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SOUTHERN SUDAN AND THE THREE AREAS: CIVIC PARTICIPATION ASSESSMENT

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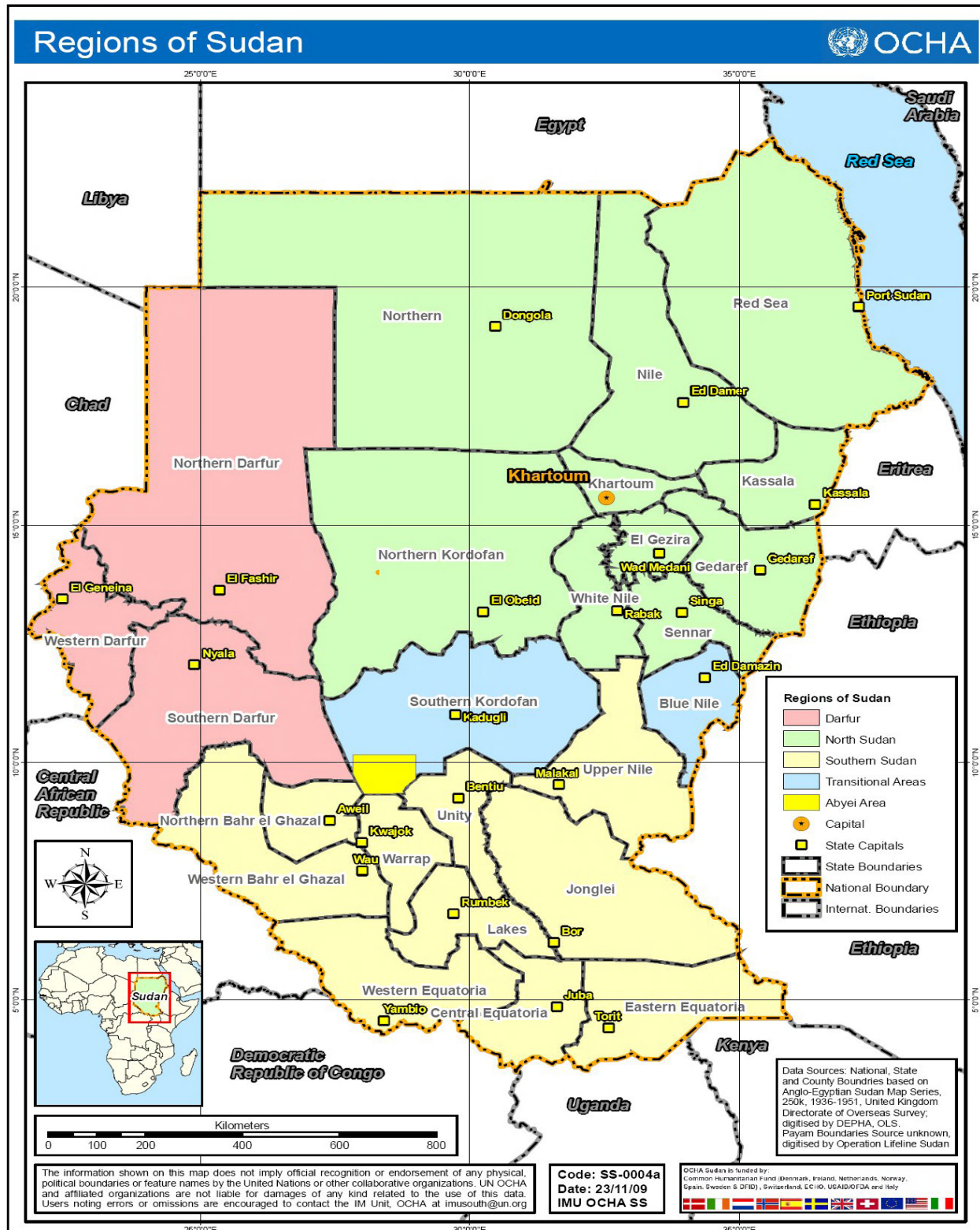
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MAP OF SUDAN

FIGURE 1: MAP OF SUDAN (SOURCE: UNITED NATIONS OFFICE FOR THE COORDINATION OF HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS-OCHA)



