Knowledge for Tomorrow: Cooperative Research Projects in Sub-Saharan Africa
Political, Economic, and Social Dynamics in Sub-Saharan Africa
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Cooperative Research Project
Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the Peace Agreement of January 2005: local, national, and regional dimensions

Abstracts

Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the Peace Agreement

of January 9, 2005: local, national, and regional dimensions

Building up governance structures is increasingly considered as a means to counter state decay and deal constructively with internal conflicts. Sudan is a case in point where the government and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army have agreed on wealth and power sharing, institutionalised by an interim Government of South Sudan and transitional governments in the federal states. Aims are to build infrastructure and deliver social services while holding revenues subject to public accountability.

The research project will apply an actor-oriented perspective to investigate the dynamics of state-society relations and ways of establishing legitimacy of rule in four southern Sudanese states with complex conflict patterns. Regional dimensions will be covered by analyzing spill-over effects across the Ethiopian border and influences on governance structures from the Sudanese diaspora in Kenya. Young scholars from African universities will have opportunities to get academic qualifications under inter-national guidance.

Politische Steuerung und soziales Handeln im Sudan nach dem Friedensabkommen

vom 9. Januar 2005: Lokale, nationale und regionale Dimensionen

Der Aufbau von Strukturen politischer Steuerung wird zunehmend als Möglichkeit eingeschätzt, Staatszerfall zu verhindern und konstruktiv auf innergesellschaftliche Konflikte einzuwirken. Der Sudan ist ein Beispiel dafür. Dort haben sich Regierung und Befreiungsbewegung bzw. -armee auf die Teilung des nationalen Vermögens und der Macht geeinigt, die durch eine Interimsregierung für den Südsudan und Übergangsregierungen in den Bundesstaaten institutionalisiert werden soll. Angestrebt werden Infrastrukturaufbau und Versorgung mit sozialen Leistungen bei öffentlich kontrollierten Staatshaushalten.

Im Rahmen des Forschungsprojekts sollen aus einer Akteursperspektive Dynamiken im Verhältnis zwischen Staat und Gesellschaft und die Herstellung von Herrschaftslegitimität in vier Bundesstaaten des südlichen Sudan, die komplexe Konfliktmuster aufweisen, analysiert werden. Regionale Dimensionen werden in Form von Analysen der Auswirkungen im äthiopischen Grenzgebiet sowie der Einflüsse der sudanesischen Diaspora in Kenia auf Strukturen politischer Steuerung einbezogen. Junge Wissenschaftler/innen aus afrikanischen Universitäten erhalten dabei Gelegenheit, unter internationaler Betreuung akademische Qualifikationen zu erlangen.

Research Proposal

Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the Peace Agreement of January 9, 2005: local, national, and regional dimensions

Aims of the Research Project

The research project is intended to contribute constructively to the academic discourse on state decay and societal erosion in Africa. The study is meant to explain how state-society relations are transformed in the framework of existing and new local and regional governance structures in societies that have been caught up or taking part in violent conflicts for a long time. A focus will be on the actors involved and in particular on the ways of action with regard to building governance, creating legitimacy of rule, and re-establishing old and forming new institutions that guide and shape state-society relations. Analysis of the local-national nexus and the context - the political dynamics created by the activities of local, regional, national and international actors - will also be part of the study.

Through the common research, a network between African and European scholars and members of the young African academic generation is to be created. The project is to promote academic qualification and capacities, academic exchange, intercultural learning and cooperation among researchers from different parts of Sudan, Ethiopia and Kenya, and between the German and African participants. Research outputs are intended to be used as policy inputs for forging cooperation between the Sudan and neighbouring countries.

State of the Art

Peace and conflict research and research on economic and political transformation form the framework the proposed project is part of. After a brief survey of critical issues resulting from studies of African transformation processes, and an introduction of a governance-related approach in peace and conflict research, the state of the art regarding governance and social action in Sudan will be reviewed.

Renewed academic interest in the properties of African political systems and their potentials of trans-formation has aroused due to the proliferation of democratic movements in the beginning of the 1990s (Bratton/van de Walle 1997, Bayart 1993). Outcomes of political transformations have varied widely, ranging from the formal institutionalisation of democracies, gradual political liberalisation and permis-sion of pluralism, to the collapse of states, or establishment of autocracies (Diamond 2002, Tetzlaff 1998). Comparative political science studies have tried to explain these diverse outcomes with varying institutional settings and political cultures (Chazan 1994).

Many countries in Africa have been caught in the dilemmas of simultaneous economic and political transformations (Schmitter 1996). Re-thinking the interrelations between state, private sector, and social action has been rare (Wohlmuth et al. 2001, 1999). Solutions have rather been sought in "technical fixes" (Armijo et al. 1995) and mechanistic concepts of "good governance". The latter has become a catchword in applied development policy. It denotes a regime characterised by rule of law, efficient and effective public sector management, accountability of public office, decentralisation, public availability of information, and transparency. Most aid agencies claim to engage in institution-building with the aim of establishing "good governance". Some donor agencies expect better service delivery, poverty reduction and prevention of corruption as outcomes (World Bank 2004, 2001). Others apply a more direct political approach and embark on measures to increase respect for human rights and democratic participation through capacity building of civil society and the judiciary (Commission of the European Communities 2003). In line with western liberal thought, the proponents of this approach regard the organised part of society as crucial to managing and controlling economic, social and

political resources and institutions for development and to create social cohesion (Diamond 1994). Hence, development agencies have concentrated on strengthening civil society in order to build democratic structures in various political system contexts including post-conflict societies, using pragmatic and sometimes technicist approaches for political problem solution (Callaghy 1994, World Bank 1997, UNDP 1997).

Scholars have criticised the application of rather narrow institutionalist approaches as insufficient to tackle the complex political-economic problems in transforming societies. Also the tendency to reduce the concept of civil society to non-governmental organisations (NGOs), that is, formally established and registered intermediary associations which aim at working for the needs of underprivileged groups, has been questioned (Zinecker 1999). Moreover, the influence of the aid agencies and NGOs on local societies and governance structures has posed a challenge for researchers (Riehl 2001). In sum, critique has been directed against a tendency of using western ideas of "good governance" as a blueprint. Such an approach may eclipse competing concepts and structures of governance, alternative approaches of operation, interactions between social groups and leaders, ways to create legitimacy, and the existing variety of decision-making procedures.

