Some also object to the JIUs placement and believe it should be positioned on Abyei’s northern border. A few, though, say the new JIU is doing better than the previous one.

Ngok participant opinions about UNMIS have made a remarkable turnaround. Most were not happy with the actions of UNMIS before and during the May 2008 crisis but now Ngok participants consider the mission to be doing a very good job. Participants say they show “seriousness,” have “improved their work” and are “cooperating very well with local authorities.” They cite specifically a clash during December 2008 where UNMIS reacted well. Most Ngok Dinka participants remain satisfied with the effort of Salva Kiir and the SPLM to resolve the Abyei crisis. They believe he and the party are working hard to find a solution for Abyei and help its people.

It [the Road Map agreement] has changed some things. We are now able to have our budget because of the Abyei Administration...It has stopped the fighting and people are now at least able to talk about development of this area. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

There has been a little improvement [in the security situation] because Arop⁶⁴ is trying to balance the situation. Like this recent incident, Arop played a big role in stopping the fight...But there is still fear. It will never improve as long as the Misseriya are there. (Two Dinka Ngok Women, Abyei)

It [the security situation] is staying the same. We are afraid the Misseriya are increasing in Abyei, and they have now moved to Agok, and their presence here is a threat to civilians. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Agok)

It [the security situation] is staying the same because there are some people who are not able to return because of Misseriya in their area like Alal Payam. They were trying to return but were chased away by the Misseriya. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Abyei)

Some components of SAF, the JIU and Brigade 31 are serving in the new JIU, and they told us that they were going to change all of the JIU and withdraw Brigade 31. (Dinka Ngok Woman, Abyei)

It was to my surprise to learn the new JIU are in the same place with civilians when they are supposed to be staying at the border...I wish the new JIU would be put on the northern border [of Abyei]. (Two Dinka Ngok Older Men, Abyei)

UNMIS so far has improved their work...their current work is actually remarkable and very good unlike the former group, who only protected themselves and not the people. (Dinka Ngok Older Man, Abyei)

Salva's efforts on the Abyei crisis are very good. He always has a tough voice on Abyei's crisis...Salva and the SPLM's efforts on Abyei's crisis are good as they always look vigilant and active in resolving Abyei's crisis. (Two Dinka Ngok Men, Agok)

⁶⁴ Arop Moyak is the Abyei Area's Chief Administrator.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The scheduled 2010 election presents opportunities but also risks. There is an incredible hunger for democratic governance. Participants in this study are anxiously awaiting the day when they will be able to cast their votes for parties and candidates who will be accountable to them, and they have almost utopian ideas about life after democracy. At the same time, many hold opinions and exhibit attitudes that could derail their quest. Cheating in the election is almost a foregone conclusion and conflict is widely feared. In addition, if their government or the elections do not bring significant change Southern Sudanese and participants in the Three Areas will be bitterly disappointed, thus providing fertile ground for future unrest. The basic task for those who wish to see a peaceful and successful election will be to promote democratic values within a population largely unfamiliar with them, to manage expectations, and to ensure that citizens will have faith in any fair election outcome. Participants' responses in this study provide some guidance for how best to accomplish that.

Building Knowledge of and Support for the Election Process

The upcoming election will be the first multi-party, democratic experience for many. Southern Sudanese and participants in the Three Areas are eager to participate in the election, but they know little about the mechanics of voting, assume there will be widespread cheating and harbor many misperceptions about who should or can be involved in the election. Civic and voter education efforts will need to be multi-faceted to increase not only knowledge of voting, but also faith in the election process. Because it is a voice of authority respected by the Southern population, the GoSS must play a lead role on voter education, particularly as it relates to issues of multi-party competition and international and domestic observers. Some participants in this study assume they already know the outcome of the election or that they will be able to predict it during campaigning based on their own assessments of candidate support. As a result, there will be a portion of the population that will find it difficult to accept that their candidate has lost. These beliefs set the stage for a dissatisfied, and possibly violent, response if the announced results do not meet expectations.

Recommendations:

- § Communicate the purpose of the election to eliminate any confusion between it and the referendum.
- § Explain the various offices to be voted on and emphasize the importance of each to prevent a major drop-off in voting for lower-level offices.
- § Engage in a large scale effort to provide details about the voting process, including voter registration, and address misperceptions about party- or candidate-labeled ballot boxes.
- § Address concerns about the secret ballot, including fears that it will increase rigging, and reassure the illiterate population of their ability to cast a ballot.
- § Inform the public about voting and counting safeguards and the role of monitors and observers to build confidence in the process and the results.
- § Promote the benefits of multi-party competition and the rights of all parties to campaign, including through GoSS pronouncements sanctioning the activity.
- § Educate the population on the role and benefit of international and domestic observers, including through GoSS pronouncements sanctioning the activity.

- § Instruct the population about appropriate behavior for party/candidate supporters in the election and the dangers of election-related conflict.
- § Inform the population of the importance of respecting freedom of speech and the rights of citizens to support any candidate/party of their choosing to reduce the likelihood of local level violence.
- § Clarify the role of traditional authorities in the election.
- § Involve traditional authorities in voter education to leverage their close connection with communities.
- § Explain that winners and losers are a natural part of the democratic process and emphasize that elected officials represent all the people, regardless of tribe.
- § Promote the idea of accepting results in a fair election.
- § Share information that will help citizens develop more realistic expectations of election outcomes.

Creating a More Representative and Responsive Government

Southern Sudanese participants in this study express some degree of tolerance with the GoSS's shortcomings, attributing them in part to its relative youth. But there are signs they increasingly blame the government for their problems and are developing a view that it is non-responsive to their needs. In addition, expectations for the election to bring change are high. The patience Southern Sudanese have demonstrated thus far is likely to dissipate quickly after the election as they look to a newly elected government to deliver development on a much larger scale and to fully resolve lingering insecurity problems. Continued perception of government inaction on concerns that are most important to citizens risks further increasing their dissatisfaction, dramatically so after the election.

Recommendations:

- § Discuss the problem of tribalism in government openly with the public and communicate plans for addressing it.
- § Promote and enforce merit-based hiring rules in civil service employment.
- § Conduct an audit of employment in government, address any imbalances caused by tribalism or nepotism and make the results public.
- § Consider the adoption of tribal representation guidelines for public employment and ensure any adopted policy is publicized widely.
- § Explain the reason for any delays in public sectors salaries and/or cuts in the workforce to address perceptions of corruption.
- § Demonstrate a strong commitment to anti-corruption efforts through the creation of robust investigative and enforcement mechanisms.
- § Increase communication about development including descriptions of development plans, explanations of partnerships with NGOs and others and reasons for any delays in government programs.
- § Manage expectations on development with communication of realistic timeframes and honest assessments of what can be accomplished within the government's budget constraints.
- § Address the perception that the GoSS has unlimited resources for development by communicating about the government's budget and expenditures, particularly the cost of supporting the SPLA, which most support.

- § Demonstrate the government has a strategy to address inter- and intra-tribal conflict and can respond quickly to escalating situations.
- § Explore new strategies for peaceful civilian disarmament and develop a plan to address areas where citizens believe disarmament has failed.
- § Strengthen the work of the Land Commission to address complaints of land encroachment.
- § Place training and deployment of police on a fast track and prioritize deployments to troubled areas.
- § Expand efforts to engage in dialogue with citizens including through increased travel by the GoSS president and other high-ranking officials and more regular use of radio.

Emphasizing the Three Areas

Most of the recommendations related to the election above also apply to the Three Areas. However, because of the different protocols governing those areas and the fragile North-South border situation, additional activities should be undertaken. Many of these echo recommendations made in NDI's in-depth Three Areas study.⁶⁵

Recommendations:

- § Improve security in Southern Kordofan by increasing the effectiveness of the Joint Integrated Unit (JIU), supporting peaceful civilian disarmament, and strengthening local reconciliation efforts.
- § Engage in dialogue with the Ngok Dinka community about their concerns over the make-up and positioning of the JIU and their perception of an increase in Misseriya presence in Abyei.
- § Plan and implement large-scale, equitable development activities to demonstrate the benefits of peace to all groups.
- § Educate the population of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile about the popular consultation process and clarify the issue of self-determination.

