

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

**Report on three Stakeholder Workshops**

The stakeholder workshops 2008 marked the final phase of the project activities which had started in 2005. The first of these workshops was conducted at Upper Nile University in Malakal, Upper Nile State, Sudan, on 25 April 2008. The second one took place on 12-13 May in Gambella in Ethiopia, and the third workshop was conducted on 29 May 2008 at the University of Dilling in Dilling, Southern Kordofan State/Nuba Mountains, Sudan.

The objectives of the stakeholders workshops were

- (1) to share the results of the researches done in the framework of the cooperative project on “Governance and Social Action in Sudan” with the local public and especially the informants who had participated in this work, whether through their organisations, through interviews, questionnaires or informally,
- (2) to receive a feedback from the stakeholders on the research findings.
- (3) to develop policy briefs that will be addressed to the Sudanese governments at various levels, aid agencies and other political powers (IGAD, Partners' Forum etc.).

**1<sup>st</sup> Stakeholder Workshop, Upper Nile University in Malakal,  
Upper Nile State, Sudan, on April 25, 2008:**

**Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the Comprehensive Peace  
Agreement (CPA) with a Focus on the Challenges of Education  
in Upper Nile State**

The participants in this workshop were staff members of Upper Nile University, Malakal, representatives of the state government from the Ministry of Education, the Southern Sudan Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Commission, the Commission for Disarmament, Demilitarisation and Reintegration, staff of the United Nations Mission in Sudan, representatives of local non-governmental organisations and researchers from the cooperative project on Governance and Social Action in Sudan.

The workshop started with a brief introduction in the cooperative research project on “Governance and Social Action in Sudan after the Peace Agreement of January 9, 2005: local , national and regional dimensions”, by Dr Elke Grawert, University of Bremen.

The Minister of Education of Upper Nile State, Mulwang Dak, and the Acting Vice Chancellor of Upper Nile University, Dr James Deng, opened the workshop. Dr Deng highlighted three challenges:

- the mass return of internally displaced people (IDPs) to Upper Nile State with diverse cultural backgrounds stemming from their different home areas,
- social challenges due to mixed influences including the repercussions of the long-term Arabisation policies of the government,
- the heavy reliance of the society on the United Nations (UN) agencies and the UN mission in Sudan (UNMIS).

**The Minister of Education, H.E. Mulwang Dak**, gave a detailed presentation on governance of and challenges for the educational sector in Upper Nile State.

He stated that schools had not stopped functioning during the civil war (1983-2005). In most of the schools, the language of instruction had been Arabic. After the CPA the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) introduced a new language policy, leading to English as language of instruction at schools. At grades one to three, this has already been implemented. However, textbooks are still in Sudanese Arabic. The Minister held this to be a disadvantage for children in grades four to eight and proved this with a substantial decline in the percentage of pupils who passed the primary school examination in grade eight:

In 2005: 62.5 %, in 2006: 45 %, in 2007: 52 %, in 2008: 48.9 %.

According to the Minister, the main reasons for this low performance of primary school leavers in Upper Nile State are

- the absence of monitoring and inspection in the schools,

- the absence of teachers, who left Upper Nile State and went to northern Sudan where Arabic has remained the language of instruction,
- low teaching capacity of those teachers who remained in Upper Nile State.

These problems were reflected in names given to the Ministry of Education. First it was called “dumping ground”, because it was not able to deliver services properly and incompetent teachers and educational directors were appointed. Now it is called “spring board”, because people are leaving Upper Nile State as soon as they can.

Most of the government staff have been inherited from the era of the war when Malakal was governed by the Government of Sudan (GOS). They are trying everything to keep their positions and think solely in terms of financial benefits, even using fictitious names to be registered in payrolls. The Ministry of Education trained those teachers who had remained in Upper Nile State, but the quality has remained low. The Minister gave the following reasons for the low performance of the educational sector in Upper Nile State:

- Many schools are not accessible during the rainy season (May to October). Moreover, school spaces are very limited. There are many schools 'under the trees'.
- Building schools is difficult due to the black heavy soil that prevails in Upper Nile State. The cost of building has been 210 per cent higher than estimated by the World Bank, because gravel, sand and stones had to be brought from Kosti / White Nile. Tenders have failed.
- The number of drop-outs from schools is tremendous, in particular the number of girls. In the age of 13 or 14, girls are used as means for getting wealth. This has to be considered as a result of poverty. In Upper Nile State the agricultural cycle is short (April to October), and after the harvest, the inhabitants of Upper Nile State tend to consume most of what they gained.
- Alcoholism is wide-spread amongst teachers. Reasons have to be studied.
- Upper Nile State suffers from a shortage of teachers who are able to teach in English. They have to be attracted from abroad or from Equatoria State.
- Training teachers has not yielded much success. Some left the course at the same level as they came. It is evident that 'fast-track training

programmes', two or three months of English courses, are not sufficient, and the methodology is weak.

- About 150 students from higher institutions were employed as teachers before they had graduated.
- A committee for education, established by the Ministry of Finance, currently makes an assessment if those who claim to be teachers really are qualified. There are cases where teachers have been appointed without any interview. This has changed meanwhile, the Ministry of Education makes sure that teachers have got professional qualification.
- A system of monitoring and follow-up courses in the various areas of teaching is missing in the Ministry of Education.
- Institutional capacity is poor.

The Minister clarified that directions for the Ministry of Education come from the regional Ministry of Education in the GOSS. Rather than upgrading local teachers, the GOSS is sending teachers from abroad and giving scholarships to students going to Egypt or South Africa. These students are not from Upper Nile State, no applicant from here was accepted. Those students who are trained abroad usually do not come back, due to low salaries. Therefore, the Minister suggests to enhance training within the country.

Concerning the ways to deal with these challenges, the Minister reported:

- Ten schools were rehabilitated, funded by the government.
- The Ministry of Education has engaged in teachers' training. It has offered training in English and methodology for 223 teachers. 190 attended in Malakal and Renk.
- The Ministry has started an own teachers' training programme whereby subjects are taught together with methodology in sciences and social studies and the use of technology according to current international standards.
- Much more support for teachers' training in English is needed from the GOSS. The Minister has had several talks about it with the Undersecretary of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MoEST) in Juba.
- UNICEF provides teaching and learning materials for the basic educational level. This is still missing for the secondary level.

- The Ministry has started activities in capacity building, institutional development and management of classes. It suggests to open Upper Nile University for teachers. This has not yet been made formal. The Ministry has also started to establish an alternative educational system through teaching centres in the counties of Upper Nile State. Those who dropped out of school have the chance to enter the school curriculum anywhere according to needs at these centres. For returnees from northern Sudan who got education in Arabic, an accelerated programme (two years in one) is offered.
- The “Verification of Employees” committee of the Ministry of Finance tackles the issue of corruption and embezzlement of public funds. Some directors of education had added their children's names on the pay sheets in order to enrich themselves.
- The educational sector is being coordinated with international partners. The four million Sudanese Pounds (SP) available are mostly used up for salaries.

**Garang De-Nyiel, Lecturer at the Department of English Language, Faculty of Education, Upper Nile University Malakal**, presented the following paper on **The Introduction of English Language as Medium of Instruction in Southern Sudan** (slightly abridged and edited by Elke Grawert):

Worldwide, the medium of instruction is a customary entity for a nation. After the end of the war, Southern Sudan witnesses the English medium of instruction to be implemented, as stipulated by the CPA. In this paper, I intend to highlight the position of English language in the CPA and in the current language planning policy.