The proposed research project therefore intends to look into the (re-) establishment of governance structures in southern Sudanese societies from a much more differentiated perspective. As in other African countries with internal conflict, considering institution building in a framework of conflict resolution processes is important. Recent scholarly concepts of conflict transformation have extensively worked on this (Bächler 2001). Accordingly, building governance structures in conflict areas implies that previously violent attempts of conflict solution are transformed into peaceful means of debating and problem solving (Reimann 2001). A precondition for determined steps in this direction is careful analyses of the root causes of conflict. Involvement of the various levels of government, inclusion of a broad range of relevant actors, participation in decision-making as well as ownership in implementation of decisions are considered to be crucial for successful conflict transformation (Nhema 2004).

This approach goes beyond power and security concepts informed by political realism, which focus on formal ceasefire agreements and de-militarisation of warring parties. It incorporates a wholistic concept of security and strives at sustainable change in state-society relations by inclusive strategies of consultation and problem solution in informal and relations-oriented ways, thus promoting conditions that facilitate cooperation. Building on old-established local ways of conflict resolution and adding a dimension of removing oppressive social and gender relations through non-violent social action, are part of this approach. Scholars hold that through this combination, underlying causes of direct, cultural and structural violence can be tackled (Reimann 2001, Senghaas 2001). At this point, a process of conflict resolution turns into formation of governance structures.

The academic literature on the conflict in Sudan reveals various intertwined causes. Politically, the conflict has centred on nation and state building, which has never been successfully completed in a way which would have been sufficiently inclusive to all existing peoples in Sudan (Loiria 1971). Participation of southern Sudanese in national decision-making processes, e.g. on the state form, has never been fully representative (Loiria 1986). This has historical roots in early enslavement of southerners and colonial divisions of the territory (Deng 1973). State building has been biased towards the interests of a particular urban, Arabised, Muslim elite which took over the colonial institutions but neither adapted them to the needs of the majority nor appreciated the existing multitude of cultural identities. As a consequence, appropriate institutions for non-violent conflict resolution and interest expression of heterogeneous social groups have not been established in a way that would give them the chance to function properly. Hegemonic political forces and governments have thwarted a representative constitutional conference so far. This has been a further major cause of conflict (El-Battahani 2002, Tetzlaff 1993).

Economic causes of war are complex and interlocked. Since the late 1970s, structural economic crises have affected a growing number of people in Sudan. Neither structural adjustment programmes nor the economic strategies of the Islamist rulers succeeded in reversing economic decline (El-Battahani 1996, Wohlmuth 1993). Exclusive control of the predominantly Arab-Muslim elite over the commanding heights of the economy fuelled civil war. Their policies in the fields of agriculture and the informal sector, infrastructure and investment have led to a decrease in soil fertility and increased social, gender, and ethnic inequality (Dirar 2003, Grawert 1998, 1993). Conflicts over resources (oil, land, water) augmented not only due to desertification and drought but also due to war and

displacement (Wassara 2002a). Established means of conflict resolution between nomads and peasants were no longer sufficient under these conditions, and the ruling elite reinforced conflicts instead of solving them (Wassara 2000a, Kebedde 1999, Mohamed Salih 1990). A further economic factor with conflict-boosting impact has been the proliferation of small arms in the region in the Cold War context which contributed to "markets of violence" (Wairagu 2004, Elwert 1997).

Islamisation and Arabisation of southern Sudanese societies were enhanced in particular after 1983, adding a cultural dimension to the conflict. Stereotyping, dehumanising and creating images of enemies shaped the public discourse and led to ascriptions of victimhood and justification of violence against "the Other" (Jackson 2002). Under leadership of the SPLA and, due to splits, further liberation armies, increasing numbers of people took up arms against the troops and militias of the central government, frequently out of the fear that their cultural identity and traditions that had helped them to survive for centuries, were in danger. Since 1989, the fundamentalist government has executed numerous arrests, killings and human rights violations along tribal, ethnic, gender, political, and ideological lines. All previously active civil society organisations and parties were dissolved. The government ruled by state of emergency and created several military and para-military bodies, thus instrumentalising the war towards politicising ethnicity in order to stay in power. Also among the liberation armies, ethnicity was politicised towards violent claims for predominance (Johnson 2003, Saeed 2002). At the same time, the government forcefully secured access to oil fields and fertile land for various foreign and national investors, trying to increase its revenues. Individual rights of investors were protected at the expense of collective rights over natural resources and land, thus fuelling hostility based on ethnic and religious lines (Jok 2001, Rahhal 2001). For the Nuer who live in Upper Nile State, anthropological research has revealed a process of depersonalization of warfare. Together with the adoption of changing values, this has created permanent feuding which has replaced alliance-based political relations under the previous kinship-oriented system. Military leaders in southern Sudan purposefully undermined mediating institutions, primordial bonds, and the existing rules of ethical behaviour in order to create loyal recruits. This resulted in previously unknown atrocities against women, children, and elders through militias as well as resistance fighters (Hutchinson 1996, Hutchinson/Jok 1999). The protracted civil war has widely militarised Sudanese society (Young 2003). Human rights reports and the few available empirical studies draw a dark picture of social and political life in the conflict areas (various reports of amnesty international and Life & Peace Institute, Harir/Tvedt 1994).

The long-lasting conflict can be considered as an expression of lacking legitimacy of rule (Schmidt 2001). Political leaders have strongly relied on security forces and the army to maintain order, thus exerting domination instead of building a legitimised power base (Chazan 1992). Moreover, the government neither represents the cultural variety nor does it respond to the demands of most of its constituencies. The state has failed to protect its citizens and even persecuted many of them. Hence, scholars hold that a fundamental change in state-society relations will be required to reach sustainable peace. At the macro-level, this would imply to make a clear break away from a client-based state toward a citizen-based state. At the local level, broadening the basis of participation towards territorially defined local communities with their respective organisational structures, value systems, institutional arrangements and ways of resource use would be required. At the same time, representation also of those who would be excluded by numerical weighing of votes, accommodation of differences, and protection of minorities would have to be ensured (Deng 1998, Mamdani 1996).