GLOSSARY¹

Term	Definition
Advocacy	The aggregation of citizen interests and representation of those interests to government or other decision-making bodies by citizens or on behalf of citizens. (Note that this definition does not necessarily imply contestation or an adversarial approach in advocacy.) ²
Boundary Partners	“ . . . those individuals, groups, and organizations with whom the Program interacts directly and with whom the Program anticipates opportunities for influence.” ³
Capability	“ . . . the collective skill or aptitude of an organization or system to carry out a particular function or process either inside or outside the system. Capabilities enable an organization to do things and to sustain itself.” ⁴
Capacity	“That emergent combination of individual competencies, collective capabilities, assets and relationships that enables a human system to create value.” ⁵
Capacity Development	Different organizations use different definitions for capacity development. According to the OECD-DAC Network on Governance, capacity development is the process whereby people, organizations, and societies as a whole unleash, strengthen, create, adapt, and maintain capacity over time. Recent research (OED 2005) shows that capacity development is more likely to be effective when (1) capacity development is treated as a goal in its own right, and increased efforts are made to identify the objectives it seeks to achieve (“Capacity development for what?”); (2) support for capacity development addresses three dimensions: human capacity, organizational capacity, and broader institutional capacity; and, (3) capacity development is country-owned rather than donor driven. ⁶ Also referred to as ‘capacity enhancement’ and ‘capacity building.’
Civic Participation	Citizen engagement in activities or processes that address common interests or needs (often but not always by addressing government)—both by individuals and/or formal and informal groups.
Civic Society	The social arena between the state, market, and family where citizens advance their common interests. ⁷
Civil Society/Civil Society Organization	Mercy Corps defines CSOs as “any group which is non-political and not-for-profit, and which has formed to work on a particular cause. In the Southern Sudan context, this is likely to include—but is not limited to—established and emerging Community Based Organizations (CBOs), local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), Sudanese Diaspora (largely Nairobi-based) NGOs, village-based groups, religious

¹ A number of these definitions, including those for effectiveness, efficiency, impact, lessons learned, and sustainability, are taken from Ausguide. Canberra: AUSAID/Sudan.

² Definitions of ‘civic participation’ and ‘advocacy’ definitions are the team’s own.

³ Earl, S., Carden, F. and Smutylo, T. (2002).

⁴ Baser, Heather and Morgan, Peter (2008).

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (1997).

http://www.oecd.org/document/19/0,3343,en_21571361_39494699_39503763_1_1_1_1,00&&en-USS_01DBC.html Accessed 10pm on July 12, 2010 from Sydney, Australia.

⁷ Jacob Mati, Silva, Frederico and Anderson, Tracy (2010).

Term	Definition
	<p>groups, chambers of commerce, and cooperatives.”⁸</p> <p>“ . . . there is no universally accepted definition of either civil society or the related notions of a civic culture and social capital. In one of the best brief attempts to sort through all the definitions, the British Library [1] included the following characteristics:</p> <p>All observers agree that civil society refers to voluntary participation by average citizens and thus does not include behavior imposed or even coerced by the state.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For some observers, it only includes political activity engaged in through nonprofit organizations such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs). At the other end of the spectrum, some observers include all forms of voluntary participation, whether in the public or private sector, political or apolitical. • Civil society includes not just the individuals who participate, but the institutions they participate in—sometimes called “civil society organizations” or “CSOs.” Thus, civil society is strong to the degree that those CSOs are large and powerful. • A civic culture is one in which most people think their government is legitimate and that their institutions (if not the leaders at any particular moment) can be trusted. • Social capital is the human equivalent of economic capital. It is an intangible resource accumulated by civil society that can be expended when a society finds itself in crisis.”⁹
Conflict (Sensitive) Analysis	<p>“Conflict analysis is the systematic study of the profile, causes, actors, and dynamics of conflict. It helps development, humanitarian, and peace-building organizations to gain a better understanding of the context in which they work and their role in that context. . . . conflict analysis is the foundation of conflict sensitivity and without a good understanding of the context in which interventions are situated, organizations that support or directly implement them may unintentionally help to fuel violent conflict or to exacerbate existing tensions. Conflict analysis helps organizations move towards a better understanding of the context in which they work and a conflict-sensitive approach.”¹⁰</p>
Conflict Sensitivity	<p>“ . . . the ability of an organization to develop and use the sum of its human and organizational capital to minimize negative and maximize positive impacts on the conflict dynamics of the environment(s) where it works. This means an awareness of the causes of historical, actual, or potential conflict and the likelihood of further conflict, and its likely severity; and the capacity to work with all parties to minimize the risk of further conflict.”¹¹</p>
Counterpart or Counterpart Relationship	<p>“A counterpart is an individual or a collectivity (e.g., a group or even an organization) who contributes to a relationship designed to exchange knowledge and support as part of a deliberate effort to induce development results in a partner country.”¹²</p>
Direct	<p>The people with whom the project will work to effect change. Also called ‘primary</p>

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Taken from Beyond Intractability. http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/civil_society/ Accessed on October 11 at 3:03pm from Juba, Southern Sudan.

¹⁰ Conflict Sensitivity Organization (no date provided). http://www.conflictsensitivity.org/resource_pack/chapter_2_266.pdf Accessed 10am July 18 2010 from Sydney Australia.