***English Language in the CPA***

In Chapter II, Part II, sub-section 2.8 of the CPA, which constitutes 'Power Sharing', English language is emphasised as one of the languages to be used in Southern Sudan. It reads:

2.8.3. Arabic as a major language at the national level, and English shall be the official working languages of the National Government, business and language of instruction for higher education.

2.8.4. In addition to Arabic and English, the legislature of any sub-national level of government may adopt any other national language(s) as additional official working language(s) at its level.

2.8.5 The use of either language at any level of government or education shall not be discriminated against.

Eventually, the GOSS issued a decree of introducing English language as a medium of instruction. The intention is to use English in the schools, universities and government institutions of Southern Sudan.

### ***Language Planning and Policy***

Mekay and Hornberger (1996, 2004), Wiley (2005) and others declare that language planning is relatively young as a field of formal academic study, dating roughly from the 1960s. Much of its literature has been concerned with language issues in 'developing' countries and in countries undergoing processes of social, economic, or political change. Despite its recency as an academic field, language planning and policy analysis have long existed as activities of states and empires, though not always explicitly under these labels.

In the absence of formal policies, language decisions have long figured in the agendas of powerful commercial interests, of modernisers, and of writers and stylists. Official language decisions are imposed as explicit policies handed down by governments.

Language planning can be divided in four phases:

1. The selection of a language variety; the language chosen may be an indigenous language.
2. Codification; the choice of script, the determination of phonology and its correspondence to an orthography, of morphology, and syntax.
3. Implementation, pertaining to initial diffusion of the new codified norm throughout society; this is carried out by means such as schools, official, religious and commercial agencies.

4. Elaboration and modernisation; this involves ongoing efforts to spread the norm and to extend its ability to meet varying communication needs of the society.

Apparently, there are varying implicit and explicit goals of language planning:

(I) Language goals, (II) political goals, (III) economic goals.

#### (I) Language goals

Language goals are either seen as language-related (i.e. language appears to be the major focus as an end in itself, or politically and economically motivated (i.e. language appears to be a means to an end). Among language-related goals, three types of policies can be identified:

a) language shift policy, b) language maintenance policy, c) language enrichment policy.

##### *a) Language shift policy*

Language shift is a relatively common occurrence in contacts between people as a result of the formation of nations, migration, trade, war, conquest and colonisation, religious proselytisation, intermarriage, etc. (Mekay 1996: 122). When language diversity is seen as a problem language shift policy is a goal for language acquisition planning, whether implicit or explicit. Spotsky (2005) and Bright (1992) describe language shift as 'the gradual or sudden move from the use of one language to another, either by an individual or a group'.

##### *b) Language maintenance policy*

Basically, it is seen as providing both a cognitive foundation for the transfer of literacy skills from students' native language to their second language, i.e. the dominant language of instruction and a means of fostering the self-confidence and sense of a self-worth deemed essential for promoting academic success (Crawford 1991, Cummins 1981, 1984a,b, 1985). The major attempts to promote language maintenance policy have been in connection with bilingual education and to discourage monolingual education. Moreover, societal bilingualism can be a goal in its own right, and is lost amid fears of linguistic balkanisation (Crawford 1992a, Simon 1988).

##### *c) Language enrichment policy*

This policy is the reverse to language shift policy. It takes the position of environmentalists who try to preserve endangered species in the face of imminent species extinction. Fishman (1981, 1991, 2004) pursues ways to maintain endangered languages in the face of imminent 'linguicide'. His goal is to extend promotion-oriented rights to the world's endangered languages. This issue is related to the larger theme of ethnic revitalisation identified by Tucker (1994).

### (II) Political Goals

Researchers and political scientists agree that to get an ideal nation, one must lay out three things: one language, one religion, and one race. But this may be hardly found on the ground. Among explicit political goals of language planning is an attempt to use language as a means to promote nation building. Historically, the role of language in promoting national unification, language planning has taken on considerable importance in the creation of new nations from former colonies. Often the geographical boundaries of such states are more political than linguistic. They often correspond more to the former imperial boundaries than to language, ethnic or religious units. The analysis of language planning and policies is important in the study of nationalism, so it is significant, too, in the study of imperialism. Phillipson 1992 notes that imperialism theory poses six mutually interlocking types: economic, political, military, communicative, cultural, and social imperialism.

### (III) Economic Goals

Mekay (1996) confirms that language planning often pursues economically motivated goals, such as those pertaining to communication and marketing in international trade. Economically, consumption and production are under the control of language. Eventually, lack of communication reduces production and increases the number of consumers.

### ***Conclusion***

The GOSS does not hesitate in considering the English language as a medium of instruction within the boundaries of Southern Sudan. Along with this, the indigenous languages are relatively considered as national

languages. Now, multi-lingualism is given a space in the bilingual educational system. The curriculum has been set in English, and implementation has started in three states: Equatoria, Bahr al-Ghazal, and Upper Nile.

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### **Joseph Lodiog Lubajo, M.A. Researcher in the Cooperative Research Project on Governance and Social Action in Sudan presented a paper on Challenges of Basic Education in South Sudan: The Language Policy in Jonglei and Upper Nile State**

After the CPA has been signed in 2005 between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army and the Government of Sudan, institutional rehabilitation and establishment in Sudan and in southern Sudan in particular, are the basis for a successful implementation of this agreement. An important area in this context is the reform of the educational system in South Sudan.

This paper investigates the controversy on the language of instruction in .South Sudanese basic schools

Northern Sudan is predominantly using Arabic as the official language and the language of instruction in schools. Before and after independence in 1956, even until signing of the CPA, South Sudan had no lingua franca which could be used for instructional purposes. In many ways the question of the official language for South Sudan was the single most important issue in the history of the South during the condominium era. Upon to the decision as to which world language, English or Arabic, would become the official medium of instruction and communication, rested the future of the Upper Nile basin.

According to an agreement during a language conference in 1928, the use of

vernaculars and English as medium of instruction in schools was promoted, although at a small scale. Bari, Dinka, Latuho, Nuer, Shulluk and Zande were chosen as group languages to be developed and used as media of instruction in the village and elementary schools in the South. In towns like Malakal and Wau where a significant proportion of the population was using Arabic as a common means of communication, Arabic was allowed as language of instruction in governmental elementary schools. In 1946 a policy of unifying North–South education resulted in the introduction of Arabic as a subject from the intermediate level upwards. Thus, the South was gradually being assimilated educationally and socially into the northern Sudanese system. When South Sudan was granted local autonomy by Khartoum in 1972, education was divided into Arabic and English, yet the performance of the educational sector deteriorated. During the 1990s, under the rule of the Salvation government of President Omer Al-Bashir, Arabisation of South Sudan was imposed forcibly. Arabic-based primary education played a crucial role in reducing the knowledge of the English language amongst the young .educated generation to a very rudimentary level

Upon the signing of the CPA, the Government of South Sudan is keen to ensure, even in most of the Arabic-speaking schools, the implementation of an assumed mass oriented South Sudanese curriculum where English shall .be the language of instruction in primary schools and at other levels This means that the Arabised teachers have to be provided with the skills to teach in English and new textbooks and materials have to be made available, in addition to the rehabilitation of schools and infrastructure after the war. Arabic will fade out as language of instruction and taught only as a lesson

The discussion of the papers highlighted the political ambition of English as medium of instruction as directed against the policy of Arabisation of the GOS. This policy brings about new tensions between those educated in the countries neighbouring Southern Sudan using English curricula, such as Uganda and Kenya, and those coming from Congo or Ethiopia with different languages of instruction, and the IDPS coming from Khartoum and other places in northern Sudan.

