

**University of Juba, Cooperative research project: Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the Peace Agreement of January 9, 2005: local, national and regional dimensions, and United Nations Development, Programme UNDP, Southern Sudan**

## **International Conference at the University of Juba on Governance and Social Action in Conflict Societies**

This conference was the first international academic conference in the field of social sciences that took place at the University of Juba after the civil war. It was opened by ***H.E. Dr Riak Machar, Government of South Sudan***, signifying the importance of this event for the regional government of South Sudan. The interest of government officials was reflected by the presence and vivid participation in discussions of high-ranking ministers and state ministers, in particular ***H.E. Dr Luka Monoja, Minister of Cabinet Affairs*** and ***H.E. Cesar Arkangelo, Local Government Board***.

This event has strengthened the role of the University of Juba in the academic landscape of Sudan and is likely to be the vantage point for further international conferences in science and arts.

### **Abstracts**

#### **Volatilities of Post-conflict Governance in Sudan: Actors and Contexts**

The context of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement indicates that the partners' commitment to peace processes is influenced by internal spoilers as well as by the geopolitical actors. The implementation process has followed bumpy roads to the point of racking the peace agreement. The latter is always saved at the last moment. This situation puts into question the goals of the partners in pursuing their political interests under the umbrella of peace. Political analysts begin

to rethink the implementation of the peace agreement and its linkages to other political developments in the region. This paper examines the issues that nurture bitterness in the establishment of institutions and tries to develop suggestions for ways to make them work as agreed in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.

**Dr Samson S. Wassara, Associate of Political Science, University of Juba, College of Social and Economic Studies, Centre for Peace and Development Studies**

## **Global Practices and Decentralised Governance in Southern Sudan**

**Dr Shyam Bhurtel, Head of the Governance Team of UNDP, Juba**

### **The Implementation of Power Sharing at the National Level after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan: the case of the National Assembly**

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Army dealt with the crucial issues of power sharing, wealth sharing and self-determination. In the power sharing protocol, the parties agreed to create a decentralised system of governance with significant devolution of powers. In this system the Government of National Unity is to exercise sovereignty over the entire Sudan, whilst the regional Government of South Sudan has gained a substantial degree of autonomy in governing the South.

However, the implementation of the CPA is moving at a slow pace. It is argued here that this is mainly due to the interest of dominant groups to secure access to and control over key resources of the country and secondly, due to the weakness of the political parties at rule. In particular, the organisation of the political parties, their programmes, their structure of participation and the relationship between the National Congress Party and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement are considered as undermining the implementation of power sharing.

This study takes the National Assembly as a case study in order to look into the implementation of power sharing at the national level. It attempts to explain the critical relationships between the parties participating in the current government in terms of decision making, policy formulation

and implementation of the CPA.

**Rania Hassan**, Political Scientist, University of Khartoum, awarded a M.Sc. scholarship in the cooperative research project on Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the CPA, 2005

### **Effects of Civil War on Gender – based Violence amongst the Anuaak and Nuer in Southern Sudan**

Women had been victims of the brutal civil war in Sudan, which was ended after the signature of the CPA in January 2005. However, gender-based violence (GBV) persists. How has the civil war in Sudan influenced the incidence of GBV, which are the root causes and contributing factors, and which consequences has GBV on gender relations and the wider society? Which mechanisms of dealing with GBV have been introduced? What are the responses and attitudes of the Nuer and the Anuaak towards these mechanisms?

Starting from theories of gender – based violence in conflict societies, an ethnographic research strategy based on observation, participant observation and guideline interviews has been applied in Nile, Unity, Jonglei states. The following aspects of GBV will be discussed in the presentation:

Recruitment of children for the armed conflict included abduction of girl-children.

Intra-community clashes involving the militia in the Anuaak and Nuer communities affected the lives of girl children and women in particular ways.

Armed conflict resulted in displacement among the Anuaak and the Nuer. Women and girl children have been exposed to gender – based violence.

Forced marriage is widespread because of resource-related factors, especially after return of displaced people and refugees.

Wife beating has become a norm.

**Esther Ikere Eluzai**, Sociologist, University of Juba, awarded a PhD scholarship in the cooperative research project on Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the CPA, 2005

### **South Sudan Economy: Oil Revenues and Prospects for Development**

The economy of South Sudan is based on natural resources. There is livestock, fish, forests, gold, uranium, iron, cement and oil in abundance, in addition to agricultural resources. However, in the rural areas, over 80 per cent of the population have been depending on low productivity occupations in traditional farming, livestock herding etc., suffering from poverty, hunger and

diseases for decades.