¹¹ Waqo, Halakhe and Onyango, Rachael (2008).

¹² Morgan, Peter (2008).

Term	Definition
Beneficiary	beneficiaries' or 'boundary partners.'
Effectiveness	The extent to which the development intervention's objectives were achieved, or are expected to be achieved, taking into account their relative importance. Progress in achieving objectives, standard of outputs, and benefit to the target population.
Efficiency	A measure of how economically resources/inputs (funds, expertise, time, etc.) are converted to results, taking into account the timeliness and appropriateness of the preparation and implementation processes, including appraisal and peer review; standard of the contract and activity implementation by the contractor; strength of partner government support and the value of dialogue in country; USAID/Sudan management including risk management and use of external expertise; activity monitoring and communication.
Enabling Environment	The enabling environment is defined as "... a set of interrelated conditions—such as legal, bureaucratic, fiscal, informational, political, and cultural—that impact on the capacity of ... development actors to engage in development processes in a sustained and effective manner" ¹³
Endogenous Processes	Capacity processes that appear to be internally driven (by the organization), and not driven by the concerns of an external donor.
Evaluation	A social science activity directed at collecting, analyzing, interpreting, and communicating information about the workings and effectiveness of social programs. According to the United Nations Development Fund, evaluation is a rigorous and independent assessment of either completed or ongoing activities to determine the extent to which they are achieving stated objectives and contributing to decision making. ¹⁴
Gender	Gender is a social construct that assigns roles and responsibilities to males and females in the management of society.
Gender Equality	Gender equality means that women and men enjoy the same status. Gender equality means that women and men have equal conditions for realizing their full human rights and potential to contribute to national, political, economic, social, and cultural development, and to benefit from the results. Gender equality is therefore the equal valuing by society of both the similarities and differences between women and men, and the varying roles that they play. ¹⁵
Gender Equity	Gender equity is the process of being fair to women and men. To ensure fairness, measures must often be available to compensate for historical and social disadvantages that prevent women and men from otherwise operating on a level playing field. Equity leads to equality. ¹⁶ The MOEST draft (4) Education Act 2008 states "Gender equity refers to a state where there is no discrimination in education based on sex and where there is equitable opportunity for all persons."
Gender Parity Index	The Gender Parity Index (GPI) is the ratio of the number of female students (regardless of age) enrolled to the number of male students. A GPI of 1 indicates parity between the sexes; a GPI that varies between 0–1 indicates a disparity in favor

¹³ Thindwa, J. (2001).

¹⁴ UNDP (2009).

¹⁵ Status of Women-Canada (1996).

¹⁶ Ibid.

Term	Definition
	of males; whereas a GPI greater than 1 indicates disparity in favor of females.
Gender-Responsive Budget	Gender-responsive budgets are not separate budgets for women but are instead general budgets that are planned, approved, executed, monitored, and audited in a gender-sensitive way. The ultimate goal of gender budgeting is gender equality and gender equity. ¹⁷
Gender (Sensitive) Analysis	“During Program and project design, gender analysis is the process of assessing the impact that a development activity may have on females and males, and on gender relations (the economic and social relationships between males and females which are constructed and reinforced by social institutions). It can be used to ensure that men and women are not disadvantaged by development activities, to enhance the sustainability of activities, or to identify priority areas for action to promote equality between women and men. During implementation, monitoring, and evaluation, gender analysis assists to assess differences in participation, benefits, and impacts between males and females, including progress towards gender equality and changes in gender relations. Gender analysis can also be used to assess and build capacity and commitment to gender sensitive planning and Programming in donor and partner organizations; and to identify gender equality issues and strategies at country, sectoral or thematic Programming levels.” ¹⁸
Impact	Positive and negative, primary and secondary long-term effects produced by a development intervention, directly or indirectly, intended or unintended—inter alia, impacts may be economic, institutional, technological, environmental, sociocultural, or gender-related; measurement of extent of impacts (if possible, a cost-benefit analysis should be undertaken).
Indicator	An indicator “is the unit of measurement (or pointer) that is used to monitor or evaluate the achievement of project objectives over time. Indicators can include specification of quantifiable targets and measures of quality.” ¹⁹
Institution	Institutions are humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction. They are the ‘rules of the game’ in a society, the rules that facilitate human interaction and societal life. They are the arrangements humans have made for governing their lives . . . They may be formal arrangements, such as legal systems and property rights, or informal arrangements, like moral standards. In some cases, they take the form of implicit work views or mental maps, i.e., cognitive frameworks for looking at the world around you. These arrangements or institutions operate at different levels, ranging from an international level (such as trade arrangements) to community and individual levels (for instance, the values that determine the way in which people interact with each other). ²⁰
Institutional Development	Institutional development is the process by which institutions evolve and perish, i.e., ongoing endogenous and autonomous processes in society. ²¹
Lessons Learned	Generalizations based on evaluation experiences with activities, programs, or policies that abstract from the specific circumstances to broader situations. Frequently, lessons

¹⁷ Schneider, K. (2007)

¹⁸ Hunt, J. (2004).