After a short overview of findings of participants in the cooperative research project by Elke Grawert, representatives of the **Southern Sudan Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Commission SSRRC and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees UNHCR** shed light on the **Challenges of Reintegration of IDPs and Refugees in Upper Nile State**. Their main points and the results of the discussion are summarised below.

The SSRRC works in organised repatriation of refugees and IDPs in cooperation with the UNHCR, the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), and UNICEF. The UNHCR cooperates with the state government and tries to work in line with the government policies. However, sometimes the state government does not know what the UNHCR is supposed to do.

The mandate of the UNHCR used to be only the care for refugees, abroad as well as upon return to their countries of origin. During the last few years, IDPs have been included. IOM focuses on the return of the IDPs together with the section for Return, Reintegration and Recovery (RRR) of UNMIS. The Area Return Task Force coordinates return and is consulted by the relevant organisations with regard to the return movements.

The main challenges for repatriation are the bad physical infrastructure, which makes movement nearly impossible during the rainy season, and lack of security, mainly because of widespread cattle raiding and land mines. Whereas in 2007, many refugees came back from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Ethiopia, in 2008 many refugees in the Ethiopian refugee camps have not been ready to move. The political will and the development of human capital are the key issues with regard to the return of refugees to Sudan. Most people tend to come back in groups with a known identity. If their kinship and community structures are intact, this facilitates the decision to return.

Return is voluntary. Counties organise the return directly. They prefer to develop the areas of returnees' origin themselves, without the interference of

government or aid agencies. In Korflus, for example, the paramount chief organised the sub-chiefs for building.

The organisations have to expand the areas of settlement to absorb the returnees. One of the problems is that during the rainy season, no local building material is available. Moreover, the people in Upper Nile State are moving much in search of employment and won't stay in a fixed place. During the dry season, people concentrate along the rivers. There are only few resources to be shared. Access to resources is linked to identity. The returnees need valid documents to get Sudanese identity cards. However, the offices that issue the documents are located in the cities, not in the rural areas.

The returnees come back with different cultural habits, dresses and behaviour. Marriage customs are particularly difficult to be changed. There are debates to which extent customary laws can be reconciled with the demand for respect of human rights. Integration requires the readiness of the incoming people to learn, and the readiness of the local communities to listen to new ideas.

UNHCR advocates for both, the incoming groups and the residents. UNICEF also facilitates the return of refugees by running camps and organising the return to the countryside. However, education tends to get more attention in towns and camps than in the villages. For example, in Mabang, north-east Upper Nile State, there are 26 schools, but only one with stable structures. Construction costs are very high. These conditions require much improvement, in cooperation with the rural community leaders.

Those returnees who come back in an organised manner, will be taken up to their places of origin. A problem are those coming unorganised from northern Sudan. The government is involved in finding plots for them. Whereas that is easy in rural counties like Pagak, it is a problem in towns where the demand is greater than the ability to provide the returnees with land. Sometimes returnees do not get out of the bus until they are given a plot.

Funding to upgrade the local facilities, especially schools and health services, is too little. UNHCR and SSRRC suggest to increase donor support for

repatriation. Under the current conditions, a lot of courage is needed for refugees and IDPs to come back.

The government authorities have managed to control the area so that the security situation is stable. However, more presence of the government in the rural areas would be required to assist in the reintegration of refugees and IDPs. As long as the Commissioner of a county is in the rural area, things are moving, but as soon as he returns to Malakal, everything stops. NGOs also should work much more in the rural areas, where the bulk of the population lives. NGOs are sometimes too selective about the areas of their activities.

A problem is displacement due to investment requirements and the occupation of land left by refugees by investors. The right to compensation has still to be clarified.

The next section of the workshop focused on issues of conflict transformation. John Moi Venus presented the following paper:

# **Building of South Sudan within a Framework of Conflict Resolution: Discourses Beyond Ethnicity.**



- In the Framework of the project “ Governance and Social Action in Sudan: After the Peace Agreement of January 2005, Local, National and Regional Dimensions”

May 12-13, 2008

John Moi Venus, MA  
Gambella Stakeholders' Workshop

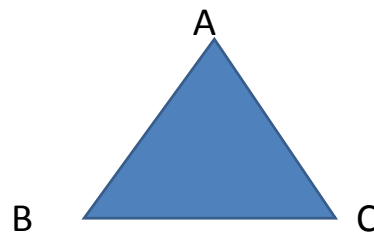
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## **Introduction**

- Clarification of key concepts
- Objectives of the research
- Research problems
- Methodology
- Preliminary results
- Preliminary conclusion

## Key concepts

- **Conflict Resolution:** a more comprehensive process of addressing the deep-rooted sources of conflict including changing attitudes into non-violent, behaviour non-violent and contradictions
- A=attitude, B=Behaviour, C=Contradictions



## Key terms

- Discourse: “a socially and historically specific system of assumptions, values and beliefs which materially affects social conduct and social structure” (Hodgson 2000: 59; see Jackson 2002).
- Language, institutional and organizational practices - part of the discursive practices
- It's amalgam of material practices and forms of knowledge (see Jackson 2002) (see also Foucault's concept of the interface of power and knowledge)
- What it does: In (conflict) war discourses, personal and political consciousness co-exist but not confront each other, questioning thoughts suppressed

## Key terms cont.

- Political dimension: Ethnicity is an emotive metaphor of solidarity by which individuals or group of persons derive satisfaction through subscribing to membership of a particular socio-cultural community
- Ethnicity as idiom of solidarity (Young 2004: 5)
- Ethnicity: a fact of belonging to ethnic groups (Idowu 2004: 46)

## Research objectives: ethnicity/conflict.

- To bring to spotlight ethnicity as a powerful form of socio-political affiliations in the South
- To examine the relationship between ethnicity and conflict
- To investigate interplay of factors that have reinforced ethnocentric behaviors; hence conflict, the strategy being used in mobilizing groups, triggers and catalysts
- Assess whether ethnically based claims could be a good alternative for building a cohesive society

## Research problems

- The North-South war has seeped deep and has degenerated into people-to-people hostility, a very deep people-to-people hatred and violence in Greater Upper Nile (Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile states)

## Research problems: some basic facts

- According to UN source, in 2003 32 militia groups existed in the South, 26 of which were Nuer Militia groups (see Human Rights Watch, March 2006) (The militias built on the bases of community self-defense but largely a reflection of power struggles amongst elites)

## Research questions

- Two research questions could be crucial for penetrating the quandary of South Sudan. These are as follows:
- How is ethnicity conceptualised and how is it operational in South Sudan?
- What are existing conflict discourses that have so far worked to undermine inter-communal (inter-ethnic) relations?