Responding to external pressures and internal calls for reform, the government of Sudan passed a "permanent" constitution in 1998 and allowed a limited degree of political activity, but did not legalise the major oppositional parties. Nonetheless, 19 political parties have been admitted and a number of humanitarian and development organisations officially registered under the governmentally decreed constitutional law. The Islamist faction of the government was removed. However, the previously strong civil society organisations of the professionals, academicians, women, and trade unions are still kept down, and scholars regard perspectives for a serious turn to democracy to be bleak (Mohamed Salih 2001). On the other hand, local peace initiatives have started to solve problems between ethnic groups in Kordofan and ended the ethnic conflict in Upper Nile region which had led to the split of the SPLM/A in 1991 (Wassara 2000, Nyaba 2000). Local peace-building has been supported by international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and church organisations (Johnson 2003, Sudan Peace Fund 2004, Internally Displaced People Project 2004).

Although formally, Sudan became a federation of 26 states in 1994, centralised rule has continued. Administrative local government structures exist in the government-controlled areas at regional, district

and village levels and include rural and urban locality councils as well as a structure of provincial ministries with local departments and committees. However, they have no autonomy but are under close control of the central government (Loiria 2005). In the areas under SPLM/A control, a National Executive Council was set up in 1994 which rules over a hierarchy of rural civil administration bodies. Whereas the top is under SPLA control, at lower administrative levels, power has been devolved. Old chieftaincies have been maintained with their own law courts but are de facto often overruled by SPLA commanders. The local governments in South Sudan have been largely unable to deliver services. NGOs increasingly have taken over this state function (Johnson 2003).

Since the end of 2002, under strong foreign pressure mainly by the USA, a series of ceasefires have been negotiated between the government of Sudan and the leaders of SPLM/A in Kordofan States and in the whole of southern Sudan (IGAD Sudan Peace Process 2004). While in Darfur atrocities and displacement of the inhabitants have aggravated severely, the government of Sudan and the leadership of SPLM/A signed a Peace Agreement on January 9, 2005. Its basis is sharing oil revenues and resources. It also states that determined development efforts will be directed to the southern region. For this purpose, new institutional arrangements are planned to be installed during the coming six months which are to enhance national representation of the South. One will be the filling of the Vice President's office by the leader of the SPLM/A, John Garang, the second will be the establishment of a Regional Government for the South, the third will be a split of administrative positions towards fairer representation, and the fourth will be autonomy of the Southern Region for six years, to be followed by a referendum in 2011 on secession or unity (Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement 2005, IRINnews 2005). Development agencies are planning to implement programmes to enhance local institutional capacity and to democratise the governmental system in the framework of the interim Government of South Sudan (IFAD 2002, UNDP 2002). The crucial question to be dealt with by the research project is, how control over and access to resources will be organised after the Peace Agreement.

Several scholars have put the conflict in Sudan in the larger African context. Although domestic in origin, the recurrent and deadly conflicts at the Horn of Africa always had international dimensions with significant implications for inter-state relations in the region (Markakis/Mohamed Salih 1998, Brüne/Matthies 1990). Refugee movements, cross-border ethnic ties, and the politics of mutual and reciprocal support for insurgents originating from each of the involved countries contributed to the "internationalisation" of domestic conflicts (Wassara 2002). The actors involved have been part of a web of interrelationships within which the conflicts unfolded. States were primary targets of the resistance armies in the region, because they failed to discharge their responsibility to fairly and equitably allocate resources. On the one hand, better state performance could have been instrumental in preventing and managing conflicts at national and sub-regional levels. On the other hand, the conflicts have been one of the major obstacles to coordinated and integrated national and international policies on resource use and conflict management in the Horn of Africa (Berhanu 2003, Cliffe 1999). Developments in post-conflict Sudan are very likely to have implications for neighbouring states and societies, particularly on those areas where the inhabitants have many things in common with the people of Sudan. The research project thus will include an appraisal of the Peace Agreement in view of issues and causes of conflict that may involve regional actors from neighbouring countries.

Another regional dimension is related to the mass exodus of Sudanese who tried to escape from the turmoil in South Sudan. It is estimated that there are four million internally displaced people and 500,000 Sudanese refugees in the Eastern and Great Lakes regions of Africa. Most of them live in large settlements or in dispersed individual units. Although away from home, the refugees have continued to replicate their way of life but in new circumstances. For example, since service provision is hampered by funding constraints as well as by inadequate implementation, participation and coordination in the refugee camps, refugees often take initiatives to meet their educational and other needs outside the camps. This is done by living with relatives or staying independently in urban areas, while still maintaining their refugee status. Interactions with other cultures have exposed the refugees to influences from the host societies as well as those of international organisations. At the same time, the Sudanese diaspora has maintained traditional formal structures of exercising authority, leadership and influence and adapted them to the new environments in the camps and urban settlements to suit their needs. In many refugee camps, there are elected regional and community (ethnic) representatives and sector committee members, with whom UNHCR and NGOs liaise in service provision (Omosa, forthcoming). The planned research will therefore include an analysis of governance systems developed among the Sudanese diaspora in Kenya and their impact on institution-building in southern Sudan.

In the proposed study, governance will be looked at in its broadest sense, covering the complex processes, mechanisms, institutions, and activities through which citizens and groups articulate their interests, mediate their differences and exercise their legal rights and obligations (UNDP 2002). This entails researching into the formal and informal institutions through which people govern themselves. Among the key issues to be considered is the role of leadership and in particular the question whether leadership is propelled by the wishes of the people or, leaders only find followers (Omosa/Katumanga 2004). Another important aspect will be the dynamics of participation and representation.