⁶⁵ Traci D. Cook, *Losing Hope*, *op. cit.*

APPENDIX A: FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS

SOUTHERN SUDAN FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS CHART

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY ⁶⁶	RELIGION	AGE GROUP ⁶⁷	EDUCATION
10/20/08	13	Male	Central Equatoria	Juba	Mixed ⁶⁸	Christian	Younger	Secondary
10/22/08	10	Female	Central Equatoria	Juba	Mixed ⁶⁹	Christian	Middle ⁷⁰	None-Primary ⁷¹
11/02/08	13	Female	Central Equatoria	Yei	Mixed ⁷²	Christian	Middle	Primary
11/05/08	15 ⁷³	Male	Central Equatoria	Lasu Yei County	Kakwa	Christian	Older ⁷⁴	Primary
11/09/08	14	Female	Central Equatoria	Wuluturu Yei County	Kakwa ⁷⁵	Christian	Older	Primary
11/03/08	15	Female	Lakes	Yirol	Mixed ⁷⁶	Christian	Younger	Primary

⁶⁶ Names of ethnic groups and/or tribes are listed as recorded by Sudanese moderators, but alternate spellings may exist.

⁶⁷ “Younger” refers to participants up to age 25; “middle” refers to participants aged 26-40; “older” refers to participants aged more than 40 years.

⁶⁸ Five participants were Bari, three participants were Moru, one was Kakwa, one was Lago, one was Pojulo, one was Lopit and one was Zande.

⁶⁹ Three participants were Muru, two were Nyangbara, two were Mundu, one was Zande, one was Bari and one was Madi.

⁷⁰ One participant was older at the age of 56.

⁷¹ Two participants had diploma level education.

⁷² Eleven participants were Kakwa, two were Koliko, one was Madi and one was Mundu.

⁷³ Participants were all traditional authorities.

⁷⁴ One participant was slightly younger at age 30.

⁷⁵ One participant was Zande.

⁷⁶ Nine participants were Atwot and the rest were various sections of Dinka, including four from Jang, one from Apak and one from Aliab.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY ⁷⁶	RELIGION	AGE GROUP ⁶⁷	EDUCATION
11/04/08	10	Male	Lakes	Nyang Yirol East County	Dinka Ciec	Christian	Middle	Mixed ⁷⁷
11/05/08	12	Male	Unity	Bentiu	Nuer Lek	Christian	Middle	Pri-Secondary ⁷⁸
11/06/08	12	Female	Unity	Bentiu	Nuer Lek	Christian	Younger	Pri-Secondary ⁷⁹
11/06/08	10	Female	Unity	Bentiu	Nuer Lek	None ⁸⁰	Middle	None
11/07/08	8	Male	Unity	Bentiu	Nuer Lek	Christian	Middle	Pri-Secondary
11/13/08	15	Male	Western Equatoria	Yambio	Zande	Christian	Younger	Secondary
11/14/08	15	Female	Western Equatoria	Yambio	Zande	Christian	Middle ⁸¹	Primary
11/15/08	12	Male	Western Equatoria	Yambio	Moru	Christian ⁸²	Older	Primary
10/30/08	12	Male	No. Bahr el Ghazal	Aweil	Dinka Malual	Christian	Younger	Pri-Secondary
10/31/08	10	Female	No. Bahr el Ghazal	Aweil	Dinka Malual	Christian	Middle	Primary
11/02/08	15 ⁸³	Male	No. Bahr el Ghazal	Nyamlel	Dinka Malual	Christian	Older	None-Primary
11/09/08	13	Male	Warrap	Tonj	Dinka Rek	Christian	Younger ⁸⁴	Pri-Secondary
								None –

⁷⁷ Five participants had secondary level education, four participants had primary level education and one participant had no formal education.

⁷⁸ This is an abbreviation for a mixed primary and secondary group.

⁷⁹ One participant had university level education.

⁸⁰ Part of the demographic information for this group was lost.

⁸¹ One participant was older at the age of 50.

⁸² One participant identified himself as holding traditional beliefs.

⁸³ Participants were traditional authorities.

⁸⁴ One participant was older at the age of 32.

IMAGINING THE ELECTION

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY ⁶⁶	RELIGION	AGE GROUP ⁶⁷	EDUCATION
11/12/08	15	Female	Warrap	Tonj	Dinka Rek	Christian	Middle	Primary ⁸⁵
11/13/08	14	Male	Jonglei	Bor	Dinka Bor	Christian	Middle	Primary ⁸⁶
11/14/08	15	Female	Jonglei	Pariaak Bor County	Dinka Bor	Christian	Older	None
12/17/08	19	Male	Jonglei	Bor	Murle	Christian	Middle	None-Primary
12/10/08	15	Male	Jonglei	Ayod	Nuer Gawaar	Christian	Middle	Pri-Secondary
12/11/08	6 ⁸⁷	Male	Jonglei	Ayod	Nuer Gawaar	Christian	Older	None-Primary
12/12/08	13	Female	Jonglei	Wau Ayod County	Nuer Gawaar	Christian	Younger	None-Primary
12/15/08	8	Female	Jonglei	Mogok Ayod County	Nuer Gawaar	Christian	Middle	Pri-Secondary
11/12/08	6 ⁸⁸	Male	Upper Nile	Malakal	Nuer ⁸⁹	Christian	Older	None-Primary
11/13/08	7	Male	Upper Nile	Malakal	Shilluk	Christian	Middle	Pri-Secondary
11/19/08	12	Female	Upper Nile	Malakal	Shilluk	10 Christian + 2 Muslim	Younger	Secondary
11/19/08	6	Female	Upper Nile	Malakal	Nuer Jikany	Christian	Middle	None – Primary ⁹⁰
11/15/08	13	Male	Upper Nile	Melut	Nuer Jikany	Christian	Younger ⁹¹	Pri-Secondary
			Upper					

⁸⁵ One participant had secondary level education.

⁸⁶ Four participants had secondary level education.

⁸⁷ Participants were traditional authorities.

⁸⁸ Participants were traditional authorities.

⁸⁹ Participants were from different sections of Nuer: three were Laak, two were Ayod and one was Lou.

⁹⁰ Five participants had secondary level education.

⁹¹ Three participants were older at the ages of 30, 31 and 38.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY ⁶⁶	RELIGION	AGE GROUP ⁶⁷	EDUCATION
11/15/08	9	Female	Nile	Melut	Nuer Jikany	Christian	Middle	Primary
11/16/08	17	Male	Upper Nile	Palouge Melut County	Nuer Jikany	Christian	Older	Pri-Secondary
11/20/08	10	Male	Upper Nile	Malakal	Dinka Abiliang	8 Christian + 2 Muslim	Middle	Secondary ⁹²
11/22/08	8	Female	Upper Nile	Malakal	Dinka Padang	Christian	Older	None-Primary
12/10/08	14	Male	Wes. Bahr el Ghazal	Wau	Mixed ⁹³	12 Christian +2 Muslim	Younger	Pri-Secondary
12/11/08	8	Female	Wes. Bahr el Ghazal	Wau	Fertit	Muslim	Middle	None-Primary ⁹⁴
01/22/09	15	Male	Eastern Equatoria	Kapoeta	Toposa	Christian	Middle ⁹⁵	Pri-Secondary
01/23/09	12	Female	Eastern Equatoria	Kapoeta	Toposa	Christian	Middle	None-Primary
01/25/09	8 ⁹⁶	Male	Eastern Equatoria	Kapoeta	Toposa	Christian	Older	University ⁹⁷
01/26/09	8	Male	Eastern Equatoria	Kapoeta	Toposa	Christian	Younger	Pri-Secondary
01/27/09	11	Female	Eastern Equatoria	Narus Kapoeta East County	Toposa	Christian	Younger	Pri-Secondary
			Eastern					

⁹² Two participants had university level education.

⁹³ Seven participants were Yulu, and seven participants were Dinka.

⁹⁴ One participant had university level education.

⁹⁵ One participant was younger at the age of 23.

⁹⁶ The majority of participants were traditional authorities.

⁹⁷ One participant had only secondary level education, and one participant had only primary level education.