## Methodology: qualitative research

- methods include questionnaires, interviews, government documents, internet sources and observation of events within the case study setting.
- Content analysis: newspapers etc
- The Concern is to discover meanings and ways of interpreting events
- Human activity as a product of symbols and meanings
- Concerned with pattern of behaviour and types of language used

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## Preliminary findings: Four-level analysis (types of causes)

- Level one: Analytical framework: background causes – fundamental lines of political, social, economic and cultural cleavage found at the level of group (Dan Smith and Dessler 2004)
- Prelim. findings: (Bor, Jonglei and Malakal, Upper Nile – local perceptions reveal exclusion of groups from power or economic arrangement through systematic favoring of members from particular communities, nepotism and elite power arrangements

## See Nyaba, Peter (MP in GoNU)

- “Two and half years into the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and it looks like we have hit ten steps backwards into the middle ages. I can’t believe the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army that used to boast about being one tribe or ethnicity has become what it is today; that the criteria for appointment is the marks on one’s forehead. This explains why people had to be recalled from the Diaspora to fill certain positions while leaving some competent bona fide SPLM/A members [... ]” (Nyaba, Peter; Khartoum Monitor, July 19<sup>th</sup> 2007)

## Analytical framework cont. Level Two: Mobilization strategy

- Mobilization strategy: who and how political forces go about mobilizing the masses – how issues are conceptualized
- Prelim. findings: (Bor, Jonglei and Malakal, Upper Nile) local perceptions are that for example in the event of sucking a community-kin from key positions either at state levels or at the level of GoSS, a community feels specially targeted

## See again Nyaba (MP in GoNU)

- “South Sudanese are still ethnic communities and indeed there are sixty seven per cent of them living at different levels of social and economic development [... ] those of them who cross the village borders into modernity remain rural in their politics and socialization. These ones are also expected to serve their ethnic communities in terms of finding government jobs” (Khartoum Monitor, July 19<sup>th</sup> , 2007)

## Analytical framework cont. Level three: Triggers

- Triggers - here point to the timing of the conflict- including actions taken by actors narrowing chances for peaceful approach, and violent options more attractive
- Findings: (Bor, Jonglei and Malakal, Upper Nile): overdue social forces that act as potential triggers: cattle raiding, abduction of children, child trafficking etc) (see the following)

Table 1. Consequences. Insecurity in Jonglei State by DDR-Bor (2006/07)

S/N	County	Children Abducted	Persons Killed	Livestock Raided	
1	Pibor	0	31	11,774	
2	Pochalla	0	0	0	
3	Akobo	-	47	12,326	
4	Nyirrol	10	59	7,319	
5	Ayod	0	2	411	
6	Uroor	16	36	17,600	
7	Duk	9	43	5,268	
8	Twic East	2	29	1,234	
9	Bor	33	72	8,808	
10	Fangak	0	0	0	

### Analytical framework: level four: catalysts

- Catalysts: factors affecting the intensity and duration of conflict – community power-balance, availability of arms, seasons or weather, or cultural views: e.g. Issues of marriage or terrain etc
- Prelim: findings (Bor, Jonglei and Malakal Upper Nile): availability of guns, seasons, cultural views)

## On the basis of the analytical framework

We gather that the sources of conflict include:

1. resource and interest: land (border) disputes, grazing/water/fishing rights, cattle rustling, marriage issues etc
2. Governance: elite competition etc
3. Identity: discrimination/domination

## Forms of conflict.

- interest conflict (underlying desire motivating people to action)
- relationship conflict built around individual and group emotions
- structural conflict: exclusions, poverty etc
- Value conflict: sense of self-esteem

## Persistent violent conflict has given rise to types of discourses

- For example, political discourses: the primacy of “ethnicity as a basis for making political claims”: for e.g. Petition by Nuer members of the southern Sudan’s assembly to the President Salva on October 26, 2005 claiming the Nuer were underrepresented (Union of Nuer Community in North America see Human Rights Watch, March 2006)
- Historical discourses: e.g.1991/92 S PLA split: Nuer vs Dinka; Nuer vs Shilluk; Dinka vs Murle

## Future implications and consequences

- The social discourses (association with the Jellaba), political, economic and historical discourses reduce chances for integration: e.g Communities in Greater Upper Nile tend to live as blocks
- Self-reinforcing factors: Cattle rustling, abduction of children/child trafficking (purportedly by Murle): forcing overcrowding in some schools in Jonglei state, Bor; changes institutional structures; the question is: how such phenomenon affects communal attitudes towards the Murle? What is beyond the abduction?
- Such explanation overshadow our capacity to look at the real issues and instead portray a particular community as “an axis of evil (Bush).” Justifying use of collective violence

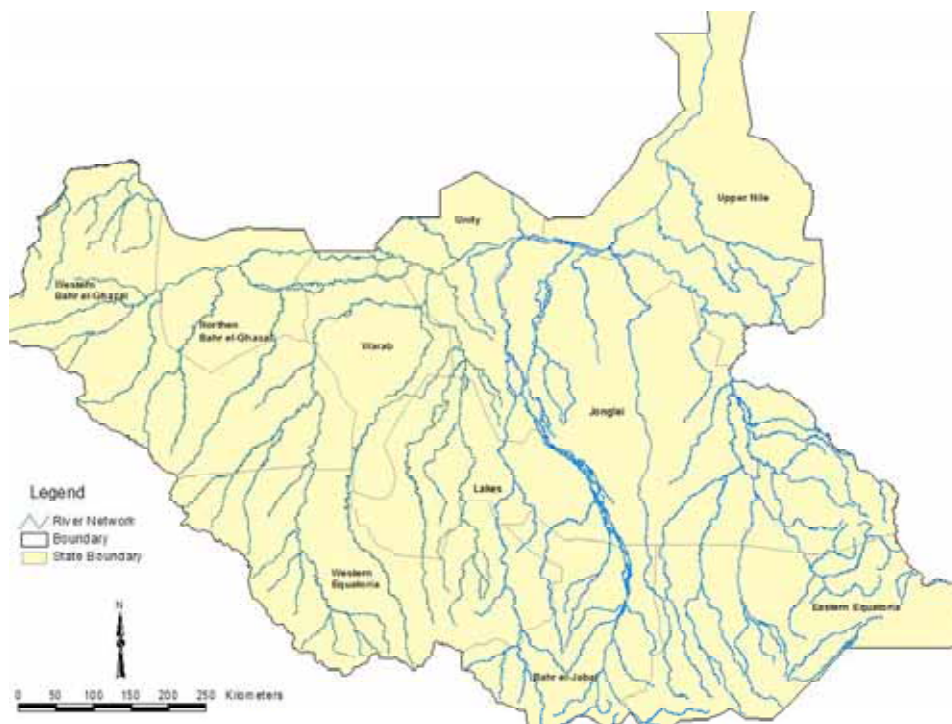
# Conclusions

- Purposes: ethnicity/conflict; past/future initiatives
- Problems: two-pronged; North vs South (hypothetical); South vs South; hence response to the dynamics on ground.
- Methodology: qualitative research ;strategy: case study of conflict
- Sites: Greater Upper Nile states: Jonglei/Upper Nile (self-reinforcing conflict)

May 12-13, 2008

John Moi Venus, MA student  
Gambella Stakeholders' Workshop

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Picture by Elke Grawert, between Juba and Bor, April 2008



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Then a representative of the **National Disarmement, Demilitarisation and Reintegration (DDR) Commission** gave a statement on the DDR work.

The commission has two sections, one in northern and one in southern Sudan. The DDR commissions are political bodies with participation of civil society organisations. The DDR Unit of the UN supports the commissions in terms of logistics, capacity building, and community sector reform, together

with the UNDP. However, the UN has not the mandate to execute the DDR activities. It is the obligation of the Office of the Vice President of the GOSS to ensure that the SPLA collects weapons from civilians.

The DDR commission assists in the disarmament of civilians. It faces challenges of insecurity in several counties of Upper Nile State and in Malakal town.

## **Policy Recommendations by Stakeholder Working Groups in Malakal**

### ***Return of IDPs and Returnees:***

The SSRRC Upper Nile is part of a hierarchical structure with the SRRC in Khartoum and the SSRRC Juba at the top. Embezzlement of funds is a problem.