Theoretical Base and Methodological Approach of the Research Project

To do justice to this multi-dimensional background, research on governance and social action requires an interdisciplinary approach which links action and institutions. The "State-in-Society" approach is useful here, because it assumes that societies affect states as much, or even more than, states affect societies. In this concept, the state is regarded as being composed of shifting coalitions, within the state itself as well as of state components with social groups outside the state (Migdal 2001). In particular at the periphery of a given country, the various state components encounter activities of social groups that may push state actors in the direction of particularist group interests or even lead to domination of social groups over peripheral state components. State-society interactions can thus have different results. They may create more power for both, state components and social groups, or they can weaken both, or state actors can ally with select social groups against other groups. This may differ in society's "multiple arenas of domination and opposition" (Migdal 1994: 9). The outcome may be "dispersed or integrated domination" (ibid.) according to the coherence and territorial completeness of domination of any major social force, be it the state or a dominant group outside the state.

This perspective sheds a new light on the difficulties for states in Africa, including the Sudan, to sucessfully centralise and monopolise means of violence and to legitimise rule. The assumption, based on the Weberian ideal-type state, that only the state creates rules and maintains the monopoly of violence, neglects the negotiations, interactions, and the resistance that societies perform in the face of de facto existing multiple systems of rules. In order to capture these processes adequately, the state will be defined here as "a field of power" (Bourdieu 1985) which is "marked by the use and threat of violence and shaped by (1) the image of a coherent, controlling organization in a territory, which is a representation of the people bounded by that territory, and (2) the actual practices of its multiple parts" (Migdal 2001: 15-6). This definition allows an unveiled look into the realities of practices and an analysis of the morales and institutions guiding them (Grawert 1998: 182-7). It also makes possible to look into the forces determining contradictory behaviour of state components.

In theory, devolution of power to regional and local governments is expected to enhance legitimacy of rule, increase personal security, and improve economic prospects by building infrastructure and upgrading service delivery (Turner/Hulme 1997, March/Olsen 1995, Ostrom 1993, Merkel 1999). Scholars have pointed to functional and power-related obstacles, though, and these will have to be thoroughly considered. Hence, the proposed research project will regard institutional reform and in particular, strengthening local governance, as a conflictive process in itself rather than a technical solution to political strife (Samoff 1990, Grawert, forthcoming). This requires the use of a concept of conflict as both, a problem of political order and a catalyst for social change and social justice. Challenging, stabilising, and disruptive arenas in the research sites will be identified to investigate to what extent structural violence in terms of unequal power, lack of security, distributive injustice, and denial of people's identities is addressed. A further issue is the identification of non-conflict spaces and uncontested structures in society, as well as of actors who have an interest in continuing conflict (Anderson 2003). Links between conflict and peace building in Sudan and conflicts, socio-economic crises, and patterns of coping with them in neighbouring societies will be included. For this purpose, social and inter-state relations as well as the role of regional organisations will be analysed.

A further theoretical requirement is to clarify the notion of "civil society" in a way which does not normatively delineate "good" organisations working in the interest of public welfare from the "bad guys" (Diamond 1994). Here, civil society will be defined as the socio-political arena where individual and collective existence is organised and societal problems and rule-setting are interpreted. Within this arena, social groups struggle for hegemony, thereby marginalising other groups. The relations

between state elites and hegemonic civil society groups are regarded as being characterised by mutual leverage. Whereas the latter strive at influencing political agenda setting as well as the properties of state and political regime, the state elites try by a variety of means to shape civil society in a way which will not threaten their own power interests. Civil society comprises voluntary collectives, formed at any level of society including supranational levels, which are grounded in the societal or civil identities of the participants (that are in fluid ways delimited from private, egoistic, exclusive identities) and express ideas and demands by any means, verbally, by offensive or defensive action, or by using exit options (Grawert 2004, and forthcoming; Gibbon 1998). This conceptual approach includes activities and impacts of external forces exerting pressure or at least, encouraging like-minded internal forces towards economic or political ends. Interest alliances and conflicts between actors at various, including international, levels shape social relations as well as state-society relations. State factions may cooperate with or undermine powerful economic interests. This theoretical basis suggests an interdisciplinary combination of approaches from political science, sociology, social anthropology, and development economics for the planned research.

Diachronic political analysis of the Peace Agreement, of institutional reforms and in particular, the structures of decentralised government will clarify which lessons can be learnt from the past. Historical comparison should focus on the period of peace and the structures of sub-regional autonomy in South Sudan in the aftermath of the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 and also consider its regional impact, in particular on the Horn of Africa and other neighbouring countries. The comparison will build on methods of analysis from the fields of International Relations and Political Economy in order to put the peace process in a wider context. How newly formed governance structures tackle the political root causes of the conflict will need continuous attention during the research project. A focus will be on the ways by which they will secure representation and participation and inclusion of groups that had been discriminated against along ethnic, social, age, and gender lines, as well as of returning displaced people and refugees. Institution-building under special regard of the creation of legitimacy, analysis of forms of legitimacy and leadership, and the relations between elites and social groups will be further fields of study to be covered by political scientists.

Both sociological and social anthropological approaches will be required to analyse social action and subsequent changes in the relations between state components and societal groups, gender relations, and relations between social, ethnic and religious groups. The role of international actors in the Sudanese society and mutual cultural and social influences due to the war-induced contact with neighbouring societies will need special attention. Sociologists and social anthropologists will in particular have to investigate how the various cultures and social relations inform and shape, or undermine, governance structures. For this purpose, initiatives taken by local groups or alliances towards the establishment of governance in the research regions, and the variety of responses of southern Sudanese societies and political actors to donor-guided approaches will be investigated. The method to be mainly applied here will be analyses of interfaces between state components and societal actors, of interfaces between international aid agencies and NGOs and the existing or re-emerging institutions in southern Sudan, as well as interfaces between actors of the Sudanese diaspora, societies, and political actors in neighbouring countries (Long 1993).

Analysis of governance structures regarding capacities to implement economic policies as well as the fiscal and redistributional aspects of wealth and power sharing according to the Peace Agreement will be the task of development economists. Gender impacts and biases need to be looked into for each of the economic fields of analysis. Processes of planning and implementing infrastructure and social service delivery and the role of the private sector in rebuilding the economy in the conflict areas will also be covered by economic research. A regional perspective will be added investigating the new trade links emerging between southern Sudan and neighbouring countries, in particular with east African countries and the Horn. Special attention will be paid to the ways new governance structures get "markets of violence" (such as trade in arms and human beings) under control.