IMAGINING THE ELECTION

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY ⁶⁶	RELIGION	AGE GROUP ⁶⁷	EDUCATION
02/06/09	9	Female	Equatoria	Nimule	Madi	Christian	Younger ⁹⁸	Primary ⁹⁹
02/06/09	13	Male	Eastern Equatoria	Nimule	Madi	Christian	Middle ¹⁰⁰	Pri-Secondary

THREE AREAS FOCUS GROUP PARTICIPANTS CHART DEMOGRAPHICS

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY	RELIGION	AGE GROUP	EDUCATION
11/10/08	15	Male	Southern Kordofan	Kadugli	Nuba	Muslim	Younger	Pri-Secondary
11/10/08	15	Female	Southern Kordofan	Kadugli	Arab Hawazma	Muslim	Middle	Pri-Secondary
11/11/08	15	Female	Southern Kordofan	Kadugli	Nuba	Muslim	Middle ¹⁰¹	Primary
11/11/08	14	Male	Southern Kordofan	Kadugli	Arabs Hawazma	Muslim	Younger	Secondary ¹⁰²
11/13/08	10	Male	Southern Kordofan	Lagawa	Misseriya	Muslim	Middle	Primary ¹⁰³
11/14/08	14	Female	Southern Kordofan	Lagawa	Misseriya	Muslim	Older	None-Early Primary ¹⁰⁴
			Southern					

⁹⁸ One participant was older at the age of 26.

⁹⁹ Six participants had secondary level education, and one participant had a diploma level.

¹⁰⁰ Two participants were younger at the ages of 24 and 25.

¹⁰¹ Four participants were younger; two at age 24 and two at age 25.

¹⁰² One participant only had a primary level education.

¹⁰³ Two participants had secondary level education.

¹⁰⁴ One participant had secondary level education.

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY	RELIGION	AGE GROUP	EDUCATION
11/15/08	12	Female	Kordofan	Heiban	Nuba	Christian	Younger ¹⁰⁵	Pri-Secondary
11/16/08	14	Male	Southern Kordofan	Kharsana Keliak County	Misseriya	Muslim	Middle	Primary ¹⁰⁶
11/17/08	13	Female	Southern Kordofan	Um Adara Keliak County	Misseriya	Muslim	Younger	None – Primary ¹⁰⁷
11/17/08	15	Female	Southern Kordofan	Dalami	Nuba	Christian	Younger	Pri-Secondary
11/17/08	10	Male	Southern Kordofan	Dalami	Nuba	Muslim	Middle ¹⁰⁸	Secondary
11/19/08	10 ¹⁰⁹	Male	Southern Kordofan	Um Durdur Kauda County	Nuba	Muslim ¹¹⁰	Older	None-Primary
11/21/08	8	Female	Southern Kordofan	Um Safifa	Baggara	Muslim	Middle	None – Primary ¹¹¹
11/21/08	12	Male	Southern Kordofan	Um Safifa	Baggara	Muslim	Older	None-Primary
11/24/08	10	Male	Southern Kordofan	Dilling	Nuba	Muslim	Middle	Secondary-University
11/25/08	13	Female	Southern Kordofan	Julud	Nuba	Muslim	Older	None – Primary ¹¹²
11/11/08	9	Female	Blue Nile	Damazin	Arabs	Muslim	Younger	Pri-Secondary
11/12/08	9	Male	Blue Nile	Al Disa	Arabs	Muslim	Older	None

¹⁰⁵ Two participants were older at the age 26.

¹⁰⁶ One participant had secondary level education.

¹⁰⁷ Two participants had secondary level education.

¹⁰⁸ Three participants were older at the ages of 41, 42 and 45.

¹⁰⁹ Participants were traditional authorities.

¹¹⁰ Two participants were Christians.

¹¹¹ One participant had secondary level education.

¹¹² One participant had secondary level education.

IMAGINING THE ELECTION

DATE	GROUP SIZE	GENDER	STATE	LOCATION	ETHNICITY	RELIGION	AGE GROUP	EDUCATION
11/12/08	9	Female	Blue Nile	Al Disa	Arabs	Muslim	Middle	None
11/14/08	14	Female	Blue Nile	Abu Gerin	Arabs	Muslim	Older	None-Early Primary
11/14/08	13	Male	Blue Nile	Abu Gerin	Arabs	Muslim	Middle	Pri-Secondary
11/06/08	15	Male	Blue Nile	Kurmuk	Uduk ¹¹³	Christian	Middle	Pri-Secondary
11/06/08	15	Female	Blue Nile	Kurmuk	Funj	Muslim	Younger	Pri-Secondary
11/09/08	15	Female	Blue Nile	Chali	Uduk	Christian	Middle	None-Early Primary ¹¹⁴
11/12/08	15	Male	Blue Nile	Keili	Funj	Muslim	Older	None-Early Primary ¹¹⁵
11/14/08	15	Female	Blue Nile	Deim Monsour	Funj	Muslim	Older	None-Early Primary
11/15/08	16	Male	Blue Nile	Deim Monsour	Funj	Muslim	Middle ¹¹⁶	None-Primary
11/18/08	15	Female	Blue Nile	Jorot	Funj	Muslim	Middle	Primary
11/18/08	15	Male	Blue Nile	Jorot	Funj	Muslim	Younger	Primary
01/27/09	15	Male	Abyei	Agok	Dinka Ngok	Christian	Younger	Pri-Secondary
01/28/09	15	Female	Abyei	Agok	Dinka Ngok	Christian	Younger	Pri-Secondary
01/30/09	17	Male	Abyei	Abyei	Dinka Ngok	Christian	Middle	Second.-Univ.
02/01/09	15	Female	Abyei	Abyei	Dinka Ngok	Christian	Middle	Second.-Univ.
02/03/09	12	Male	Abyei	Abyei	Dinka Ngok	Christian	Older	Mixed ¹¹⁷

¹¹³ Uduk are described as Funj in the text of the report.

¹¹⁴ One participant had secondary level education.

¹¹⁵ Two participants had secondary level education.

¹¹⁶ Six participants are older; three participants were age 48 and three others were ages of 45, 46 and 47.

¹¹⁷ Three participants had university level education, two participants had secondary level education, three participants had primary level education and four participants had no education.

APPENDIX B: METHODOLOGY NOTES

Focus Group Research: Focus groups are open-ended group interviews directed by a moderator and following a pre-set guideline. The purpose of focus group research is to understand the attitudes, opinions and experiences of participants who are recruited for the exercise. Focus groups are particularly useful in gaining a deeper appreciation for the motivations, feelings and values behind participants' reactions. In addition, the group format enables respondents to participate in an exchange of ideas – thus revealing a more in-depth understanding of why opinions are held – that may not emerge in individual in-depth interviews or quantitative surveys. Focus group discussions are comprised of a small number of participants, typically 8-10 per group. However, depending on the situation, groups may be slightly smaller or larger than the ideal. In the Southern Sudan and Three Areas context, a chiefs' or sheikhs' group, for example, may work better with a smaller number because they are generally well-informed and have strongly-held opinions. A women's group in a more isolated area may benefit from being larger because it is likely that one or more of the participants will refuse to speak at length, even if pressed.

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

Group Composition: The focus groups in this report are stratified by gender, ethnicity, age and education. Single ethnicity groups are conducted where possible. However, in areas where smaller tribes reside, mixed groups are sometimes held. In Blue Nile, Funj groups may have included more than one ethnic group, but they did not include Arab participants. The Arab groups in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile were composed of participants who identified themselves as Arab, though ethnic identity is particularly complex in Blue Nile. (See the explanation of ethnic designations below and in the Preface.)

Age: Based on past research in Sudan, the age categories used are broadly defined as “younger,” “middle” or “older.” Younger refers to participants up to age 25, middle refers to participants age 26-40 and older refers to participants over age 40. Given the difficulty of gathering participants in largely rural areas and since some people in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas do not know their ages, the categories are used as a general guideline rather than a strictly enforced criterion.

Religion: Groups are normally conducted separately with different religious groups. In Southern Sudan, most participants identify themselves as Christian or as holding traditional beliefs or both, and they are allowed to participate in the same group. In a few areas, where a mix of Christians and Muslims reside, mixed groups are held, though Christian participants were the majority. One Muslim group was held in Wau in Western Bahr el Ghazal. In Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan, the majority of focus groups were conducted among Muslims because that is the dominant religion in those states, though there were a few mixed groups as well. The

Uduk¹¹⁸ groups in Blue Nile were with participants who identified themselves as Christians. The Ngok Dinka groups in Abyei were predominantly Christian as well.

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

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

Ethnic Locations and Designations: In Southern Sudan, participants in the focus groups were generally from the largest ethnic population of a particular area. In areas where there was a large population of different ethnicities, we attempted to hold groups with each of those, such as Nuer, Shilluk and Dinka in Upper Nile. All groups with Nuba were conducted in Southern Kordofan, and groups with Funj were conducted in Blue Nile. Arab groups in Southern Kordofan consisted of participants of various ethnic groups, including Misseriya, Hawazma and Baggara. Groups designated as Arab in Blue Nile were composed of participants who identified themselves as Arab. Ethnic identity is particularly complicated in Blue Nile due to migration and inter-ethnic integration and marriage, and this may have resulted in some non-ethnic Arabs participating in what NDI denotes as “Arab” groups for the purposes of this report. (For more information on ethnic designations and their limitations, see the Preface.)