### ***Suggestions to the GONU, GOSS and donors:***

Decentralisation of return operations in close coordination with the SRRC in Khartoum and the SSRRC in Juba would make the work more effective. The SSRRC in Upper Nile State (and other states) should be responsible for the execution of the return of refugees and IDPs and administer the funds. It should be directly accountable to the donors who should set up an independent auditing body to monitor the funds of the SSRRC.

A uniform policy document for both the northern and southern DDR commissions is required. The engagement of higher level government for DDR should be stronger.

The SSRRC staff in Upper Nile State should receive further courses in order to build their capacity. They also should be provided with more facilities to execute their work properly.

### ***Suggestions to the DDR Commission:***

The task of the DDR should be planned, coordinated and implemented with inclusion of the local stakeholders whose roles and responsibilities in the DDR process should be clearly defined.

Effective reintegration of ex-combatants should be conducted with consideration of special need groups.

The vulnerable communities should be sensitised about the DDR in order to realise their benefits.

***Education:***

The low supply of schools and the lack of qualified teachers in the rural areas contributes to low school attendance. The lack of training facilities contributes to low skills of the population in Upper Nile State, with the consequence of high unemployment.

*Suggestions to the GOSS, the GOSS Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, the Upper Nile State Ministry of Education, and UNICEF:*

The establishment of boarding schools at all levels (primary, secondary, high secondary) with integrated teachers' accommodation and clinics could attract more pupils from remote areas. This might also contribute to discourage early and forced marriage of girls and enhance schooling of girls.

In the long run, more schools and classrooms should be built in Upper Nile State. They should be equipped with physical and learning materials and offer school feeding.

Vocational training centres should be opened in Upper Nile State.

Teachers' training has to be enhanced, in particular towards the command of English language for instruction of pupils and clear curricula. Successful participation in training courses should be documented by certificates.

The salary structure of the teachers should be improved in order to attract more teachers.

The school management committees and the parents-teachers associations have to be empowered so that they can face their responsibilities.

The Upper Nile Ministry of Education should coordinate and supervise the schools in all counties of Upper Nile State.



**2<sup>nd</sup> Stakeholder Workshop, Gambella / Ethiopia**

**Gambella Hotel, May 12-13, 2008**

### **Changes in Sudan and Gambella**

#### **after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement of 2005**

The workshop participants included officials of the Gambella People's National Regional State, staff of the Administration for Refugee and Returnee Affairs (ARRA), members of the Elders' Council, experts from local non-governmental organizations working in conflict mediation and peace initiatives, refugee speakers from Pugnido refugee camp, senior academicians from the University of Addis Ababa and partners and researchers from the cooperative research project on Governance and Social Action in Sudan.

Opened the joint stakeholder workshop, which was conducted in cooperation between the cooperative research project on Governance and Social Action in Sudan, ACORD and

The following summary is based on the minutes of the workshop by Elke Grawert who apologizes for eventual errors in the following sections.



**Berhanu Denu** focused his presentation on border communities. He stated that border areas are often underdeveloped buffer zones, and that this is so by intention in order to make these areas not attractive to actors from the other side. Laws and regulations usually are contradictory in these areas. He made the point that there is vivid interaction across borders and raised the question how border areas can be developed.

For the development of border areas, according to Berhanu Denu an inclusive system will be required within each of the bordering countries, in particular with regard to laws and institutions that regulate interaction. The interests of the border communities have to be incorporated in these institutions. If these communities have the right to participate in policy making at the central level of governance, it can be expected that laws can be efficiently implemented, because the border communities will have incentives to comply. If such reforms take place in both neighbouring countries, for example in terms of decentralization and institutionalized continuous consultation of the border communities, people will be likely and able to interact peacefully.



A **Nuer Representative of Gambella Elders' Council** made the point that there has been no control on the Sudanese side so that 'troublemakers' frequently enter Ethiopia. Even though fighters and militias and civilians have been disarmed in neighbouring Jonglei and Upper Nile States in Sudan, people have retained guns and displaced people in Ethiopia by force. This happens in particular during the dry season, when Sudanese usually move with their cattle to the Ethiopian side of the border. He concluded that on the Ethiopian side, peace has been created. Therefore, peace at the border remains in the hands of the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS).



**Prof. Joshua Otor Akol** analyzed the reasons why the GOSS has not stopped the conflicts at the border. He stated that there are conflicting interests between the components of the GOSS, which consists of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), the National Congress Party (NCP) and former militia leaders. They have disbanded their fights only at the surface, but underneath, the conflict has not ended. He stated that the Deputy Chairperson of the NCP, for example, has his own militias and arms. These conditions, in particular the fact that members of the government supply arms to their followers, affect the development of the border areas.

In addition, Prof. Joshua identified socio-cultural aspects. The Sudanese in Jonglei and Upper Nile states frequently have several wives and hence need assets to pay for the bride wealth. This has encouraged cattle raiding not only within Sudan, but also across the border in Ethiopia.

**The Nuer Elder** added that the Nuer usually move to the water places during the dry seasons. He suggested that, in order to avoid conflict, the river should be divided between the Nuer and Anuak [so that access to water will be clearly regulated]. However, according to the Elder, the Government of Ethiopia resists the division of the river. It has disarmed the Nuer on the Ethiopian side, but the Lou Nuer, who move in from Sudan, have retained their guns.



**Mr Zekele, Economic Department of the State Government of Gambella,**

gave some background information on livestock-based mixed farming in Gambella. According to him, the cows provide only between two and four litres of milk per day. The zero-tillage farming system which is based on scattered farms, yields poor crops. There have been inadequate agronomic research and extension services. Infrastructure is not sufficient, and micro-finance and credit facilities are missing. As a result, 54 per cent of the rural population in Gambella live below the absolute poverty line.

According to Mr Zekele, resources for development are available in the area. The water sources are suitable to generate electricity to irrigate farms. There are rich fish resources, in particular of Nile perch. The livestock trade of living sheep, goats and cattle with Sudan has become very vivid after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). However, two big merchants control the border trade nowadays. The National Regional State of Gambella has re-established the custom authority which supervises the trade across the border.



**John Moi Venus** gave a conceptual background for conflict analysis.

According to the literature, there are four main levels of conflict:

- (4) ***Background causes***, such as socio-economic or cultural cleavages amongst the inhabitants of Jonglei and Upper Nile states which tend to exclude certain social groups from power according to ethnic belonging.

- (5) **A mobilisation strategy** which determines how issues are conceptualized. An example would be 'nepotism'. In southern Sudan, this would not be considered as the issue of an individual, but the community will feel affected, if one of its members is sacked from a high position, no matter if this person was performing well or not.
- (6) **Triggers of conflict** which implies the timing of conflict and the issue why violence becomes an attractive option. The focus is on the social forces and their behaviour, examples in southern Sudan would be cattle raiding, child abduction and trafficking.
- (7) **Catalysts** or factors affecting intensity and duration of conflict. At this level the power balance in the community, the availability of arms, the importance of seasons and cultural views, for example regarding marriage, would be analyzed.

There are also varying forms of conflict:

- **Interest conflicts** that reflect the desires of the conflicting parties,
- **conflicts about relationships** triggered by emotions,
- **structural conflicts** that frequently are caused by exclusion of one group by others from control over resources, participation, power etc.,
- **value conflicts** that touch on the sense of self-esteem of the conflicting parties.

Finally, the following types of discourses related to conflicts can be distinguished:

- **Political discourses;** for example, in southern Sudan, discourses that use ethnicity as the basis for political claims,
- **historical discourses** which claim that a certain issue “has always been like this”,
- **social discourses;** these might, for example, result in a policy according to which internally displaced people (IDPs) live in block communities, as in Gambella,

- **self-reinforcing discourses;** for example in southern Sudan, the fear of many ethnic groups from attacks by the Murle led to the over-crowding of schools for safety reasons. Frequently, this type of discourses leads to the justification of violence.