¹⁹Cardno Emerging Markets (Australia) (formerly Cardno Acil). www.acil.com.au/glossary.htm

²⁰ European Center for Development Policy Management (ECDPM) (no date provided).

²¹ Ibid. Also, for an excellent historical perspective on Organizational Development and Institutional Development, see Van der Velden, Fons and Leenknecht, Anne-Marie (2006).

Term	Definition
	learned highlight strengths or weaknesses in preparation, design, and implementation that affect performance, outcome, and impact.
Mass Media	Mass media denotes a section of the media specifically designed to reach a large audience. The term was coined in the 1920s with the advent of nationwide radio networks, mass-circulation newspapers, and magazines. ²²
Monitoring	“Monitoring can be defined as the ongoing process by which stakeholders obtain regular feedback on the progress being made towards achieving their goals and objectives. ‘Are we taking the actions we said we would take?’ . . . ‘Are we making progress on achieving the results that we said we wanted to achieve?’” ²³
Media	In communication, media (singular medium) are the storage and transmission channels or tools used to store and deliver information or data. It is often referred to as synonymous with mass media or news media, but may refer to a single medium used to communicate any data for any purpose. ²⁴
Public Sphere	The space comprised of the public sector (government institutions), civil society, and the media, and the linkages and respective checks and balances exercised by these entities on each other. The public sphere is, above all, the “platform for national dialogue,” the spirit of which is the root of all democratic processes. ²⁵
Objective	A concrete statement describing what the project is trying to achieve. The objective should be written at a basic level so that it can be evaluated at the conclusion of a project to see whether it was achieved or not. A well-worded objective will be specific, measurable, attainable, realistic and time-bound (SMART). ²⁶
Organization(al) Development	“The practice of changing people and organizations for positive growth which can take on many forms, including, but not exclusively, team-building, organizational assessments, career development, training, e-learning, coaching, innovation, leadership development, talent management, and change management.” ²⁷
Outcome	An outcome is a short or medium-term result that is the logical consequence of the intervention achieving a combination of outputs. For instance, an outcome might be the application of new knowledge and skills by participants following their training course. Outcomes may take one to five years to achieve.
Output	An output is the most immediate, tangible result of an activity. An output could be, for example, the number of persons trained in a course. Outputs can usually be achieved within the period of a month to a year.
Relevance	The extent to which the objectives of a development intervention are consistent with beneficiaries’ requirements, country needs, global priorities, and partner and donor policies—relevance of the activity’s objectives (i.e., were they clear, realistic and measurable?); adequacy of documented activity design to achieve objectives.

²² Definition taken from http://www.google.com.au/search?hl=en&safe=off&defl=en&q=define:The+media&sa=X&ei=Lb_wTPbxLp604gac3JCNBg&ved=0CBoQkAE. Accessed on October 9, 2010 at 10:18pm, Juba Southern Sudan.

²³ UNDP (2009).

²⁴ Definition taken from http://www.google.com.au/search?hl=en&safe=off&defl=en&q=define:The+media&sa=X&ei=Lb_wTPbxLp604gac3JCNBg&ved=0CBoQkAE. Accessed on October 9, 2010 at 10:18pm, Juba Southern Sudan.

²⁵ *ibid*, p.6

²⁶ <http://www.tenstep.com/open/miscpages/94.3Glossary.html>

²⁷ <http://www.odportal.com/OD/whatisod.htm>. Accessed from Sydney, Australia at 9:00am July 16, 2009.

Term	Definition
Stakeholder	Specific people or groups who have a stake in the outcome of the project. Normally stakeholders are from within the company and could include internal clients, management, employees, administrators, etc. A project may also have external stakeholders, including suppliers, investors, community groups, and government organizations. ²⁸
Sustainability	The continuation of benefits from a development intervention after major development assistance has been completed—sustainability of benefits (technological, social, environmental, gender); sustainability of institutional capacity; maintenance of future recurrent budget (financial sustainability).
Technical Cooperation	<p>Technical cooperation (also commonly referred to as ‘technical assistance’) is the provision of know-how in the form of personnel, training, research, and associated costs. (OECD DAC Statistical Reporting Directives 36–39). It comprises donor-financed (1) activities that augment the level of knowledge, skills, technical know-how or productive aptitudes of people in developing countries; and (2) services such as consultancies, technical support, or the provision of know-how that contributes to the execution of a capital project.</p> <p>Technical cooperation includes both freestanding technical cooperation and technical cooperation that is embedded in investment programs (or included in program-based approaches). In order to report against this question, donors are invited to review their portfolio of projects and programs and estimate the share of technical assistance/cooperation.²⁹</p>
Ultimate Beneficiary	The individuals, groups, or organizations that will ultimately benefit from the implementation of a project.