Logistics: The logistical challenges of conducting research in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas are immense. Travel outside of the major towns is difficult and sometimes impossible due to poor road networks and insecurity. Pre-planning for the groups requires labor-intensive coordination to organize transport and accommodation in each location. These difficulties occasionally impact the number and type of groups that can be conducted.

Staffing: It is a challenge to find moderators in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas who are fluent in English because of poor or non-existent education facilities and the dominance of Arabic in certain locations. As a result, some of the women’s groups were conducted by male moderators, but the data for those groups did not differ from the ones in which female moderators conducted the groups.

Group Locations: The 78 focus groups outlined in this report were conducted in 43 locations throughout Southern Sudan, Southern Kordofan, Blue Nile and Abyei. (See Appendix A for a list of focus group locations.)

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

¹¹⁸ In the text of this report, the Uduk groups are listed as Funj.

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

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

APPENDIX C: MODERATOR'S GUIDELINE

Southern Sudan Focus Groups

I. INTRODUCTION

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

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

Thank you. Now let us begin.

II. SOUTHERN SUDAN DIRECTION AND CPA IMPLEMENTATION

1. How are things going in Southern Sudan these days? Are they going in the right direction or wrong direction? Why?
2. How is implementation of the CPA going – excellent, good, fair or poor? What is the reason for your answer?
3. Do you believe the CPA will hold until the referendum in 2011?

III. DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY

1. Tell me about the development situation in this area. Is it improving, staying the same OR getting worse. What is the reason for your answer?
2. What are the top three development priorities for this area? [GET A MINIMUM OF SIX PARTICIPANTS TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION]
3. Is the security situation improving, staying the same OR getting worse? What is the reason for your answer?

IV. GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE

1. Please tell me how you would rate the job the GoSS is doing in governing Southern Sudan – excellent, good, fair or poor. What is the reason for your answer?
2. What are two things the GoSS has done well since it began? [GET AT LEAST SIX PARTICIPANTS TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION]
3. Salva Kiir has been President of Southern Sudan for three years. What do you think about the job he has done as President so far?
4. If you could talk to President Kiir today, what advice would you give him on how to do his job better?
5. Tell me how much of a problem, if at all, corruption in government is in Southern Sudan – Very Much, Somewhat, A Little, Not At All. What is the reason for your answer?
6. Do you believe the GoSS will be able to reduce the level of corruption in government? Why or Why not?

V. POLITICAL PARTIES & CANDIDATES

1. Name all the political parties you can think of in Southern Sudan.
2. Do you think having nine political parties competing in elections is a good thing OR not a good thing? Why?
3. What are the type of activities you expect to see political parties doing beginning some months before election day?
4. If a political party comes to your area to campaign, what do you want them to be talking about?
5. Is it okay for candidates from different Southern Sudan parties to come to this area to campaign? [PROBE EVEN IF THEY ARE NOT FROM THE SPLM]
 - a. Is it okay for NCP to campaign in your area?
 - b. Is it okay for other Northern-based parties, such as Umma or the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), to campaign in your area?
 - c. Now let's think about a situation where the political parties came together at the same time in your area to discuss their positions and programs. What do you think about that?

VI. ELECTIONS & VOTING

1. What would make you think an election is fair?
2. What is your role in making an election fair?

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3. Elections are scheduled to be held in Sudan in 2009. What is purpose of these elections?
4. What positions or offices will you be voting for in the 2009 elections?
[IF ANSWER IS ONLY 'PRESIDENT']
 - a. Do you mean President of Sudan OR Southern Sudan?
 - b. Are there any other offices you will be voting for?
5. Do you plan to vote in the 2009 elections? [IF NO:] Why not?
 - a. Imagine the election is tomorrow. Describe exactly how you think the voting will take place.
 - b. When the voting happens, you will be given a ballot paper and go into a private place where no one can see you. In that place, you will make your choice and place it in a locked box. What do you think of that?
6. What are the things that could possibly stop you from voting?
7. What requirements will there be for people who want to vote?
8. How will you decide who to vote for in elections?
 - a. [AFTER ALLOWING PEOPLE TIME TO ANSWER ABOVE QUESTION]
Which of the following factors will **most** influence who you vote for? Only choose one from the following list [ASK AT LEAST SIX PARTICIPANTS TO ANSWER]:
 - § the opinion of your [wife/husband]
 - § the opinion of traditional authorities in your area
 - § the ethnicity/tribe of the candidate
 - § the political party of the candidate
 - § the religion of the candidate
 - § the qualities of the candidate
9. The election law says that 25% of the seats in state legislative assemblies, the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly and the National Assembly in Khartoum will be reserved for women. What do you think of this?
10. I am going to list a number of political offices. Please tell me for each one if it is okay for a woman to run as a candidate for these offices [ASK ONE BY ONE]:
 - § Member of State Legislative Assembly – Okay or Not?
 - § Member of Southern Sudan Parliament – Okay or Not?
 - § Governor – Okay or Not?
 - § Southern Sudan President – Okay or Not?
 - a. Do you think you will vote for a woman for any office in the upcoming elections? [IF NO: Why not?]

11. In the elections, should traditional authorities be neutral OR is it okay for them to openly support a party or candidate?
12. If the election were held today, would you return your current SSLA representative to Parliament?
13. During the 2009 elections, you will also be voting for a person to represent you in the National Assembly in Khartoum. What do you think of that?

VII. ELECTION CONCERNS & PROBLEMS

1. What concerns or fears do you have about the 2009 elections?
 - a. [IF CONFLICT IS NOT MENTIONED, ASK:] Are you concerned the elections will cause conflict?
2. If conflict is caused by the elections, do you think it will be a North-South conflict OR conflict between different tribes in the South OR both? What is the reason for your answer?
3. Should the international community be involved in Sudan's elections?
 - [IF YES] How should it be involved?
 - [IF NO] Why not?
4. If some of the people who come to observe the elections from around the world, not Sudan, are Arabs would that be okay OR not? [PROBE 'WHAT IF IT IS JUST A FEW?']
 - a. What if some of the international observers are Muslims, but not Arabs?
5. How likely do you think it is that there will be cheating in the 2009 elections – Very Likely, Somewhat Likely or Not at All Likely?
 - a. [FOR ALL ANSWERS EXCEPT FOR 'NOT AT ALL LIKELY'] How will this cheating occur and who will be doing it?
6. If bribes are offered to voters, do you think most people will accept OR reject those bribes?
 - a. If people accept those bribes, will they vote as they have been instructed by the person who bribed them OR will they still vote for who they really support?

VIII. ELECTION TIMING & REACTIONS

1. What changes, if any, will the 2009 elections bring?
2. Are you confident that the 2009 elections will take place OR not? What is the reason for your answer?
3. What will your reaction be if the elections are postponed until 2010?
4. What will your reaction be if the elections are postponed until after the 2011 self-determination

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referendum?

5. Let's say you vote for one candidate but another one wins. Will you accept the results of the election?
 - a. [IF PARTICIPANT SAYS THEY WILL ACCEPT IF NO RIGGING] What will make you confident there has been no rigging?
6. What if you have voted for a candidate for Governor that is from your tribe, but the winner of Governor in your state is from a different tribe? Will you accept the results?
7. What if your choice for President of Southern Sudan doesn't win? Will you accept the results?
8. If Omar Bashir wins the election for President of Sudan, what will your reaction be? [IF ANSWER IS 'I WILL NOT ACCEPT' - PROBE 'WHAT WILL YOU DO IF YOU DO NOT ACCEPT?']
 - a. [IF REACTION IS WE WILL FIGHT] Will you fight even though there will continue to be a Government of Southern Sudan and there will still be a self-determination referendum in 2011?
 - b. What if Omar Bashir won the election for President of Sudan AND the international community said that the election was free and fair? Would you accept the results then?
9. If the winner of the election for President of Sudan is someone from a party other than SPLM or NCP, what will your reaction be?