Research Sites

Various research sites have been identified in Sudan, Kenya, and Ethiopia which provide arenas where contests over issues, resources, values, participation, and representation are taking place. Four sites will be studied intensively in southern Sudan of which three come under the new Regional

Government of South Sudan (in Unity, Upper Nile, and Jonglei States) and one borders the southern region but comes under the Central Government (in South Kordofan State). These sites have been selected due to particular entrenched conflict patterns which will have to be dealt with through the newly emerging governance structures.

South Kordofan State is located at the border between North and South Sudan and belongs to the marginalised areas of the country. The Nuba, a people consisting of more than 50 different tribal groups, have been discriminated against by all Sudanese governments and were increasingly deprived of their fertile agricultural lands. Many Nuba used to migrate temporarily and partly permanently to the irrigated schemes along the White Nile, to Khartoum, and abroad where most of them were employed as unskilled and temporary workers. Another significant group living in Kordofan are the Baggara, pastoralists who share access to land and water with the Nuba. Since the mid-1980s, resource conflicts mounted between the two groups due to several reasons, among them increased farming activities of the Baggara while Nuba took up livestock-raising, and enhanced government-induced spread of mechanized schemes which rapidly destroyed soil fertility and reduced access to land for the local population. When the government and allied forces started to disposess Nuba and to expel them from the land, many Nuba joined the civil war on the side of SPLA. In the 1992 the government troops and government-armed militias fought a fierce war in the Nuba Mountains in the name of Islamisation. In fact the war was about new land for capitalised production. After discovery of oil fields the area was brutally cleared from civilian population and opened to foreign investors. The SPLA gained control over the mountainous areas whereas the Government of Sudan controlled the rich agricultural lowland and the towns. More than half of the population is scattered in Sudan and abroad, socially detached, deprived of economic opportunities, and without mutual confidence, because the local people had fought one another on both sides of the war. Large numbers are living in resettlement camps without access to land.

Local peace initiatives have started in 2000 and apparently were quite successful in de-militarising the local society. The Nuba Mountains Joint Military Commission, which includes troops and observers of the United Nations and other international organisations, monitor the peace process. Their presence seems to create an increased feeling of security within the population. NGOs and development agencies have started with projects to improve economic, infrastructural, and social service conditions, to re-build institutions and to support the formation of a civil society.

Unity, Upper Nile, and Jonglei States are the home of mainly Nuer and Dinka groups. They are partly semipastoralists and cultivators who have adapted to life in difficult swampy lands. In the Jonglei region, there live pastoralists with cattle playing a predominant role in the local social economy. Seasonal activities comprise also crop production, gathering, and fishing. Conflict flared up in 1983 when one of the first oil fields in Sudan was discovered around Bentiu in the region which is now part of Unity State. The SPLA took up arms against the Government of Sudan, when it started to build a pipeline to Port Sudan, the Red Sea harbour, for oil exports, thus completely neglecting the region with regard to oil revenue allocation. The government allied with fighting factions and armed militias from Arabise northern Sudanese groups against SPLA, thus ethnicising the conflict. The war has led to great insecurity and displacements of the population. Many Nuer from Unity State have fled to Dinka areas in Upper Nile. This renewed traditional conflicts and hostilities between the two peoples. Inter-ethnic conflict was enhanced by a split in the SPLM/A along the Nuer-Dinka divide. Warlords took over control of local administrations in Upper Nile region, and armed self-protection of local resources spread in this area. From 1999 onwards, the conflict has been gradually resolved under strong involvement of NGOs and church groups through a series of local people's conferences and engagement of traditional means.

The Jonglei region has another history of tension between local inhabitants and post-colonial Sudanese governments. There a water conflict between the government and local inhabitants broke out due to a policy by which the swamp was to be drained through a huge canal in the 1970s. Besides investors in mechanised agriculture in northern Sudan, Egypt had a great interest in increasing the accessible amount of Nile water. The local farmers and pastoralists in the Jonglei region were forced to change livelihood systems and suffered from declining soil fertility. This conflict was overruled by the fightings between the government of Sudan and SPLA which led to a standstill of canal digging for three decades. After the Peace Agreement, the contradictory interests will be raised again. Now they have to be solved in a way which will prevent further water conflicts in the area. The governance structures which will be established at the local and sub-regional levels are decisive for an outcome

which may do justice to the interests of the local population in access to water, crops, and wild vegetation and at the same time, satisfy the regional powers who depend on the Nile waters.

Gambella is one of the nine states of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and borders the Sudan at Upper Nile and Jonglei States. It is home to diverse ethnic groups, indigenous and settlers. The indigenous groups include mainly Nuer and Anuak who share languages, ethno-cultural affinities, economic activities and livelihood systems with their neighbours in South Sudan. They often interact with their kin across the border in the form of both conflict and cooperation. Gambella has experienced the influx of tens of thousands of refugees from Sudan in the last couple of decades which had a strong impact on the already delicate ethnic balance in the region. Traditional resource-driven conflicts between Anuak and Nuer were transformed to ethnic rivalry as the major manifestation. The conflict in Southern Sudan also has militarised the Gambella Region. Due to geographic proximity and as a result of its being the pathway and sanctuary for insurgents in Ethiopia and the Sudan, the population of the region has had easy access to firearms for several decades. This contributed to escalation of the conflicts with attendant mishaps witnessed in Gambella till recently. A further type of conflict has occurred between Anuak and Dinka refugees in refugee camps in Ethiopia. Consequently, Gambella partly became an extended battlefield for inter-ethnic conflict that had its roots in South Sudan. Hence, the impacts of the peace process in Sudan on Gambella/Ethiopia require systematic academic research and analysis that could shed light on possible developments in the years to come.