Based on the the wealth sharing principles provided by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), oil revenues can be used now to stimulate development in southern Sudan. The oil industry represents the modern sector of the economy that can be used to generate financial resources for the development of the traditional sector which is hinged on it. But receiving 50 per cent of the oil revenues stemming from oil production in southern Sudan will not enable the region to meet all the needs of service provision, pro-poor growth, reconstruction and rehabilitation. Although oil revenues are necessary sources for investment in agriculture, the development of South Sudan will be constrained, if the Government of South Sudan (GOSS) depends on only one source for its revenues. To ensure economic development, oil revenues must be invested in agriculture and related sectors of the economy in South Sudan.

**Dr Abraham Matoc, University of Juba, Associate Prof. of Economics, College of Social and Economic Studies**

### **Economic Reconstruction in a Post-conflict Society: South Sudan three years after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement**

According to empirical evidence, the availability of increased resources, e.g. from extraction of natural resources, can result in sustainable economic growth if they are combined with better institutions. Specifically, investment performance can be improved if there is an institutional arrangement that limits the possibility of unpredictable change in government policy.

The transaction cost approach is used to see the relative efficiency of the institutional arrangement after the end of the long civil war in South Sudan, based on data collected in Juba and Yei. The research results show the following:

The legal and policy framework is investment-friendly and can lead to growth in private investment.

The Government of South Sudan well adheres to laws and policies once it has announced them. The mechanisms of good governance and law enforcement have been put in place but the lack of capacity imposes limitations on implementation.

Unfavorable condition of infrastructure has been found to be the major obstacle faced by firms and this has resulted in very high cost of doing business.

**Berhanu Denu**, Economist, Universities of Addis Ababa and Bremen, a PhD scholarship in the cooperative research project on Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the CPA, 2005

## **Urban Land Governance in the Nuba Mountains after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan, 2005: realities and challenges**

The paper focuses on institutions (rules and organisations) that are related to urban land allocation by describing and analysing their situations and the ways that they are tackling the challenges of democratisation and enhanced inclusiveness. State and society interactions will be discussed in terms of the interaction between the government bodies related to land allocation, community leaders and political party affiliates of the SPLM (Sudan People's Liberation Movement) and NCP (National Congress Party). The paper will end with recommendations.

**Tayseer El-Fatih, Ahfad University for Women, Omdurman, Institute for Women, Gender and Development Studies, a PhD scholarship in the cooperative research project on Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the CPA, 2005**

### **Governance of Land Allocation in Southern Sudan after the CPA: the case of Juba**

Governance of land allocation in the Sudan has always rested with government authorities until the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement and the inclusion of its provision on the control of land into the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan. Since then, community control over land has emerged as a new phenomenon throughout Southern Sudan. The case of Juba as the dual capital of Southern Sudan and Central Equatoria State, where because of the newness of this power shift from Government control to communities' self assertion is not clearly understood by most people. The historical role of Juba as a capital city is provided to illustrate the need for dialogue among the two governance authorities and the communities to arrive at amicable solutions to the issue of land to facilitate an orderly urban growth.

**Prof. Sibrino Barnaba Forojalla**, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Juba

### **Traditions of Conflict Management and their Potential in Post-conflict Processes of Stabilising Peace and Developing Structures of Good Governance**

The contribution is based on research undertaken in the Ethiopian regional state of Gambella

that shares a long and porous border with Southern Sudan in three directions. The indigenous population living in this border-region is from similar ethnic background; namely Nuer and Anywaa inhabit the region on both sides of the border. Traditional customs and forms of social order are still alive and have proved to be vital in difficult times, especially in times of war and absence of reliable governments. Especially in dealing with conflict within one ethnic group, and in matters of social organisation of the own ethnic group, traditional methods and structures have contributed to collective survival and the maintenance of order when state-governments failed. The paper argues that the traditional knowledge of conflict resolution and social order can be drawn upon in peace and state-building processes in a post-conflict society like Southern Sudan. Looking into the specific experience of the Nuer, a mainly pastoralist ethnic group with a prominent background in the SPLA. The paper will show the potentials and risks of recurring to traditional knowledge in the process of modern state-building. Thereby it also reflects on the sometimes tensed relationship between traditions and the need to develop structures of governance that are able to exist and compete in a continuously globalising world. The contribution to the workshop firstly will look into the perceptions of conflict and its transformation of the Nuer. In a second step, the contribution will explore the potential of this ancient knowledge to make the outcome available as a system that serves the broader community at large. The result will be proved towards its ability to lead towards more self-determination, an improved capacity to cope with future conflicts, and an increased potential to solving these conflicts with peaceful means in the environment of a modern state.