IX. CANDIDATE AND PARTY SUPPORT

1. Who would you like to see run as a candidate for President of Sudan?
2. Who would you like to see run as a candidate for President of Southern Sudan?
3. A person who runs for President of Sudan cannot also run for President of Southern Sudan. This means that Salva Kiir cannot run for both offices. In the 2009 elections would you rather he run for President of Sudan OR President of Southern Sudan? [DO A COUNT]
4. Would you vote for a candidate for President of Sudan who **is an SPLM member** but also a Muslim?
 - a. Would you vote for a candidate for President of Sudan who **is an SPLM member** but also an Arab?
5. If Salva Kiir does **not** run for President of Sudan, who would you want to represent the SPLM and run for President of Sudan?
 - a. Do you know any of the following people?
 - § Yasir Arman
 - § Abdel Aziz

- § Malik Agar
- § Monsour Khalid

[IF YES:] Which one from this list would you prefer to run for President of Sudan if Salva Kiir does not run?

[IF NO: GO TO QUESTION 6]

6. If the election for President for Southern Sudan were held today, who would you vote for? [EACH PERSON SHOULD BE ASKED TO ANSWER ALOUD]

- § Salva Kiir
- § Riek Machar
- § Pagan Amum
- § James Wani Igga
- § Nhial Deng Nhial
- § Rebecca Garang
- § Deng Alor
- § Kuol Manyang
- § A Person I Support Not on the List [ASK FOR NAME]

7. Now let's say that Salva Kiir ran for President of Sudan and so could not run for the office of President of Southern Sudan. **For those of you who voted for Salva**, who would you vote for from the list below if the election for President for Southern Sudan were held today? [EACH PERSON SHOULD BE ASKED TO ANSWER ALOUD]

- § Kuol Manyang
- § Pagan Amum
- § James Wani Igga
- § Riek Machar
- § Nhial Deng Nhial
- § Rebecca Garang
- § Deng Alor
- § A Person I Support Not on the List [ASK FOR NAME]

8. When you vote on election day there will be many offices for which you will vote, such as Member of the SSLA (Parliament), member of the state legislative assembly, President of Southern Sudan, etc. Thinking of all of the candidates you will vote for in those offices, which party will most of them be from?

- a. [IF SPLM] Would you ever consider voting for a non-SPLM candidate for some offices?

X. POPULATION CENSUS

1. Did you hear about the population census **before** it took place in April? [IF YES: Where did you hear the information?]
2. Were you or anyone in your household counted in the population census that took place in April of this year?

[IF NO:] Why not?

[IF YES:] Was it a good experience?

3. Do you think the census was conducted fairly?

4. Are there more Southerners or Northerners in Sudan?

[IF 'SOUTHERNERS' ASK] What will your reaction be if the census shows there are more Northerners than Southerners?

[IF 'NORTHERNERS' ASK] Do you think there are two times, three times OR four times as many Northerners as Southerners?

a. What will your reaction be if the census results show that there are actually many more Northerners and fewer Southerners than you estimate?

XI. REFERENDUM

1. If the referendum on self-determination were held today, would you vote to stay united with the North OR create a separate country? What is the reason for your vote?

2. If Salva Kiir were elected president of all of Sudan in 2009, would that change how you would vote in the referendum? [IF YES: How?]

3. What is your vision for Southern Sudan after 2011?

Southern Kordofan-Nuba Focus Groups¹¹⁹

I. INTRODUCTION

Hello, my name is _____, and I work for the National Democratic Institute, a non-governmental organization (NGO) that is trying to learn more about what citizens of Southern Kordofan think about the important issues in this area. I am neutral and am **NOT** working for the government or any political party. I am here only to collect information so that others can understand your situation better. I am the facilitator for today's discussion.

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

Thank you. Now let us begin.

II. STATE DIRECTION AND CPA IMPLEMENTATION

1. How are things going in Southern Kordofan these days? Are they going in the right direction or wrong direction? Why?
2. How is implementation of the CPA going – excellent, good, fair or poor? What is the reason for your answer?
3. Do you believe the CPA will hold?

III. DEVELOPMENT, SECURITY AND ARAB IDENTITY

1. Tell me about the development situation in this area. Is it improving, staying the same OR getting worse. What is the reason for your answer?
2. What are the top three development priorities for this area? [GET A MINIMUM OF SIX PARTICIPANTS TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION]
3. Is the security situation improving, staying the same OR getting worse? What is the reason for your answer?
4. Define for me who is an Arab. In other words, how do you know someone is an Arab?
 - a. What about someone from Nuba who marries an Arab? Is that person an Arab?

¹¹⁹ A slightly different guideline was used in the Southern Kordofan Arab groups.

IV. GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE

1. Please tell me how you would rate the job the state government is doing in Southern Kordofan – excellent, good, fair or poor. What is the reason for your answer?
2. How has the integrated government, whereby NCP has 55% and SPLM has 45% in the state government, been working?
3. Tell me how much of a problem, if at all, corruption in the state government is – Very Much, Somewhat, A Little or Not At All. What is the reason for your answer?
4. Do you believe the state government will be able to reduce the level of corruption in government? Why or Why not?

V. POLITICAL PARTIES & CANDIDATES

1. In the 2009 elections, NCP and SPLM, as well as other parties, will be competing against each other to win the most votes. Is this a good thing OR not a good thing?
 - a. Do you have any concerns about campaigning affecting cooperation between the SPLM and the NCP in the state government?
2. What are the type of activities you expect to see political parties doing beginning some months before election day?
3. If a political party comes to your area to campaign, what do you want them to be talking about?
4. Is it okay for candidates from different parties to come to this area to campaign?
 - a. Is it okay for NCP to campaign in your area?
 - b. Is it okay for other political parties, such as Umma, DUP, Sudanese Communist Party, the Beja Congress or the NIF, to come to this area to campaign?
 - c. Now let's think about a situation where the political parties came together at the same time in your area to discuss their positions and programs. What do you think about that?

VI. ELECTIONS & VOTING

1. What would make you think an election is fair?
2. What is your role in making an election fair?
3. Elections are scheduled to be held in Sudan in 2009. What is purpose of these elections?
4. What positions or offices will you be voting for in the 2009 elections?
 - a. [IF ONLY 'PRESIDENT'] Are there any other offices you will be voting for?

5. Do you plan to vote in the 2009 elections? [IF NO:] Why not?
 - a. Imagine the election is tomorrow. Describe exactly how you think the voting will take place.
 - b. When the voting happens, you will be given a ballot paper and go into a private place where no one can see you. In that place, you will make your choice and place it in a locked box. What do you think of that?
6. What are the things that could possibly stop you from voting?
7. What requirements will there be for people who want to vote?
8. How will you decide who to vote for in elections?
 - a. [AFTER ALLOWING PEOPLE TIME TO ANSWER ABOVE QUESTION] Which of the following factors will **most** influence who you vote for? Only choose one from the following list [ASK AT LEAST SIX PARTICIPANTS TO ANSWER]:
 - § the opinion of your [wife/husband]
 - § the opinion of traditional authorities in your area
 - § the ethnicity/tribe of the candidate
 - § the political party of the candidate
 - § the religion of the candidate
 - § the qualities of the candidate
9. The election law says that 25% of the seats in the state legislative assembly and the National Assembly in Khartoum will be reserved for women. What do you think of this?
10. I am going to list a number of political offices. Please tell me for each one if it is okay for a woman to run as a candidate for these offices [ASK ONE BY ONE]:
 - § Member of State Legislative Assembly – Okay or Not?
 - § Member of the National Assembly – Okay or Not?
 - § Governor – Okay or Not?
 - § President of Sudan – Okay or Not?
 - a. Do you think you will vote for a woman for any office in the upcoming elections? [IF NO: Why not?]
11. In the elections, should traditional authorities be neutral OR is okay for them to openly support a party or candidate?
12. During the 2009 elections, you will also be voting for a person to represent you in the National Assembly in Khartoum. What do you think of that?

VII. ELECTION CONCERNS & PROBLEMS

1. What concerns or fears do you have about the 2009 elections?
 - a. [IF CONFLICT IS NOT MENTIONED, ASK:] Are you concerned the elections will

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cause conflict?

2. If conflict is caused by the elections, do you think it will be a North-South conflict OR conflict between the Nuba and Arabs in this state OR both? What is the reason for your answer?
3. Should the international community be involved in Sudan's elections?
[IF YES] How should it be involved?
[IF NO] Why not?
4. If some of the people who come to observe the elections in Nuba areas are Arabs from around the world, not Sudan, would that be okay OR not?
 - a. What if it is only a few Arabs?
5. How likely do you think it is that there will be cheating in the 2009 elections – Very Likely, Somewhat Likely or Not at All Likely?
 - a. [FOR ALL ANSWERS EXCEPT FOR 'NOT AT ALL LIKELY'] How will this cheating occur and who will be doing it?
6. If bribes are offered to voters, do you think most people will accept OR reject those bribes?
 - a. If people accept those bribes, will they vote as they have been instructed OR will they still vote for who they really support?