Three types of research sites in Kenya will be included in the study, these are a refugee camp, settlements in the Rift Valley, and some quarters in Nairobi. The refugee camps in Kenya are managed by UNHCR, local and international NGOs, and the Government of Kenya. Major settlement sites for Sudanese refugees outside the refugee camps include various housing estates in Nairobi, educational institutions throughout the country, and some smaller settlements. Besides the refugees, there is another population of Sudanese living in Nairobi and working with various NGOs, religious dioceses, and organs of the SPLM/A and Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission whose headquarters are in Nairobi. Kakuma Refugee Camp, which hosts about 65,000 Sudanese, will constitute the main study area and entry point, following which intermittent studies will be conducted in the settlements of Kapenguria and Eldoret, and in Nairobi. This is largely because the Sudanese people currently living in Kakuma are the ones most likely to re-locate soonest and at the earliest opportunity. It is also the case that they are the ones who must invest in a re-location that will affect their livelihood most dramatically, unlike those living on expatriate terms and therefore likely to re-locate to similar environments. Though living in asylum and/or exile, the southern Sudan people in Kenya have maintained traditional as well as formal structures of exercising authority, leadership and influence. The traditional structure was carried from Sudan and has been adapted to the new environments in camps and urban areas to suit their needs. This system consists of councils of elders selected or appointed by the respective ethnic groups to oversee peaceful coexistence, conflict resolution and arbitration, and maintaining observance of the traditional customs and practices. In Kakuma, there exist traditional Bench Courts, "Payam Courts" and the "Appeal Courts" presided over by judges (elders) who are conversant with the Sudanese ethnic cultures and customs. In the refugee camps, they have elected regional and community (ethnic) representatives and sector committee members, with whom UNHCR and NGOs liaise in service provision. Therefore, despite the rebel and refugee status of the Sudanese people in Kenya, they maintain a semblance of "formal governance structures" falling under the umbrella of the SPLM/A, and its relief and development organs. So far, these structures come under the three main clusters or committees constituting the SPLM/A governance structure. These are the local government, the military cluster, and the political cluster. The local government cluster is formed by the structures and offices responsible for running the administrative processes and implementing policies, the military cluster consists of the fighting forces and officials such as Commanders and Generals. The political cluster includes the SPLM/A leadership, politicians and party strategists. These clusters are inextricably interrelated. It is believed that one cannot serve in the civil administration or political cluster without a background in military participation. Southern Sudanese living in the refugee camps respect these structures and most of the adults belong to or are affiliated with one or more of these governance structures. With the newly signed peace agreement, it is expected that different governance structures will be put in place.

This sample of research sites is assumed to offer possibilities to investigate how the political, social, cultural and economic dimensions of the conflict are taken up by the respective societies after the Peace Agreement. Khartoum will be included as the capital where the central government institutions

are located and national decisions are taken. All sites are characterised by multi-dimensional tensions and conflicts which have been tentatively settled recently. There is the need for institutions able to prevent a resurrection of armed struggle and to tackle appropriately the conflicts to come.

The research will have to find answers to the following questions:

- What are the characteristics of the "traditional" / established governance structures in southern Sudan and how have they changed over time?

- What constitutes core values, what ideology informs these values, and to what extent do these two factors inform governance and social action in the various research sites inside and outside   Sudan?

- How are those aspirations of the Sudanese which they acquired in the diaspora, likely to influence governance and social action upon their return?

- Which are the underlying power relations of the emerging governance structures, and which capacities are there to tackle the causes of entrenched conflicts?

- Which forces undermine emerging governance structures, how and by whom are they addressed?

- How are the redistributive parts of the Peace Agreement implemented?

- How do local governance structures in the research sites interlink with national and international regional governance?

For all sites, mainly a field research approach will be adopted for data collection, with the hope of moving on to action-research at a later stage.

Research Phases and Proceeding, Young Scholars' Involvement, and Extension of the Research Network

The project will start with a workshop in Khartoum with all participating scholars in order to commonly decide upon the composition of the ten researchers to be employed inteh project. Two will be degree holders who want to increase their research experience but not necessarily strive at further qualification, there will be three PhD students from various Sudanese universities and three Sudanese M.A. students, one Kenyan and one Ethiopian PhD student. Among the Sudanese candidates, those from southern Sudan and women will be favoured, if their academic background permits a choice. All applicants will be provided with background material before so that they can present research proposals related to the project framework. Joining a four-weeks intensive preparatory course will be obligatory for the selected researchers. The course is supplied by the Development Studies and Research Institute (DSRI) in Khartoum together with the Sudanese applicant Prof. El-Battahani and the coordinator, Dr. Grawert. The training includes methods of field research and informs about the theoretical background of the research topic.

During field research phase I, information will be gathered to get an overview of existing actors, activities, social and gender relations, issues, rules and institutions in the research areas. With qualitative methods of social research, actors and their perspectives will be identified. Observation, guideline interviews and focussed group discussions with local informants and leaders as well as group representatives will shed light on their current activities, important local issues, their aims, ideas, priorities and interests, interaction with other groups, formal and informal institutions. A focus will be on their relationships with government institutions, their perception of rule, assessment of conflict, and their concepts of security. Underprivileged groups, their interests and social action will also be identified. The interviews will be analysed immediately with respect to commonalities and differences, and further guidelines will be subsequently adapted (Kleining 1982). This is complemented by quantitative surveys. Relevant interfaces between groups, varieties of state-society relations, power

relations, and types of legitimacy will be identified by analysing the interviews and observations. The research will be guided by cooperation partners and the coordinator through several field visits and e-mail contact. Table 1 provides an overview of the availability of data in Sudan.

Table 1: Data needs and availability

Economic data	Availability and Source of data
Data concerning ecosystem, natural/renewable resources.	Available (Ministry of Agriculture (MoA), Universities, scientific research, NGO reports)
Spatial land use, temporal/seasonal land use, settlements and IDPs claims to their lands and property.	Not available, to be researched (by qualitative methods, FGD, Interview, eventually analysis of aerial photos and use of statistics to be done upon the planned national census)
Labour market, training, banks, service sector	Not available, to be researched through qualitative samples(FGD, Interview)
Political and social data	*Availability and Source of data*
Social and political legal and institutional framework	Partly available (Government policy papers), partly to be researched
Social and political power (economic, military, geographic), gender dimensions	Not available, to be researched
Actors (insiders and outsiders) perceptions, needs, interests, values, and capacity regarding conflict management institutions (age/gender)	Partly available, partly to be researched
Relational-conflict map, potential and limits of emerging governance structures, interactions between various levels (from local to international), of patterns and problems of legitimacy of rule, and of forces which act towards peace-building or conflict escalation.	Not available, to be researched

Source: Compiled by Atta H. El-Battahani (2005).