***(Readers will find the details of this presentation in the report of the 1<sup>st</sup> Stakeholder Workshop in Malakal.)***



The paper of **Regassa Bayissa Sima** was presented by **Dr Tessema Ta'a, Department of History, Addis Ababa University.** The following summary provides the main argument about **The Impact of the CPA on Gambella Region, Ethiopia.**

One of the major provisions of the CPA is the repatriation of the South Sudanese refugees. For almost four decades the Gambella region of Ethiopia had been a sanctuary for several thousands southern Sudanese refugees and insurgents fleeing from the devastating civil war that affected the southern Sudan. The continued influx of refugees into Gambella, the factional fighting and the flow of arms in the region had intensified the long-standing ethnic friction between the Anuak and Nuer of Gambella, adding a new dimension to the traditional resource-driven conflict over cultivable and grazing lands and fishing ponds between the two groups. The UNHCR and the Administration for Refugee Returnees Affairs (ARRA), the government body responsible for care and assistance of South Sudanese refugees, constructed three big refugee camps in Bonga, Dimma and Pugnido in the Anuak territories. This

complicated further the conflict in Gambella. The movement of the Nuer refugees to Anuak villages led to violent clashes. A great number of Nuer refugees were not registered and they integrated themselves into the Ethiopian Nuer communities, which shifted the population balance in their favour. The Anuak, who felt threatened by the growing number of the Nuer, were reluctant to accept their political participation in the new governance structure introduced in 1991. In Gambella, the status, integration and citizenship of the Nuer refugees has become a crucial and controversial political issue.

The establishment of military training camps and guerrilla bases during the civil war in Sudan had considerably contributed to insecurity and violent conflict in the Gambella region. By the mid-1980s the South Sudanese population in Gambella, amounting to more than 300,000, outnumbered the local population, and the presence of a huge number of refugees brought adverse political, economic, social and ecological effects to the Gambella region. The political developments in the Sudan and Ethiopia during the 1980s and 1990s transformed the local inter-ethnic conflict to a regionalized conflict which generated political instability along the border.

The governments of Ethiopia and Sudan and the UNHCR signed a tripartite agreement on February 27, 2006, that was to facilitate the return of over 70,000 South Sudanese refugees from western Ethiopia to their devastated regions. The agreement was made possible on the basis of the CPA which stipulates the return of 350,000 South Sudanese refugees from the neighboring countries and four million IDPs to return to their villages. All signatory parties agreed that any process of the repatriation should be voluntary, and the Sudan pledged to ensure that refugees can return in safety and dignity. Ethiopia also pledged to continue to safeguard the rights of refugees who may decide to stay in Ethiopia. The UNHCR ensures that logistical assistance and protection requirements of the voluntary returnees and their access to basic services and livelihoods are met.

UNHCR, in cooperation with the government of Sudan, UN agencies, and NGOs has made efforts to ensure minimal conditions to enable the refugees

to return to their devastated regions. UNHCR has assessed the intensity of local conflict, access to water facilities and other basic facilities, and issues related to land, and made a report for each region (village) in southern Sudan to which refugees may return. Mine surveys and clearance have been conducted and reception centre sites have been set up in such villages. According to UNHCR reports, in almost all South Sudanese war-affected regions public institutions like schools, clinics and police stations are in ruins. UNCHR, in cooperation with ARRA and other concerned agencies has finalized preparations to repatriate 20,000 South Sudanese refugees voluntarily to their homeland during 2007. So far around 7500 Uduk, Nuer and Dinka refugees returned to their regions from Bonga, Dima and Pugnido refugee camps.

This paper argues that the current intensified repatriation of the South Sudanese refugees may on the one hand ease the violent conflict and political tension in Gambella, and on the other hand, may contribute to the socio-economic and political reconstruction of the war-torn Southern Sudan.



Refugee representatives from the Pugnido Refugee Camp in Gambella confirmed the historical aspects of the conflicts in Gambella.



**Opiew** presented the causes of the Gambella conflict and highlighted in particular the politics of expansion of the Nuer groups in the state and the interpretation of the past by the conflicting groups, as already presented in the paper by Regassa B. Sima above. A major trigger for conflict were the ethnic policies that had been introduced in Ethiopia in 1991. They led to struggles for power amongst ethnicized groups in Gambella.

According to Opiew, civil society and non-governmental organizations intervened in these conflicts in close cooperation with the elders of the ethnic groups involved. Their means of intervention was community-based mediation through dialogues, peace rallies, advocacy and joint projects.

**The Nuer and Anuak Elders** complemented the presentation and pointed out that the mediation process was conducted together with religious organizations, peace choirs and women's associations. Negotiations and discussions were necessary in order to avoid more killing. The Government was also involved in the peace dialogues in Gambella. However, the main mediation method was traditional conflict resolution by the elders, who tried to bring people together.

**A representative of a local NGO for Peace** added that they bring people, in particular Christians and Muslims, together face to face. The traditional way of conflict resolution is based on the negotiation of compensation. Thus the

Anuak would pay and make an oath, the Nuer also would make an oath, kill an ox and based on this, they would make peace. Until recently, however, the Nuer did not get any compensation. To re-introduce this was suggested by the elders. They forced the 'highlanders' [Ethiopians from outside Gambella, mainly Amhara, Oromo, Tigrayans] to pay compensation in cash instead of cattle.



**Okidi, an expert from ACORD** explained that the Nuer had been evacuated from Akobo area at the border due to the incursions by the Murle (a southern Sudanese ethnic group that has been involved strongly in cattle raiding and killing). They were shifted into the Anuak areas in large numbers, where they had to stay idle and had no means of income. The population density and lack of space to cultivate led to environmental deterioration and the damage of the local resources. Mango trees were felled and, in order to make some money for their living and school fees, Lou Nuer youth started to raid the cattle of the Anuak. They have been selling cattle either in Nasir, Pakag, Dame Dulu and Malakal in Sudan or to the 'Highlanders' in Ethiopia. Because the tensions between the Lou Nuer and Anuak have culminated in frequent violent conflicts, after the CPA the Government of Ethiopia demanded the return of the Lou Nuer to Sudan. But many Lou Nuer who had been staying in Ethiopia for a long time, prefer to remain in Ethiopia. The GOSS has not yet taken measures towards repatriation nor disarmament of the Lou Nuer. Whereas there were no more attacks by the Murle on the Ethiopian side in 2008, Lou

Nuer attacked returning refugees from the refugee camps in Gambella at Jikaw and on their way and killed three of them.

The background for the aggression of the Lou Nuer is lack of sufficient grazing land and water for their cattle. They have displaced the Jikang Nuer in order to get access to these basic resources since around 1993. After the CPA was concluded in Sudan, the Nuer needed more cattle for marriage and to establish families and improve their living. During the rainy season, water and grazing land is sufficiently available in Sudan, there are no raids during this period. Problems occur always during the dry season.

The conflict settlement efforts of the elders and NGOs focus on justice, forgiving and mercy. If the cattle is not lost, it has to be returned to the elders. Otherwise, compensation is negotiated. Due to these measures, peace has returned to Gambella. The Nuer had to move out of the Anuak villages and many of them went back to their land in Sudan. The problem remains that there is not sufficient infrastructure in this area. The aim of the peace activists is to maintain the peace. This will, however, become difficult, if the Lou Nuer refugees who have returned to Sudan come back to Gambella.