VIII. ELECTION TIMING & REACTIONS

1. What changes, if any, will the 2009 elections bring?
2. Are you confident that the 2009 elections will take place OR not? What is the reason for your answer?
3. What will your reaction be if the elections are postponed until 2010?
4. What will your reaction be if the elections are postponed until after the 2011 South's self-determination referendum?
5. Let's say you vote for one candidate but another one wins. Will you accept the results of the election?
 - a. [IF PARTICIPANT SAYS THEY WILL ACCEPT IF NO RIGGING] What will make you confident there has been no rigging?
6. Let's say the **election is fair** and the Nuba vote for who they want, but an Arab receives the most votes and wins the position of Governor? Will you accept this result OR not? [IF NO] Why not?
7. What if the **election is fair** but your choice for President of Sudan does not win? Will you accept the results?

IX. CANDIDATE AND PARTY SUPPORT

1. Who would you like to see run as a candidate for President of Sudan?
2. If the 2009 election were held today, which political party would you vote for in the election for Governor?
3. If the 2009 election were held today, which political party would you vote for in the election for President of Sudan?
4. Of the following people, which would you prefer to be the **SPLM** candidate in 2009 for the office of President of all of Sudan [EACH PERSON SHOULD BE ASKED OT ANSWER ALOUD]:

- § Salva Kiir
- § Yassir Arman
- § Malik Agar
- § Abdel Aziz
- § Monsour Khalid
- § Any Other SPLM Person [NAME THEM]

What is the reason for your answer?

5. If Salva Kiir runs for President of Southern Sudan, he cannot run for President of Sudan. So from this list of SPLM members, who would you like to run for President of all of Sudan, if Salva Kiir doesn't run [EACH PERSON SHOULD BE ASKED TO ANSWER ALOUD]:

- § Yassir Arman
- § Malik Agar
- § Abdel Aziz
- § Monsour Khalid
- § Any Other SPLM Person [NAME THEM]

What is the reason for your answer?

6. If the election for President for Sudan were held today, who would you vote for? [EACH PERSON SHOULD BE ASKED TO ANSWER ALOUD]

- § Omar Al-Bashir
- § Sadiq Al-Mahdi
- § Salva Kiir
- § Ali Osman Mohammed Taha
- § Hassan al-Turabi
- § Mohammed Osman al-Murghani
- § Mustafa Osman Ismael
- § Arkow Minnawi
- § Any Other Person [NAME THEM]

- a. [ASK EACH PERSON WHO VOTED FOR SALVA KIIR] What if Salva Kiir did not

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run for the SPLM but another of the SPLM members we have discussed – Yassir Arman, Abdel Aziz, Malik Agar or Monsour Khalid – ran as the SPLM candidate for President. Would you still vote for the SPLM candidate OR would you choose someone else from the list?

[IF ANSWER IS SOMEONE ELSE SAY:] Please name them.

7. If Omar Bashir wins the election for President of Sudan in 2009, what will your reaction be? [IF ANSWER IS 'I WILL NOT ACCEPT' - PROBE WHAT 'WILL YOU DO IF YOU DO NOT ACCEPT?']
 - a. What if Omar Bashir won the election for President of Sudan AND the international community said that the election was free and fair? Would you accept the results then?
8. If the winner of the election for President of Sudan is someone from a party other than SPLM or NCP, what will your reaction be?

X. POPULATION CENSUS

1. Did you hear about the population census before it took place in April? [IF YES: Where did you hear the information?]
2. Some SPLM officials in Southern Kordofan called for a boycott of the census at first but then agreed to let it continue. What do you think of this?
3. Were you or anyone in your household counted in the population census that took place in April of this year?

[IF NO:] Why not?

[IF YES:] Was it a good experience?

4. Do you think the census was conducted fairly?
5. Who do you think is the majority (has the most people) in Southern Kordofan state – Nuba or Arabs?
 - a. Will you accept the results of the census if it shows there are more Arabs than Nuba in Southern Kordofan state?

XI. REFERENDUM & POPULAR CONSULTATION

1. Do you want Sudan to remain united as one country OR do you think it would be better for the South to separate?
2. What will it mean for the Nuba if the South separates from the North?
3. Have you ever heard of the term 'popular consultation'? [IF YES THE FOLLOWING AND THEN SKIP TO QUESTION #5:] What does it mean and how does it apply to Southern Kordofan state? [IF NO GO TO QUESTION #4]

4. Popular consultation is a process that will begin after the 2009 elections. Representatives elected to the state legislature [state parliament] will either accept the CPA as it is OR enter into negotiations with the national government to change the way the CPA is implemented in Southern Kordofan state. Once the CPA is accepted by the legislature, it becomes the final solution to the conflict in Southern Kordofan state. What do you think of this?
5. What will you tell your elected representatives you want them to do about the CPA as it relates to Southern Kordofan state?

Blue Nile Funj Focus Groups¹²⁰

I. INTRODUCTION

Hello, my name is _____, and I work for the National Democratic Institute, a non-governmental organization (NGO) that is trying to learn more about what citizens of Blue Nile state think about the important issues in this area. I am neutral and am **NOT** working for the government or any political party. I am here only to collect information so that others can understand your situation better. I am the facilitator for today's discussion.

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

Thank you. Now let us begin.

II. STATE DIRECTION AND CPA IMPLEMENTATION

1. How are things going in Blue Nile these days? Are they going in the right direction or wrong direction? Why?
2. How is implementation of the CPA going – excellent, good, fair or poor? What is the reason for your answer?
3. Do you believe the CPA will hold?

III. DEVELOPMENT, SECURITY AND ARAB IDENTITY

1. Tell me about the development situation in this area. Is it improving, staying the same OR getting worse. What is the reason for your answer?
2. What are the top three development priorities for this area? [GET A MINIMUM OF SIX PARTICIPANTS TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION]
3. Is the security situation improving, staying the same OR getting worse? What is the reason for your answer?
4. Define for me who is an Arab. In other words, how do you know someone is an Arab?
 - a. What about someone from Southern Blue Nile who marries an Arab? Is that person an Arab?

¹²⁰ A slightly different guideline was used in the Blue Nile Arab groups.

IV. GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE

1. Please tell me how you would rate the job the state government is doing in Blue Nile – excellent, good, fair or poor. What is the reason for your answer?
2. How has the integrated government, whereby NCP has 55% and SPLM has 45% in the state government, been working?
3. What do you think about the job Malik Agar has done as Governor so far?
4. If you could talk to Governor Agar today, what advice would you give him on how to do his job better?
5. Tell me how much of a problem, if at all, corruption in the state government is – Very Much, Somewhat, A Little or Not At All. What is the reason for your answer?
6. Do you believe the state government will be able to reduce the level of corruption in government? Why or Why not?

V. POLITICAL PARTIES & CANDIDATES

1. In the 2009 elections, NCP and SPLM, as well as other parties, will be competing against each other to win the most votes. Is this a good thing OR not a good thing?
 - a. Do you have any concerns about campaigning affecting cooperation between the SPLM and the NCP in the state government?
2. What are the type of activities you expect to see political parties doing beginning some months before election day?
3. If a political party comes to your area to campaign, what do you want them to be talking about?
4. Is it okay for candidates from different parties to come to this area to campaign?
 - a. Is it okay for NCP to campaign in your area?
 - b. Is it okay for other political parties, such as Umma, DUP, Sudanese Communist Party, the Beja Congress or the NIF, to come to this area to campaign?
 - c. Now let's think about a situation where the political parties came together at the same time in your area to discuss their positions and programs. What do you think about that?