²⁸ <http://www.tenstep.com/open/miscpages/94.3Glossary.html>

²⁹ Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). http://www.oecd.org/document/19/0,3343,en_21571361_39494699_39503763_1_1_1_1,00&&en-USS_01DBC.html Accessed 10pm on July 12, 2010 from Sydney, Australia.

ACRONYMS

Acronym	Description
ACPJS	Africa Center for Peace and Justice Studies
AMDIS	Association for Media Development in Southern Sudan
AUSAID	Australian Agency for International Development
BNS	Blue Nile State
BRIDGE	Building Responsibility for the Delivery of Government Services
CAFS	Conflict-Affected and Fragile States
CAAT	Camboni AIDS Awareness Team
CB	Capacity Building
CBO	Community-Based Organization
CDD	Community Driven Development
CDR	Community Driven Recovery
CE	Capacity Enhancement
CES	Central Equatoria State
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSPM	Conflict Sensitive Program Management
DG	USAID Governing Justly and Democratically (Democracy & Governance)
DGESC	Directorate of Gender Equity and Social Change
DG Office	USAID Governing Justly and Democratically (Democracy & Governance) Office
DP	Displaced Person
EDC	Educational Development Center
EES	Eastern Equatoria State
ESPA	Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement
FCR	Findings, Conclusions, Recommendations
F2F	Face to Face
FBO	Faith Based Organization
FGD	Focus Group Discussion

Acronym	Description
FM	Frequency Modulation
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GESC	Gender Equity and Social Change
GONGO	Governmental Non-Governmental Organization
GOS	Government of Sudan (Khartoum)
GOSS	Government of Southern Sudan (Juba)
HAC	Humanitarian Aid Commission
HEAR	Health, Education, and Reconciliation
ICSS	Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
ID	Institutional Development
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IR	Intermediate Result
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IRI	Interactive Radio Instruction
IT	Information Technology
JIU	Joint Integrated Units
LINCS	Localizing Institutional Capacity in Sudan
LLG	Local Level Government
LNGO	Local Non-Governmental Organization
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
LTA	Long-Term Technical Assistance
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MC	Mercy Corps
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MFGD	Mini-Focus Group Discussion
MOAF	Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
MOGSWRA	Ministry of Gender, Social Welfare, and Religious Affairs
MOLACD	Ministry of Legal Affairs and Constitutional Development

Acronym	Description
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MSI	Management Systems International
MTE	Mid-Term Evaluation
MTE Team	Mid-Term Evaluation Team
NBEG	Northern Bahr El Ghazal State
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NESI Network	Sudanese Indigenous Non-Governmental Organizations Network
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRRDO	Nuba Relief, Rehabilitation, and Development Organization
NSYA	New Sudan Youth Association
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OD	Organizational Development
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OTCM	USAID Office of Transition and Conflict Mitigation
OTI	USAID Office of Transition Initiatives
RC	Resource Center
SAF	Sudan Armed Forces
SDG	Sudanese Pound
SKS	Southern Kordofan State
SMS	Short Message Service
SO	Strategic Objective
SORD	Sudan Organization for Research and Development
SOW	Scope of Work/Statement of Work
SPLA	Sudanese People's Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudanese People's Liberation Movement
SRRC	Southern Relief and Rehabilitation Commission
SRS	Sudan Radio Service
SSICSOF	Southern Sudan Indigenous and Civil Society Organizations Forum
SSLA	Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly
SSRRC	Southern Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission

Acronym	Description
STA/STTA	Short-Term Technical Assistance
STTI/SITC	State Teacher Training Institute or College
SUEMOP	Sudan Domestic Election Monitoring and Observation Program
SUNDE	Sudanese Network for Democratic Elections
SUPPORT	Services Under Program and Program Offices for Results
TA	Technical Assistance
TL	Team Leader
TOR	Terms of Reference
TOT	Training of Trainers
TV	Television
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNS	Upper Nile State
USAID/Sudan	United States Agency for International Development
USG	United States Government
USSES	United States Special Envoy to Sudan
WOTAP	Women Training and Promotion Association

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

The United States Agency for International Development's (USAID) 2005–2010 goal has been to establish a foundation for a just and lasting peace through the successful implementation of the CPA. The Agency's current civil society and media development programs will end at the close of Fiscal Year (FY) 2011. Consequently, there is a need to "learn from the experiences of USAID and other international organization efforts to promote civic participation in Sudan in order to develop optimal programming for the next phase of USAID assistance."³⁰