**Monika M Sommer, Mediator (M.A.), lawyer (bar-exam) and doctoral candidate at the Department of Political Science, University of Hamburg, Research Associate at the Department of Political Science and International Relations at Addis Ababa University**

### **Empowered Communal Participation in Sudan: a model for replication?**

The political system forms the framework for wealth and power sharing, the key issues of the CPA. If the issue of political system is properly considered, it will lead to the discussion about the mutual/dialectical relationship between the existence/absence of democracy and the existence/absence of peace.

Situational analysis that considers the socio-economic and political peculiarities of the country is applied in Khartoum, South Kordofan and Malakal/Upper Nile States.

The research revealed the following:

When the mainstream definition of political participation is applied, it is found that political participation in Sudan is an elitist rather than a popular kind of participation.

When a situational analysis approach is used it reveals that people perceive political participation to be a collective/communal action which aims at achieving collective/communal ends, but is lying mainly outside the formal governmental realm. The analysis reveals that Sudanese people are highly engaged in the civic realm of politics.

The mode of political engagement varies between regions: In Khartoum, it is linked to global civic society. In South Kordofan, there are collective/communal modes of participation. In Upper Nile/Malakal, a social movement mode of participation prevails.

**Dr Yasir Awad Abdalla**, Political Scientist, University of Khartoum, Faculty of Economics and Social Studies, Department of Political Science, awarded a PhD research scholarship in the cooperative research project on Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the CPA, 2005

### **Return Migration and Socio-economic and Cultural Change in the Nuba Mountains and Unity State, Sudan**

Return migration is relatively new research area, in particular as far as return migration of internally displaced people is concerned.

This paper focusses on the return migration of Sudanese population groups to the Nuba Mountains from other Sudanese regions, after spending a long period of time far from their home land. The main reason for displacement had been the civil war between the Government of Sudan and SPLA, which spread to the Nuba Mountains in the mid-1980s. A greater return movement to this area started in 2002 when the first ceasefire agreements were concluded between the Government of Sudan and the SPLA. The number of returnees increased significantly after the CPA was signed. The agreement offers return, resettlement and rehabilitation for internally displaced people.

This paper focusses on the main reasons for displacement and return and the challenges facing returnees from long-term exile.

**Samira Musa Armin**, Geographer, University of Juba, Faculty of Education, Department of Geography, awarded a PhD research scholarship in the cooperative research project on Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the CPA, 2005

### **Ethnic Associations of Migrants from the Nuba Mountains in Khartoum and their Role for the Socio-political and Economic Future of the Home Region**

This paper is concerned with the question to which extent activities of registered ethnic associations (*rawābiṭ*) of migrants influence the social, political and economic landscape of the

region they are related to. The case study considers the situation of migrants from the Nuba Mountains (Central Sudan) in Khartoum, based on interviews and workshops with members of their associations. The focus is on their conceptualisation of development, i.e. the prospected future, and the actual activities towards this future in the region. The paper provides considerations regarding the elections agreed upon in the CPA and investigates in particular the dilemmata of civil society organisations, which are by definition and governmental law unpolitical, but operate in a highly politicised post-war situation.

**Enrico Ille**, University of Halle, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology

### **Territory and Identity in Nuba's Political Struggle after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan**

This paper postulates that the question of customary land rights is one of the root causes of the successive civil wars in Sudan in general and in the Nuba Mountains region in particular. Therefore, after the formal end of the war, the question arises in the region how, on the one hand, the land-based conflicts between the co-existing but competing ethnic groups and, on the other hand, the contradictions between traditional land rights and modern state policy on land rights will be resolved? The issue involves aspects of territoriality, land rights and ethnicity in the struggle of the traditional societies in claiming their customary lands. In the light of this, the paper attempts to trace, through a field-note-centred ethnographic analysis, some emerging processes and dynamics of articulating autochthonous identity politics in the struggle for claiming ethnic territorial land by two selected ethnic groups in the region. Towards its end, the paper questions the effectiveness of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and its formed institutions including the current Government of National Unity in addressing the land question despite its centrality in the Sudan's recurrent civil wars in the South, the Nuba Mountains, Darfur and elsewhere.