A similar socio-economic and political mapping will be done for Gambella region and the Kenyan sites. Interfaces between the Sudanese diaspora and the local societies will be investigated, too. The qualitative analytical approach will be triangulated with documents of the respective governments, international agencies, regional organisations, NGOs, and further secondary sources, as well as with anthropological and neo-institutionalist approaches. In particular, decentralisation concepts will be critically reviewed and carefully applied to analyse the administrative reforms in southern Sudan. A phase of data evaluation and in depth literature research follows, for the PhD students and researchers also in Bremen with the possibility to visit libraries in other towns. All cooperation partners will be involved in supervising the work, personally and through e-mail contact. The three M.A. students will finalise their theses and another three students will be selected and trained to participate in field research phase II.

During field research phase II, cases of resource conflict or other fields of tension will be identified for closer investigation of social action and the formation and functioning of governance structures (in line with Bourdieu 1985, Long 2000). It is assumed that changing patterns of control over resources reflect changing relations of power within society, between state factions, between state and society, and between external and diverse internal social and state actors. This analytical framework allows to clarify economic and political impacts of activities of third parties involved in conflict resolution, restructuring, and developing the respective societies (Anderson 1999). Markets of violence and their influence on developments in conflict-ridden societies also have to be considered here. For the selected cases, deep research with elements of grounded theory will be applied to gain know-

ledge on local ways of bridging and contesting discrepancies of value, interest, knowledge, and power and resulting cultural and organisational forms (Strauss/Corbin 1996). The organising and symbolising practices of state authorities, development agencies and organisations as well as the nexus of micro- and macro-relations will be studied for each case (Long 2001, Grawert 2001). Non-constitutional ways of participation through informal institutions such as patronage systems, women's networks, and social movements will be included in the investigation (see exemplary articles in Liebert/Lauth 1999). Alliances of actors and their respective aims, means, and strategies of action will be identified, with particular respect to political parties, popular movements and civil society organisations which elsewhere have pushed governments to become responsive to local demands (Olson 1968, Heller 2002). A focus will be on ways of participation emerging for each case, under the assumed condition of a disrupted society with possibly mistrustful relations towards the state. Ways and actions by which cultural identities and social and gender relations are (re-)constructed in the context of societies with long-term violence experience will be investigated in the case contexts. This phase will be intensively guided by supervising scholars and the coordinator. Parallel to this, one of the students or researchers may concentrate on analysis of local, national, regional/international governance structures and regional power relations. This will require interviewing political and social leaders, analysis of documents, and linking this up with the work of the field researchers.

A period of data evaluation, documentation, and thesis writing under supervision of all cooperation partners, personally and per e-mail contact, follows. The three M.A. students will finalise their theses.

For field research phase III, elements of participatory action research will be used in order to open possibilities to render the academic study applicable to the needs of those being studied. This will mainly be done by organising repeated meetings with larger and mixed groups of interview partners in order to discuss the research results and possible consequences for action with them. The project cooperation partners and the coordinator will join the researchers during these meetings and assist in guiding focussed group discussions. The aim is to increase awareness among local actors on the state-society relations identified, on important issues which might have come up during the research in the various sites, and about the range of social actors and institutions dealing with these issues in different ways. Key issues and possibly conflictive topics raised in these discussions will be taken up for further and more specific analysis of potentials and limits of emerging governance structures, of interactions between various levels (from local to international), of patterns and problems of legitimacy of rule, and of forces which act towards peace-building or conflict escalation. Topic-related case studies will focus on social action in the framework of exit, voice, and loyalty options (Hirschman 1974). In a last step, the results will be communicated to the participants of the discussion groups and, if possible, to a wider local public, in subsequent meetings organised in the research sites. The proposed methodology draws from research experiences with a dialogue technique applied by Grawert for research in Tanzania (Grawert, forthcoming), and from experiences of the War-Torn-Societys Project (Johannsen 2001). In the context of conflict societies, this approach may contribute to rebuilding social relations and trust. It will also create a basis for participatory formulation of policy recommendations to be addressed to the respective levels and departmens of government.

Throughout the research project, several meetings and workshops to discuss results and research problems will be organised in institutes of higher learning in the research sites. The status of the southern Sudanese universities will be enhanced by convening workshops in these locations, even if they do not have departments of social sciences or related disciplines (e.g. in Malakal). The meetings will provide opportunities for the participants to exchange ideas, intensify cooperation and deepen research networks. Interested people from academia, politics, and society may attend the workshops so that interim results can enrich public discourse. After final analysis of the collected information and writing up PhD theses and articles, the project concludes with an international conference in Juba on "Governance and Social Action in Africa". The research results will be documented and published predominantly in African journals in order to add to African academic discourse on governance and social action and create wider cooperations and contacts for the future (see also attachment B).

Expertise of Participating Researchers and Expected Interdisciplinary Synergy

the scholars and researchers come from social and political sciences, sociology, economics, development studies, and social anthropology. They all have a long research experience in Africa and published extensively on a variety of related topics (see attachment C). Hence, an adequate range of academic and methodological approaches will be in place to cover the social, political, economic and cultural aspects of governance analysis. The previously planned cooperation with the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague cannot be realised due to overcommitment of Prof. Mohamed Salih in other projects. Instead, new partners from Ethiopia, Kenia, and South Sudan are ready to cooperate and will add considerable scholarly expertise to the common undertaking. Hopefully, a researcher from the Peace and Conflict Research department of the University of Dilling will join the project at a later stage. - Each involved university will host at least one workshop or conference and supply the necessary facilties during the project period. Ethical questions have been discussed on the basis of the recommended guideline and will be taken up in contracts to be made in case of project approval.