VI. ELECTIONS & VOTING

1. What would make you think an election is fair?
2. What is your role in making an election fair?

IMAGINING THE ELECTION

3. Elections are scheduled to be held in Sudan in 2009. What is purpose of these elections?
4. What positions or offices will you be voting for in the 2009 elections?
 - a. [IF ONLY 'PRESIDENT'] Are there any other offices you will be voting for?
5. Do you plan to vote in the 2009 elections? [IF NO:] Why not?
 - a. Imagine the election is tomorrow. Describe exactly how you think the voting will take place.
 - b. When the voting happens, you will be given a ballot paper and go into a private place where no one can see you. In that place, you will make your choice and place it in a locked box. What do you think of that?
6. What are the things that could possibly stop you from voting?
7. What requirements will there be for people who want to vote?
8. How will you decide who to vote for in elections?
 - a. [AFTER ALLOWING PEOPLE TIME TO ANSWER ABOVE QUESTION] Which of the following factors will **most** influence who you vote for? Only choose one from the following list [ASK AT LEAST SIX PARTICIPANTS TO ANSWER]:
 - § the opinion of your [wife/husband]
 - § the opinion of traditional authorities in your area
 - § the ethnicity/tribe of the candidate
 - § the political party of the candidate
 - § the religion of the candidate
 - § the qualities of the candidate
9. The election law says that 25% of the seats in the state legislative assembly and the National Assembly in Khartoum will be reserved for women. What do you think of this?
10. I am going to list a number of political offices. Please tell me for each one if it is okay for a woman to run as a candidate for these offices [ASK ONE BY ONE]:
 - § Member of State Legislative Assembly – Okay or Not?
 - § Member of the National Assembly – Okay or Not?
 - § Governor – Okay or Not?
 - § President of Sudan – Okay or Not?
 - a. Do you think you will vote for a woman for any office in the upcoming elections? [IF NO: Why not?]
11. In the elections, should traditional authorities be neutral OR is okay for them to openly support a party or candidate?
12. During the 2009 elections, you will also be voting for a person to represent you in the National Assembly in Khartoum. What do you think of that?

VII. ELECTION CONCERNS & PROBLEMS

1. What concerns or fears do you have about the 2009 elections?
 - a. [IF CONFLICT IS NOT MENTIONED, ASK:] Are you concerned the elections will cause conflict?
2. If conflict is caused by the elections, do you think it will be a North-South conflict OR conflict between the Black Africans and Arabs in this state OR both? What is the reason for your answer?
3. Should the international community be involved in Sudan's elections?
 - [IF YES] How should it be involved?
 - [IF NO] Why not?
4. If some of the people who come to observe the elections in Southern Blue Nile are Arabs from around the world, not Sudan, would that be okay OR not?
 - a. What if it is only a few Arabs?
5. How likely do you think it is that there will be cheating in the 2009 elections – Very Likely, Somewhat Likely or Not at All Likely?
 - a. [FOR ALL ANSWERS EXCEPT FOR 'NOT AT ALL LIKELY'] How will this cheating occur and who will be doing it?
6. If bribes are offered to voters, do you think most people will accept OR reject those bribes?
 - a. If people accept those bribes, will they vote as they have been instructed OR will they still vote for who they really support?

VIII. ELECTION TIMING & REACTIONS

1. What changes, if any, will the 2009 elections bring?
2. Are you confident that the 2009 elections will take place OR not? What is the reason for your answer?
3. What will your reaction be if the elections are postponed until 2010?
4. What will your reaction be if the elections are postponed until after the 2011 South's self-determination referendum?
5. Let's say you vote for one candidate but another one wins. Will you accept the results of the election?
 - b. [IF PARTICIPANT SAYS THEY WILL ACCEPT IF NO RIGGING] What will make you confident there has been no rigging?

IMAGINING THE ELECTION

6. Let's say the **election is fair** and the people of Southern Blue Nile vote for who they want, but an Arab receives the most votes and wins the position of Governor? Will you accept this result OR not? [IF NO] Why not?
7. What if the **election is fair** but your choice for President of Sudan does not win? Will you accept the results?

IX. CANDIDATE AND PARTY SUPPORT

1. Who would you like to see run as a candidate for President of Sudan?
2. If the 2009 election were held today, which political party would you vote for in the election for Governor?
3. If the 2009 election were held today, which political party would you vote for in the election for President of Sudan?
4. Of the following people, which would you prefer to be the **SPLM** candidate in 2009 for the office of President of all of Sudan [EACH PERSON SHOULD BE ASKED OT ANSWER ALOUD]:

- § Salva Kiir
- § Yassir Arman
- § Malik Agar
- § Abdel Aziz
- § Monsour Khalid
- § Any Other SPLM Person [NAME THEM]

What is the reason for your answer?

5. If Salva Kiir runs for President of Southern Sudan, he cannot run for President of Sudan. So from this list of SPLM members, who would you like to run for President of all of Sudan, if Salva Kiir doesn't run [EACH PERSON SHOULD BE ASKED TO ANSWER ALOUD]:

- § Yassir Arman
- § Malik Agar
- § Abdel Aziz
- § Monsour Khalid
- § Any Other SPLM Person [NAME THEM]

What is the reason for your answer?

6. If the election for President for Sudan were held today, who would you vote for? [EACH PERSON SHOULD BE ASKED TO ANSWER ALOUD]

- § Omar Al-Bashir
- § Saddiq Al-Mahdi
- § Salva Kiir
- § Ali Osman Mohammed Taha

- § Hassan al-Turabi
- § Mohammed Osman al-Murghani
- § Mustafa Osman Ismael
- § Arkow Minnawi
- § Any Other Person [NAME THEM]

- a. [ASK EACH PERSON WHO VOTED FOR SALVA] What if Salva Kiir did not run for the SPLM but another of the SPLM members we have discussed – Yassir Arman, Abdel Aziz, Malik Agar or Monsour Khalid – ran as the SPLM candidate for President. Would you still vote for the SPLM candidate OR would you choose someone else from the list?

[IF ANSWER IS 'SOMEONE ELSE' SAY:] Please name them.

7. If Omar Bashir wins the election for President of Sudan in 2009, what will your reaction be? [IF ANSWER IS 'I WILL NOT ACCEPT' - PROBE WHAT 'WILL YOU DO IF YOU DO NOT ACCEPT?']
 - a. What if Omar Bashir won the election for President of Sudan AND the international community said that the election was free and fair? Would you accept the results then?
8. If the winner of the election for President of Sudan is someone from a party other than SPLM or NCP, what will your reaction be?

X. POPULATION CENSUS

1. Did you hear about the population census before it took place in April? [IF YES: Where did you hear the information?]
2. Were you or anyone in your household counted in the population census that took place in April of this year?

[IF NO:] Why not?

[IF YES:] Was it a good experience?

3. Do you think the census was conducted fairly?
4. Who do you think is the majority (has the most people) in Blue Nile state – Black Africans or Arabs?
 - a. Will you accept the results of the census if it shows there are more Arabs than Black Africans in Blue Nile state?

XI. REFERENDUM & POPULAR CONSULTATION

1. Do you want Sudan to remain united as one country OR do you think it would be better for the South to separate?
2. What will it mean for Southern Blue Nile if the South separates from the North?

IMAGINING THE ELECTION

3. Have you ever heard of the term 'popular consultation'? [IF YES ASK THE FOLLOWING AND THEN SKIP TO QUESTION #4:] What does it mean and how does it apply to Blue Nile state? [IF NO GO TO QUESTION #3]
4. Popular consultation is a process that will begin after the 2009 elections. Representatives elected to the state legislature [state parliament] will either accept the CPA as it is OR enter into negotiations with the national government to change the way the CPA is implemented in Blue Nile state. Once the CPA is accepted by the legislature, it becomes the final solution to the conflict in Blue Nile state. What do you think of this?
5. What will you tell your elected representatives you want them to do about the CPA as it relates to Blue Nile?

Abyei Ngok Dinka Focus Groups

I. INTRODUCTION

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

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

Thank you. Now let us begin.

II. HUMANITARIAN AND SECURITY SITUATION

1. What do you think of the Road Map agreement the SPLM and the NCP reached in June 2008 to resolve the Abyei crisis?
 - a. Is the agreement being implemented? Why or why not?
2. Is the security situation in Abyei improving, staying the same OR getting worse? What is the reason for your answer?
 - a. Is Abyei secure enough now for most people to return? [IF NOT] What more will have to be done before people can return?
3. What is your opinion of the new Joint Integrated Units (JIU) deployed since the May 13 crisis?
4. What is your opinion of the new police force deployed since the May 13 crisis?
5. What is your opinion of UNMIS since the May 13 crisis?

III. ABYEI ADMINISTRATION & SPLM

1. Please tell me how you would rate the job the new Abyei administration is doing in governing – excellent, good, fair or poor? What is the reason for your answer?
2. What do you think about the job Arop Moyak has done as Chief Administrator so far?
3. If you could talk to Arop Moyak today, what advice would you give him on how to do his job better?