The problems presented in the papers were discussed intensively in working groups, aiming to develop policy recommendations. This yielded the following outcome.

### ***Policy recommendations***

**Cattle rustling has been identified as a major source of conflict in Gambella. Related to this, child abduction and trafficking of girls are serious problems that affect the societies in Gambella and Southern Sudan.**

**The perpetrators of cattle rustling have been mostly Lou Nuer and Murle from the Sudanese side, but thieves also have come from the Ethiopian side. They commit cattle rustling as a means of sustenance of life, for**

trade, to gain bride wealth for marriage purposes, for social occasions, for rituals, prestige and social status, and for being considered as heroes.

Child abduction has been committed mainly by members of the Murle, because of their inability to give birth to enough children, in order to improve their genes and to increase their population.

**Current efforts:**

- Victims try to escape or are evacuated or displaced by the aggressors.
- Government efforts have been limited with regard to pursuing cattle rustlers. The intention has been only to bring back the cattle raided.
- In actual terms , these problems are still there, the efforts have produced no fruits.

– Recommendations to the Government of Southern Sudan, the Government of Ethiopia, the State Governments of Upper Nile and Jonglei states and the Regional Government of Gambella:

- The Governments should engage influential people from the Sudanese and Ethiopian side, among them elders, chiefs, and the organization of intellectuals, as peace facilitators in the process of solving the problems. They should meet regularly to monitor progress and discuss further measures.

- The Governments should cooperate with community leaders, chiefs, and community organizations, churches and mosques in community mobilization, mass teaching and awareness raising trainings as well as campaigns. They should be launched in particular amongst the Lou Nuer and Murle in order to make the local population aware that cattle rustling, child abduction and girls' trafficking are crimes.

- In order to put an end to cattle raiding, the flow of arms has to be stopped. Disarmament has to be done in a coordinated way by the State Governments

of Jonglei and Upper Nile State and the National Regional People's State of Gambella, in cooperation with the elders, the community leaders, chiefs, and community organizations, churches and mosques, and the local intellectuals. In particular the GOSS is required to disarm the Lou Nuer and provide space for them in their homeland near Akobo.

- The government bodies should get cattle raiding under control through their forces.

- The governments should put limits to bride wealth payments and reduce them gradually.

- Recommendations to the Governments of Sudan and Ethiopia and aid agencies:

- The Governments should cooperate with the aid agencies active in Southern Sudan and Gambella in transforming cattle breeders to farmers and other occupations on a voluntary basis.

- The two governments and the aid agencies should commit themselves to sustainable development and poverty reduction through the introduction of new sources of livelihood.

- Recommendations to civil society organizations (CSOs), NGOs and the Governments of Ethiopia and Sudan, in particular the Department for Women's Affairs, and international aid agencies:

- The issue of child abduction and girl trafficking should be discussed openly.

- The Governments of Sudan and Ethiopia should cooperate and, together with the CSOs and NGOs, should establish rules and regulations to deal with child abduction and girl trafficking.

- Recommendations to the judiciaries of Sudan and Ethiopia and the Council of Elders of Gambella:

- Legal measures should be taken against criminals who abduct children and engage in girl trafficking.

- Recommendations to the church and mosque leaders in Southern Sudan

and Gambella:

The churches / church leaders and mosques / Muslim leaders should engage themselves jointly towards persuading the local ethnic groups to coexist peacefully.

-

**The workshop participants also identified the marginalization of women as a key problem in Gambella and Southern Sudan.**

- Recommendations to the State Governments of Jonglei, Upper Nile and Gambella State:

- Cooperation with civil society organizations is required to promote women, in particular with regard to education and income generation.
- The governments should ensure that the existing rules, regulations and laws concerning equal rights of women in education and training are realized.

**The underdevelopment of the border areas on both the Sudanese and Ethiopian side causes instability and lawlessness.**

5. Recommendations to the GOSS and the Government of Ethiopia:

- The governments should focus investment in infrastructural development in the border area, in particular in the Payams (counties) of Pagak, Pchalla, Akobo, Nasir in Sudan and in Jor, Lare, Dimma in Ethiopia.
- In cooperation with civil society organizations, the governments of Upper Nile, Jonglei and Gambella states should establish health centres and schools and enhance agricultural production in the border area.



### **3<sup>rd</sup> Stakeholder Workshop at the University of Dilling, Southern Kordofan**

**May 29, 2008**

#### **Let us Share Knowledge Together**

The objective of the Dilling workshop of 29<sup>th</sup> May, 2008 was to share knowledge with the local stakeholders and community leaders. The workshop was launched at the University of Dilling for a period of one day. The participants of the workshop were from the government of Southern Kordofan, International organizations, local non-governmental organizations, civil society organizations (CSOs), community leaders, staff and students of the University of Dilling and the representatives of political parties.

The preparation of the workshop had started in Khartoum, where the researchers had prepared the tentative programmed, the materials, and the invitation of the workshop. In addition the partners, the researchers, and the partners in Dilling university had been consulted about the program of the workshop. Furthermore, the partners in Dilling had been requested to facilitate the workshop by providing a meeting room and transportation. They agreed and welcomed the workshop to be undertaken in the premises of Dilling university. Then the organizers had travel five days before the workshop date which was 29<sup>th</sup> of may 2008 instead of 25<sup>th</sup> of May because of the security problems that had happened in Omdurman and prevented the researchers/organizers to travel earlier to Dilling town. During these five days, arrangements for accommodation to participants from Khartoum and Kadugli at Arous Aljebal Hotel, the booking of the meeting room at the university, distribution of invitation letters to the stakeholders and the services were made. Female students were accommodated with a family.

The workshop had started by a word from the organizers by Ms. Samira Musa who presented the objective of the Dilling stakeholders' workshop. Then, the floor was given to the partners of the project, Prof. Joshua Otor Akol who

gave an introduction about the project objectives, phases, processes and partners. Following this a keynote speech was given by Dr. Alaa Aldin Al Tijani , the academic secretary of the University on behalf of the representative of the Vice- Chancellor of Dilling University. After that, a keynote speech was given by H.E. The commissioner of the Dilling Locality.

Four papers were presented in the stakeholders' workshop. The Project researchers presented three papers, the Master students in Sharia Debates and their Perception by Christian and Muslims in selected some Sahara African Countries which funded by Volkswagen Foundation presented one paper and the last paper were presented by a member in Omma Political Party in Dilling on " Good Governance and Power Struggle in Southern Kordofan from (2005 – 2008).

**"Return Migration and Socio-economic and Cultural Change: case study of the Nuba Mountains and Unity State ; Sudan " By: Samira Musa.**

The first research paper is titled " Return Migration and Soci-economic and Cultural Change: Case Study of the Nuba Mountains and Unity State, Sudan by Samira Musa.