**Dr Guma Kunda Komey**, Associate Professor at the University of Juba and Senior Researcher at the Research Centre 'Difference and Integration' of the University of Martin-Luther, Halle-Wittenberg, Germany

### **Post-conflict Governance and Involvement of External Actors: the influence of international non-governmental development projects on the legitimacy**

## **of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement**

One of the key aspects in the implementation of peace agreements and post-conflict stability is the transition of rebel groups to legitimate political parties. This paper seeks to examine the affect of UN and international NGO projects on the legitimacy of the government of southern Sudan, headed by the SPLM. Pre-peace activities of the SPLM, through its relationship with the UN and manipulation of food aid, enabled the group to promote its own internal political position. Yet, as the SPLM works to redefine its internal role as a political party, one of its main concerns is to promote legitimacy through governance and welfare projects. That is, public opinion and support depends on the ability of the group to provide for the wellbeing of its citizens. This role, however, is often occupied by the UN and NGO's through their own development efforts. This paper looks to understand the relationship between the SPLM and the international community, and the affect this relationship has on the domestic state-society relations. As such, the ultimate stability of the SPLM as a legitimate holder of power will be evaluated, and provide implications for the maintenance of security as southern Sudan transitions to a post-conflict society.

**Sarah Washburne**, University of Exeter, U.K., Institute of Arabic and Islamic Studies

## **Challenges of Sub-regional Peace after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan**

Two disquieting developments have occurred after the successful conclusion of the CPA between the Government of Sudan and the leadership of SPLA in January 2005. One is the intensification of the crisis in Darfur in Western Sudan that has made hundreds of thousands of civilians suffer from atrocities by various armed groups and caused the flight of large groups of local inhabitants to Chad and the Central African Republic. The second development is the delay of the implementation of crucial elements of the CPA.

Both the crisis in Darfur and the delay of CPA implementation have important regional repercussions, which are not sufficiently considered by the academic world nor by the regional political elites. The paper analyses the regional dimensions of conflict with a New Regionalism approach that looks into spaces of conflictive interaction beyond national borders. Instead of a state-centred perspective, the current developments are studied with a focus on economic, social, cultural and political spaces where micro-, meso- and sub-regional as well as global arenas of action are interlinked.

On this background the impact of war and peace in Sudan on the sub-region of North-East Africa is investigated with the extremely different examples of Chad and Kenya. Whereas the relations between Sudan and Chad have been tense and led to numerous violent incidents since the 1980s, those between Sudan and Kenya appear to be cooperative and economically beneficial.

Finally the challenge to help the fragmented Sudanese society recover from war is outlined as a challenge not just for the Sudanese signatories of the CPA and international donors, but for political institutions in the Greater Horn of Africa region, in particular the Intergovernmental Authority for Development IGAD. Concluding remarks point to potentials and challenges for sustainable peace in Sudan as part of the sub-region of North-East Africa.

**Dr Elke Grawert, Associate Professor (PD) of Political Science at the University of Bremen, of Economics, for World Economics and International Management, Coordinator of the cooperative research project on Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the CPA, 2005**

### **Sub-regional Impact of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan: the ceasefire accord between the Government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army**

Since the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) has come into force in January 2005, the region bordering Sudan has witnessed an unprecedented emergence of important negotiations about political and security arrangements. The goal of these negotiations is not only to improve political stability within a nation-state but also to realise an improved cross-border political and economic relationship. These arrangements have the potential to lead to sustainable peace deals between the protagonists. A case in point is the recent agreement between the Government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebel group. How has the Sudan's CPA contributed to negotiations for a peaceful agreement between these parties? This problem will be answered in this research paper.

Based on empirical evidence and supported by the theory of institutionalism, the paper aims to explain how the CPA has become a key institution that has contributed to the emergence of a ceasefire between the LRA and the Ugandan government, agreed in Juba in February 2008. It will gloss over how this agreement supports harmony within the states of Southern Sudan, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, where the LRA rebellion has been in

operation.

**George Katete, University of Bremen, Institute for International and Intercultural Studies**