IMAGINING THE ELECTION

4. How would you rate the efforts of Salva Kiir and the SPLM to resolve the Abyei crisis—excellent, good, fair or poor? What is the reason for your rating?
5. What is your opinion of the local SPLM leaders here in Abyei?
6. What is your opinion of the local NCP leaders in Abyei?

IV. CONFLICT COMPROMISES

1. What would you think about a compromise that brought peace to Abyei in exchange for the redrawing of its boundaries so that some of the oil fields remain in the North?
 - a. What if the revenue from fields that remain in the North is shared with the people of Abyei - would this make such a compromise possible? [EXPLORE WHAT PERCENTAGE OF OIL REVENUE THE PEOPLE OF ABYEI WOULD ACCEPT IN EXCHANGE FOR GIVING UP THE LAND ON WHICH THE OIL FIELDS SIT.]
2. What would you think about a compromise that in exchange for peace kept all oil fields within the territory of Abyei but saw revenues from those fields going to the North?

V. POLITICAL PARTIES & CANDIDATES

1. There are elections due to be held in Abyei – and across Sudan – later this year. In these elections, the NCP and SPLM, as well as other political parties, will be competing against each other to win the most votes. Is this a good thing OR not a good thing?
 - d. Do you have any concerns about campaigning affecting cooperation between the SPLM and the NCP in the Abyei administration?
2. What are the types of activities you expect to see political parties doing beginning some months before Election Day?
3. Is it okay for candidates from different parties to come to this area to campaign?
 - e. Is it okay for the SPLM and NCP to campaign in your community?
 - f. Is it okay for other parties, such as Umma or USAP, to campaign in your area?
 - g. Now let's think about a situation where the political parties came together at the same time in your area to discuss their positions and programs. What do you think about that?

VI. ELECTIONS & VOTING

1. What would make you think an election is fair?
2. What is your role in making an election fair?

3. Elections are scheduled to be held in Sudan in 2009. What is the purpose of these elections?
4. What positions or offices will you be voting for in the 2009 elections?
 - b. [IF ONLY 'PRESIDENT'] Are there any other offices you will be voting for?
5. The Abyei Protocol of the CPA gives residents of Abyei citizenship of both Southern Kordofan and Warrap states. Do you expect to vote for the governors and state assembly members of both states?
6. Do you plan to vote in the 2009 elections? [IF NO:] Why not?
 - c. Imagine the election is tomorrow. Describe exactly how you think the voting will take place.
 - d. When the voting happens, you will be given a ballot paper and go into a private place where no one can see you. In that place, you will make your choice and place it in a locked box. What do you think of that?
7. What are the things that could possibly stop you from voting?
8. What requirements will there be for people who want to vote?
9. Eligibility to vote can depend on a number of things, such as how long a person has lived in an area, where he or she was born, or where a person's parents were born. Who do you think should be eligible to vote in Abyei during the elections?
 - e. Who do you think should be eligible to vote in the 2011 referendum? Should it be the same people who can vote in the elections?
10. How will you decide who to vote for in elections?
 - b. [AFTER ALLOWING PEOPLE TIME TO ANSWER ABOVE QUESTION]
Which of the following factors will **most** influence who you vote for? Only choose one from the following list [ASK AT LEAST SIX PARTICIPANTS TO ANSWER]:
 - § the opinion of your [wife/husband]
 - § the opinion of traditional authorities in your area
 - § the ethnicity/tribe of the candidate
 - § the political party of the candidate
 - § the religion of the candidate
 - § the qualities of the candidate
11. The election law says that 25% of the seats in the state legislative assemblies, the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly and the National Assembly in Khartoum will be reserved for women. What do you think of this?
 - a. Do you think you will vote for any women in the upcoming elections? [IF NO: Why not?]

12. In the elections, should traditional authorities be neutral OR is it okay for them to openly support a party or candidate?

VII. ELECTION CONCERNS

1. What concerns or fears do you have about the 2009 elections?
 - b. [IF CONFLICT IS NOT MENTIONED, ASK:] Are you concerned the elections will cause conflict?
2. If conflict is caused by the elections, do you think it will be a North-South conflict OR conflict between the Dinka and Misseriya in Abyei OR both? What is the reason for your answer?
3. Would you have any concerns if you voted at the same place that Misseriya voted in Abyei?
4. Should the international community be involved in Sudan's elections?
 - [IF YES] How should it be involved?
 - [IF NO] Why not?
5. If some of the people who come to observe the elections in Abyei are Arabs from around the world, not Sudan, would that be okay OR not?
 - c. What if it is only a few Arabs?
6. How likely do you think it is that there will be cheating in the 2009 elections – Very Likely, Somewhat Likely or Not at All Likely?
 - a. [FOR ALL ANSWERS EXCEPT FOR 'NOT AT ALL LIKELY'] How will this cheating occur and who will be doing it?
7. If bribes are offered to voters, do you think most people will accept OR reject those bribes?
 - a. If people accept those bribes, will they vote as they have been instructed OR will they still vote for who they really support?

VIII. ELECTION TIMING & REACTIONS

1. What changes, if any, will the 2009 elections bring?
2. Are you confident that the 2009 elections will take place OR not? What is the reason for your answer?
3. What will your reaction be if the elections are postponed until 2010?
4. What will your reaction be if the elections are postponed until after Abyei's 2011 self-determination referendum?
5. Let's say you vote for one candidate but another one wins. Will you accept the results of the election?

- c. [IF PARTICIPANT SAYS THEY WILL ACCEPT IF NO RIGGING] What will make you confident there has been no rigging?
6. What if the **election is fair** but your choice for President of Sudan does **not** win? Will you accept the results?
7. Let's say the **election is fair** and the Ngok Dinka vote for who they want, but a Misseriya wins the position of Chief Administrator of Abyei. Will you accept this result OR not? [IF NO] Why not? [MODERATOR: IF PARTICIPANTS REFUSE TO ACCEPT THAT A MISSERIYA COULD BE FAIR, NOTE THAT RESIDENCY REQUIREMENTS FOR VOTING COULD BE DEFINED IN ANY NUMBER OF WAYS]
8. When you vote on election day there will be many offices for which you will vote, such as Member of the SSLA (Parliament), member of the national legislative assembly, President of Southern Sudan, etc. Thinking of all of the candidates you will vote for in those offices, which party will **most** of them be from?
 - a. Would you ever consider voting for a different party for some offices? [IF YES] Which one?

IX. CANDIDATE AND PARTY SUPPORT

1. If Salva Kiir runs for President of Southern Sudan, he **cannot** run for President of Sudan. So from this **list of SPLM members**, who would you like to run for President of all of Sudan, if Salva Kiir doesn't run [EACH PERSON SHOULD BE ASKED TO ANSWER ALOUD]:
 - § Yassir Arman
 - § Malik Agar
 - § Abdel Aziz
 - § Monsour Khalid
 - § Any Other **SPLM** Person [NAME THEM]
 What is the reason for your answer?
2. If Omar Bashir wins the election for President of Sudan in 2009, what will your reaction be? [IF ANSWER IS 'I WILL NOT ACCEPT' - PROBE WHAT 'WILL YOU DO IF YOU DO NOT ACCEPT?']
 - d. What if Omar Bashir won the election for President of Sudan **AND the international community said that the election was free and fair**? Would you accept the results then?
3. If the winner of the election for President of Sudan is someone from a party **other than SPLM** or NCP, what will your reaction be?

X. POPULATION CENSUS

1. Did you hear about the population census **before** it took place in April 2008? [IF YES: Where did you hear the information?]
2. Were **you or anyone in your household** counted in the population census that took place in April

2008?

[IF NO:] Why not?

[IF YES:] Was it a good experience?

3. Do you think the census was conducted fairly?

XI. REFERENDUM

1. If the referendum on self-determination were held today, would you vote to join the South (Warrap state) or retain Abyei's special administrative status in the North? What is the reason for your vote?
2. What is your vision for Abyei after 2011?

APPENDIX D: ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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

Dan Vexler manages the National Democratic Institute's public opinion research program in Sudan. He is the former Director of Research at the International Crisis Group, where he led a team of policy analysts studying the international community's peacebuilding practices. He has conducted field research in a number of conflict-affected countries, including in East Africa, Central Asia, and Eastern Europe and has authored publications for the International Crisis Group, Oxfam GB, and the Economist Intelligence Unit. Dan joined NDI's Sudan program in 2007.



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