To this end, Management Systems International Services Under Program and Program Offices for Results Tracking (MSI-SUPPORT) program was tasked by USAID/Sudan to conduct an assessment of civic participation in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. While the assessment was not expected to cover northern Sudan, USAID was interested in whether any space and opportunities for USAID support existed in the North. A four-person team was fielded between July 5 and August 18, 2010 and undertook fieldwork in the Three Areas—Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan States, and Abyei Area—and five states in Southern Sudan—Central Equatoria (CES), Upper Nile (UNS), Warrap, West Bahr El Ghazal (WBEG), and Western Equatoria (WES).³¹ The team collected primary source data from more than 150 individuals from a wide spectrum of Sudanese society and from all parts of civil society and government, as well as development organizations. While no site visits were undertaken in northern Sudan (or Darfur), civil society activists and media experts from the North were contacted by telephone and for face-to-face interviews in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. As part of the fieldwork, the team also utilized direct observation of the context. An extensive document and literature review of secondary source materials was undertaken.

SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS: MOST SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

Sudan is the largest country on the African continent and arguably one of the most complex. The United Nations (UN) categorizes Sudan as a low-income, food-deficit country, and on the Human Development Index (2007/08) Sudan ranked 147 out of 177 countries. A war of the scope and scale of the second civil war (as well as the first civil war) has understandably had significant and debilitating consequences on many fronts. The human toll has been immense, with an estimated two million people killed and four million people displaced, and traditional cultural structures have been fractured.³² Southern Sudan is struggling to rebuild and recover, and the embryonic government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) is unable, as yet, to comprehensively deliver critical services to its citizenry.

Security is a widespread concern across individuals and groups, regardless of their location or position. There are three major levels of insecurity: (1) North-South political tensions on national issues; (2) economic, historical and political dynamics of the border areas; and (3) intertribal conflicts within some of the states themselves. These levels are often merged and mixed and the causes and manifestations are varied and location-specific. The South has also wrestled with incursions by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) along the southern border. All these levels of insecurity constrain the ability of citizens to effectively engage politically.

Government openness to citizen and civil society engagement (especially in political matters) varies significantly across Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. Post-referendum changes may stem from the political climate shifting from an era of "unity of opinion" around the single issue of the referendum and

³⁰ USAID (2010). Civic Participation Assessment Scope of Work.

³¹ See Annex 2 for the mission schedule.

³² In the western region of Darfur, about two million people (one third of the population) have been displaced by a conflict that broke out in 2003.

independence to an era of contestation over a broad range of political issues. This shift will also occur during a period of intense state formation and consolidation and the rise of political differences and conflicting visions of what the new state should be, and who should control it.

Currently there are no laws regulating or supporting CSOs and civil society in general. The lack of a legal framework has made the regulation and control of CSOs something of a ‘political football’ that is passed back and forth between the Southern Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (SSRRC), the Ministry of Legal Affairs and Constitutional Development (MOLACD), and the Ministry of Gender, Social Welfare, and Religious Affairs (MOGSWRA). The rivalry between these agencies weakens the possibilities for a rational enabling environment. The absence of laws that protect basic rights, such as media laws and regulations, supremacy of the rule of law, freedom of expression, etc., has made it difficult for civic associations to develop. This current period represents a key window of opportunity to support the legal and regulatory reforms that will provide protection to CSOs and media outlets and will allow these organizations to work freely.

The communications sector is limited by a lack of infrastructure, and the high illiteracy rate of the population severely limits the extent of coverage that the media is able to supply and citizens’ access. The paucity of media and media outlets also makes it easier for the government to control the free flow of information if and when it wishes. The lack of capacity in the media sector is another liability. Other international donors, such as the BBC World Service Trust, the Swedish Government, the Danish Government, and the Open Society Institute have shown an interest in media capacity building and professionalization. The Association for Media Development in Southern Sudan (AMDIS), founded by Sudanese professional journalists, was for a time serving as an effective media lobby group in engaging GOSS on public interest concerns, but it has floundered recently. The strategic placement of community-based FM radio stations, which are capable of broadcasting reliable and credible news and information in local languages across borders into unstable areas may help to mitigate the potential for conflict. However, expectations of radio stations’ capacity to sustain themselves are unrealistic. Given the great information deficit in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas and the vital role of free and credible information in promoting peace and democracy, USAID’s media assistance has been a key feature of USAID programs.