Prof. Dr Karl Wohlmuth (applicant of the University of Bremen) has worked on economic development strategies, structural adjustment policies, and the impact of economic programmes on Sudan since the 1970s. He cooperated with UNDP and ILO in the first Human Development Report for Sudan. As head of the African Development Perspectives Yearbook project and the Sudan Economy Research Group, he and his team maintain contact and organise research projects with African scholars, regional African institutions and the African Development Bank and edit several publication series. Prof. Wohlmuth is director of the Institute of International Economic Relations and International Management (IWIM) which provides training and undertakes research at the interface of macro- and micro-economic problems of structural change. His work in the proposed project will concentrate on supervising research on the economic aspects of governance, in particular fiscal aspects and outputs regarding service delivery, infrastructure and rural development. - The University of Bremen will provide a room and technical and administrative infrastructure for the project coordinator and assist with the organisation and accommodation of meetings and conferences. Furthermore, the IWIM offers space and technical infrastructure to five African PhD students and two researchers during a four months stay for literature research and further training, and for the cooperation partners during their various research stays. Prof. Wohlmuth will guide personally the training of the students and researchers with academic advice in development economics while they work in Bremen and by e-mail contact while they do research in Africa.

Prof. Dr. Atta H. El-Battahani (applicant of the University of Khartoum) is the head of the Department of Political Science. He has done field studies in Darfur and Kordofan on ethnic and resource conflicts, reintegration of fractured communities in conflict-affected areas, and on urban camps for displaced people in marginalised areas in Khartoum. He submitted expert reports on conflict resolution and sustainable development, the economics of civil conflicts, gender-based violence, and governance indicators. As founding member of the Development Policy Management Forum of the UNECA and of the North-south Project on Environmental Change and Conflict Transformation in the Horn of Africa, Prof. El-Battahani is committed to regional cooperative endeavours towards peace building. His scholarly contribution will be supervision of researchers in the field of political science including peace and conflict research and governance structures at the local, national, and regional international levels as well as training in methods. - The University of Khartoum will provide institutional facilities for the project through the DSRI and by organising workshops for students' selection.

Prof. Dr Angelo Lobale Lokoro Loiria (University of Juba) still holds lectures and supervises M.A. and PhD students' research work and thesis writing in the College of Social and Economic Studies. His expertise comprises local government structures and international relations. He has a strong focus on the historical dimension of the Sudanese north-south conflict and on intermittent processes of negotiation and peace agreements. His contribution in the project will be supervision of students' research mainly in this field and in historically comparative analysis of the emerging governance structures. - Since the University of Juba is in a process of being re-located to the South, training facilities are not yet available.

Dr Samson Samuel Wassara (UNICEF / University of Juba) is an expert in peace building and strongly involved in practical work. At present he manages a project in the framework of the Sudan Country Programme of Cooperation 2002-2006 which addresses grassroots peace building and conflict reduction at national and sub-national levels with a research component to enhance conflict

analysis for knowledge-based interventions. As director of the Centre for Peace and Development Studies of Juba University, he founded the *Journal for Peace and Development Research* as forum for debate on peace studies. He will contribute through supervising research, assisting with contacts in the Sudanese research sites, and facilitating publications in the above journal.

Prof. Dr Amna Dirar (Ahfad University ofWomen) will cooperate in the project on the basis of her expertise in the fields of conflict resolution, gender and development, peace building, non-governmental organisations' management, citizens' rights and good governance. She is qualified in both public administration and social anthropology, and her supervisory work will focus on analysis of governance and capacity building with special consideration of inclusion of women. - Ahfad University can offer its library and information and expert advice regarding gender issues during the project.

Prof. Dr Kassahun Berhanu (University of Addis Ababa) chairs the Department of Political Science and International Relations and has a strong academic profile in decentralisation processes and governance as well as in peace and conflict research in Ethiopia. He will participate in research supervision from the perspective of political sciences with a focus on analysis of attempts to solve ethnicised conflict. Addis Ababa University may provide access to relevant literature through its libraries and close links to OSSREA (Organisation of Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa).

Dr Mary Omosa (University of Nairobi) is a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Development Studies (IDS). A development sociologist by training, she has undertaken research in Kenya and within the African region on rural livelihoods, governance and transition in a way which provided necessary links between development theory and practice. She currently holds the UNESCO/UNITWIN Chair at the University of Nairobi. Her scholarly contribution to the project and supervisory work will be based on her recent study on governance structures in Kenya. The research will benefit from her methodological experience in interface analyses. - The publications available at the IDS Nairobi will be made accessible to the project participants.

Dr Elke Grawert (coordinator, University of Bremen) has a strong academic pursuit in dynamics of social action and state-society relations, in particular from a rural perspective. She studied livelihood systems and impacts of development policies under a gender perspective in Darfur. Her field research on local governance structures in Tanzania with qualitative methods of social research provides her with methodological expertise in the field of social action analysis. She will contribute to methodological training and supervision of students' work during extended field stays and otherwise, e-mail contact, while teaching at Bremen University. Intensive guidance is indispensable in order to secure that the African students achieve academic qualifications and work efficiently in research teams, because they will come from diverse teaching-learning backgrounds and academic cultures, suffer from poor study facilities in South Sudan, and need special training for the participatory research approach. The project will benefit from her scholarly expertise at the interface of political science and sociology and her abilities in intercultural coordination and moderation, team and project management. Since the other partners are full-time professors and hence, not always available for the required frequent presence at the research sites, Dr Grawert will be the main contact person.

Intensive cooperation and networking among researchers and supervisors will create interdisciplinary synergies. It is planned to send always two researchers from different universities to the sites and to change sites so that each student will gain empirical knowledge from two different areas (countries) at least and learn to cooperate with a partner from a different academic discipline. Cooperation partners and the coordinator will engage in building academic links between young scholars and students from the various participating universities with more southern Sudanese universities including those in Dilling (South Kordofan) and Malakal (Upper Nile). This is challenging because due to the long years of conflict, internal academic exchange between Sudanese universities has been constrained. The aim is to build a sustainable research cooperation between all universities involved and to extend it in the future. Synergies are not only expected in the academic field but also practically and professionally due to the intended repeated contact with local, national and international stakeholders in the research sites.

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