The main objective of the study are (1) to discuss the economic , social and cultural changes induced by the returnees in the local societies. (2) to identify the mechanisms used by the returnees in co-existing peacefully with other groups in the area and adapting to the new environment after return. (3) to assess the impact the CPA in meeting the needs and expectations of the returnees. (4) to draw lessons from the experiences gained and to understand the insights of the aspects relating to the theories and dynamics of return migration. The preliminary findings of the research were; (a) most of the returnees who returned to their home land in Nuba Mountains and Bantiue were 40 and over (55.5%). (b) The displacee had many options to return home. First of these , about 76.3% of them had returned on their own expenses. Secondly 19.1% of them returned through the efforts of the

organized return programme. This means the rate of spontaneous return more than the organized return. (c) change factors: there were many factors . These include: educational factors, occupational factor and standard of living. (d) Social Change includes (i) the category of children is closely linked to families, where 48.3 % of the returnees explained that the return together with their children. But 51.7% of them said that their children did not accompany them during the return because of the current lack of social services, education facilities. (ii) the participation of the returnees in different social, economic and political activities to facilitate and promote the peace co-existence, reconciliation and adaptation with local people. (F) Cultural Change: generally children acquire their mother tongue from their parents through family environment. In sample population 76.4% of the returnees pointed out that their children were speaking mother tongue besides Arabic language; while 23.6% of the returnees state that their children were not able to practice and learn their mother tongue. (g) Tradition and customs: traditions and customs are basic elements in any culture. Because of this , 92.3% of the returnees asserted that they practiced their own traditions and customs in order to preserve their culture and to transmit it to next generation. (h) The returnees were asked as to what they shall do it. The CPA does not meet their expectations about 56.5% of the returnees confirmed that they shall not go to the exile again, but to remain in their towns and villages. 16.4% of them stated that they shall return to their previous areas of exiles. Furthermore, 15.6 % of the returnees pointed out that they shall take-up arms.

The paper concluded that international agencies and non- governmental organizations must generally shift from humanitarian assistance to development. They should establish permanent medical centers, schools and small dams, access to clean drinking water to reduce the gap of water shortage in Nuba Mountains and capacity building for the returnees.

**"Political Participation in South Kordofan: A model for Participation" By Yassir Awad**

The paper started by giving a historical and theoretical background to democratic political system applied in Sudan since independence 1956. The paper started by stating that popular participation under these democracies was very limited, and this explains their weaknesses.

The paper explained how popular participation in formal politics measured by the conventional definitions and tools. In South Kordofan is very low ( like any other areas in the research). But in Social realms of politics, people are highly involved in communal modes of participation.

The paper ended up by presenting a model of political participation. This model is a combination of the (1) traditional ingredients of democracies applied in local and tribal communities; (2) participatory rural appraisal (PRA) applied by national non governmental organizations to conduct projects of rural development, (3) the general principles of deliberative democracy.

**"Decision Making in process in local governance after CPA 2005: Case study Decision on Urban Land Allocation in Upper Nile and South Kordofan States" By Tayseer El Fatih**

The paper was about the findings of the titled research "Decision Making in process in local governance after CPA 2005: Case study Decision on Urban Land Allocation in Upper Nile and South Kordofan States. The first part of the paper covers the research problem, objectives and methodology. The second part of the paper deals with the findings of the research which were around mechanisms and structures deals with land allocation decision making, the actors involved in making decisions, the factors influencing the decision making processes on land allocation and the impact on the decision on the community.

The main findings of the paper are (1) structures deals with allocation of land are governmental bodies and committees. It is formed of appointed executives/bureaucrats and community leaders. However, decision made through these committees is of autocratic type. Some of the members may not be consulted. Furthermore, those committees may be seen as non-transparent in term of its work and finance by its members and local people. Community leaders are viewed by people representing the government's

interest and not their interests. Decision with regard to land allocation involved land appropriation. In some cases such decisions might be taken by the government officials without consultation of the local people or their representatives who are using it. Thus, local people resist such decisions as they believe that land belongs to the people not to the government. Consequently programs of land allocation might be not implemented or stopped till the government enters into negotiation with the community leaders and local people and reach an agreement. Negotiations' terms involved compensations for the people who are benefiting from the land. (2) This situation is existed as the Mechanisms stated in the CPA 2005 for administering land issues has not yet been formed. Laws have not been reformed to be in line with the relevant articles of the CPA 2005. (3) Actors influence decisions on land allocation are characterized as political and economically empowered. Interviews revealed that members of Sudan People's Liberation Army, members of National Congress Party, Returnees who are affiliated to the SPLM or NCP, Militia groups, youth groups, NGOs are involved in decision on land allocation. (4) Furthermore, personal, tribal, political and economic relations play roles in affecting decision on land allocation. Interviews revealed that there are cases where rule has been overridden by the bureaucrats so as to avoid violence and conflict among ethnic groups and between local people and the government when the latter distribute land for different purposes. (5) However, these overridden of rules in some cases lead to continuation of violence in the society. The paper concluded by revealing those groups who are affected negatively by land allocation programs. Those are the poor, pastoralists, women's farmers, men's farmers and the elders

The discussant of the paper added a theoretical issue to the paper.

### **"Power Struggle and Good Governance in Southern Kordofan/Nuba Mountains After CPA 2005" By Mukhtar Al Khair- Omma Party- Dilling**

The paper started by raising the question that the CPA and South kordofan/ Nuba Mountains protocol bring or come out with good governance? The

paper then gave what is called the historical, international and third world experiences of good governance. After this, the paper defined good governance as referring to four principles (participation, transparency, accountability and rule of law).

The paper made a content analysis of the Protocol in line with these principles and concluded that the Protocol almost lack these principles which are totally not fulfilled in reality. The paper ended up with some recommendation like the need for awareness raising, researches, workshops and empowering civil society organizations.

**"Sharia Debate over the Concept of the Interest Rate Dilemma of the Theory and Policy in the Sudan (1970-2006)" By Ahmed Alhassab Omer-University of Dalanj**

The problem is related to the prohibition and abolition of the interest rate from the banking system in the Sudan following the inception of the controversial September Sharia laws of 1983. In 1984 a release by the Central bank was issued ordering the entire operating banks to shift instantly from the conventional banking to the Islamic banking to be in compliance with the new Sharia laws. However the step was taken with out any measures to prepare the conventional-based banks to cope with the new policy. Accordingly many problems stem out as a result of that policy.

To investigate the impacts of that policy over the relations of the stakeholders and the banks, the research adopted both the questionnaire and interview methods of research among a sample of 60-persons (the stakeholders) chosen randomly from six different areas.

The preliminary findings of the research revealed that:

Opinions over the concept of the interest rate are diverse as far as weather it means the legal meaning of usury in Islamic Sharia or not.

Non-monetary advancement and mobilization of savings is the real challenge facing the Islamic banks in the Sudan.

Social reporting disclosure of the banks is surrounded with thick ambiguity.

Disbursement of the so called “dirty money” is entirely absent from the annual financial reports of the banks.

The need for cash money is widely shaping the relation of the stakeholders and the banks with cheating, deceiving and a series of unethical behaviour.

Banks are banks whenever and whatsoever they are, mediating institutions for generating profit. They cannot give money for free.

### **Recommendations:**

Researchers as well as participants have designed the following recommendations:

- The potential areas for the returning displaced areas should have priority in social and economic development.
- To avoid de-politicization of issues relating to returnees repatriation.
- To avoid ethnicization and conflict among the residents of Nuba Mountains region in order to promote integration and unity of purposes.
- To establish land commission according to the CPA 2005 in order to address the land issues in South Kordofan State.
- To reform the existing land Laws to be in accordance to the CPA and the state constitution of Southern Kordofan/ Nuba Mountains.
- To establish elected structures to deal with the land allocation
- To build the capacity of the community leaders and government employees so as to make decisions responsive to the demands of the society in an equitable way.
- To empower traditional elements at democracy applied in local and tribal communities
- To encourage the use of participatory Rural appraisal in conducting projects of rural development in the area.
- To enlighten people, especially women, about the meaning and ways of political participation. To conduct awareness raising, researches and empowering civil society organization on principles of good governance.

- To encourage conducting researches in the field of Islamic banking to fit the current setup of the wealth sharing of the CPA
- Jurisdiction should be widely availed to both jurists and economists as far as interest and usuary is concerned.