On the side of civil society and civic activists, the view is that civil society is the only channel of communication available with the government. But the intensity of involvement of citizens in this discourse depends on the nature of the activity itself. A 2006 study by Mercy Corps (MC) identified some 975 groups and organizations across Southern Sudan that were considered to be CSOs.³³ These CSOs undertook a wide range of activities encompassing some 22 ‘sectors’ from health and education to food security, relief, gender, advocacy and lobbying, and peace building as well as bricklaying, youth, sports, and IDP/returnee issues.³⁴ The study highlighted the undeveloped state of civil society, the extremely low-level capacity of the majority of grassroots CSOs, and the desire of CSOs to improve their skills and strengthen their ability to serve their communities. At the same time, however, the study stressed that there was a significant lack of community members’ confidence in CSOs’ ability to effectively address community needs.³⁵

Despite the presence of a large number of non-state actors in the Sudanese political landscape, there are clear indications that civil society and civic engagement have weakened since the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). This situation is mainly due to the absorption of former civic activists and CSO leaders into the new national and state governments. It is also evident that civic participation, as an important component of governance structures and of democracy, is taking place in a restrictive environment. The fact that so many civil society groups focus on service delivery leaves a wide gap in the area of political participation and rights-based advocacy.

³³ Mercy Corps and International Rescue Committee (2006).

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

In the North and the Three Areas, independent civil society and media groups—even given limited political space and resources—continue to challenge the prevailing political, legal, and security environment and to contribute to peace-building efforts and the defense and protection of human and women's rights. A wide range of independent and democratic CSOs and media outlets (print, Internet-based, and television) have continued to tackle these issues since the 1990s and into the CPA era. In addition to these groups and media outlets, regional and sectoral groups with new and different civic engagement demands are also emerging in the post-CPA era. Despite the uncertain political and security future in the Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States, civic engagement in humanitarian work during the war and levels of participation in civic education after the CPA represent solid ground for the future of citizens' participation in the public sphere. The priority issue for most communities and CSOs is insecurity, which generally hinders civic engagement of all types across borders and tribal boundaries. Insecurity about the political future intensifies citizens' desire for knowledge and engagement in political affairs, although (as in Southern Sudan) there is a great deficit of knowledge and information about political processes and the political future across the region. As is also the case in Southern Sudan, service delivery is the primary objective of most CSOs and dominates civic participation in this sector. The ecumenical church is the most influential and powerful civil society actor in Southern Sudan. It is the only civic institution in the country capable of effectively proposing or challenging government policy and contesting government abuses of authority. In addition, the involvement of women in civic engagement is often hampered by a deliberate focus on issues specific to women, such as gender-based violence, instead of a broader focus on increasing women's political participation and involvement in democratic governance.

Conclusions that are common to both the North and the Three Areas can also be drawn. Because of the major ethnic and political divisions, these states are extremely volatile and insecure and will remain so into the future. The implementation of the remaining CPA milestones in these areas (elections, Popular Consultations, and the Abyei Area referendum) over the next year makes these areas increasingly prone to conflict. The USAID 2004–2010 Democracy and Governance program focused on basic capacity building for grassroots CSOs and realized significant achievements in that area. However,, there has been little real influence on Government and little impact of civic participation on creating critical citizen-government links and space for civil society-government dialogue on issues of critical importance to citizens. There is a need to support the emergence of a cadre of capable advocacy organizations that facilitate dialogue with government, engage on policy issues, and hold decision makers accountable. In order to play such a role, these CSOs will require additional training and capacity building in effective advocacy methods, media strategies, etc. While CSOs' capacity to robustly represent citizen opinion is being built, a vacuum will remain in both providing citizen opinion directly to government officials and in independent policy advice provided to government. Interventions will be needed to fill the void.

At present, there do not appear to be any other major donor initiated programs—outside of USAID's Localizing Institutional Capacity in Sudan (LINCS), Sudan Radio Service (SRS), and the Supporting Consensus Building and Civic Participation in Political Processes programs—focusing on the development of civic participation in the post-referendum period. Some of the organizations have funded programs that have a component involving civic participation such as media training, legal reform, and human rights. But very little or nothing is happening by way of supporting an indigenous civic association that works directly on seeking a widening of political space and engagement with the government. Many of these organizations do, however, have plans for future involvement in civic education, civic participation, and media activities such as legal reforms and training courses for journalists and other media professionals. UNMIS, for example, through its civil affairs office has provided some limited funding for civic engagement on an ad hoc basis. UNDP works directly with GOSS at the state level through the ministry of local government to promote the development of the rule of law. The Norwegian and Swedish missions have provided one-time funding for media training. But, at present, USAID is the only major donor with a funding program directly focused on promotion of democracy through civic engagement.

Gender

Interview data reveal that there is a gendered aspect to public debate about governance, the upcoming political processes, and dynamics of women's participation in all civic engagements. Traditionally, many communities in Southern Sudan socialize boys and girls differently, with a tendency to make boys more aggressive and girls submissive. This rigid definition of gender roles has had many negative consequences for women, including their political invisibility and exclusion from major political roles. The government of Southern Sudan has embarked on a plan to address historical injustices against women by instituting a policy of affirmative action at every level of government. That policy calls for at 25 percent representation of women in government. Unfortunately, many women's groups suggest that such policies only remain on the books, as there is very limited effort to overhaul the basic socialization mechanisms that are at the root of women's exclusion.

Obstacles to women's civic activism are not unlike those for men. These obstacles include illiteracy, communication problems, and lack of funding, managerial capacity, and access to information. The problems are made much graver for women than for men by the simple reality of historical injustices in education, control of resources, and the attitude of their societies that view women as appendages to men. Women face more challenges with the justice system, security apparatus, and violence. They are more likely to be clamped down on by the law enforcement agencies. Their complaints are less likely to get noted by the police, they are accorded less status by the courts, and their associations are more easily threatened with closure. Many women suggested that growth in participatory democracy is the only solution—not just for women, but for the whole field of civil society—and civic engagement and investment in women's education would sow the seeds for future vibrancy in civic participation.

STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Development Hypothesis

Participatory governance (that is, citizen participation in political processes) and the coherence and cohesion of the civil society sector can be influenced positively by:

- Strengthening the capacity of civil society organizations and networks to represent citizen interests to government in the future with or without donor assistance;
- Addressing the key constraint of citizens' poor access to information—with increased access to information, citizens will be more informed and better able to participate in democratic governance and community life; and
- Enhancing the regulatory and legal framework to be more conducive to the development of the civil society sector.

Proposed Civic Participation Program Purpose and Objectives

Purpose: To strengthen participatory governance.

Objectives:

1. Strengthen civil society organizations' capacity to represent citizen voice and interests to government.
2. Improve the capacity of targeted bodies within the media sector to provide accurate and objective information.
3. Improve the regulatory and legal frameworks that impact on the development of civil society.

Targeting

1. Continue to support DG program civic engagement activities in the border states between the North and Southern Sudan and in the Three Areas, ensuring a strong focus on peace building, conflict resolution, and reconciliation.
2. Target civic participation programming largely in the urban areas, including state capitals and with special attention to Juba as Southern Sudan's capital.
3. Ensure that any new programming is underpinned and informed by gender-sensitive program design and implementation and that gender-sensitive indicators are included in any program monitoring and evaluation.

Objective 1: Strengthen civil society organizations' capacity to represent citizen voices and interests to government

4. Continue to support the CSO community, but incorporate a shift in focus to “advocacy, influence, and government engagement” in the post-referendum era and ensure that the bulk of the funding and capacity building efforts are aimed at an emerging cadre of medium-capacity national CSOs that are well-positioned to affect and influence government policy.*
5. Continue to support local grassroots CSOs, particularly in institutional capacity building; however, while important, support to CSOs should not be a primary focus of the DG program.
6. When USAID bilateral agreements with the north allow, support and engage with democratically oriented CSOs and NGOs and media outlets that are well-known and have legitimacy and credibility among Sudanese citizens.

Objective 2: Improve the capacity of targeted bodies within the media sector to provide information

7. Develop a comprehensive, stand-alone media program.

Objective 3: Improve the regulatory and legal frameworks that impact on the development of civil society.

8. Provide direct support to the reform and development of the legal and regulatory framework that regulates civil society activity, the media, and civic participation in general. (Note that this program element will not likely be possible in the Three Areas.)

*The team encountered a number of such high potential, “medium capacity” CSOs in its work. A partial list includes the Nuba Relief, Rehabilitation, and Development Organization (NRRDO—Nuba Mountains); Sudan Network for Democratic Elections (SUNDE) and its member organization, Sudan Domestic Election Monitoring and Observation Program (SUDEMOP) based in Juba; the Abyei Civil Society Forum; the Southern Sudan Law Society (Juba); Ru'ya Association (Kadugli); and Women Training and Promotion Association (WOTAP) based in Wau.

9. Establish a set-aside, flexible, “quick response–quick impact” fund that can be drawn upon to respond to unforeseen, urgent DG needs and/or to support newly emerging, high-potential actors that merit USAID assistance.³⁶

³⁶ “The team assumes that such a quick impact fund will be justifiable under USAID rules and regulations while Sudan remains a Critical Priority Country—or that a similar approach can be adopted given USAID/Sudan’s special status.”

I. INTRODUCTION

ASSESSMENT PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

The United States Agency for International Development's (USAID's) 2005–2010 programs to address civic participation in Sudan were both designed and are currently being implemented during the 'Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) era.'³⁷ The Agency's civil society and media programs will end at the close of Fiscal Year (FY) 2011. Consequently, there is a need to "learn from the experiences of USAID and other international organization efforts to promote civic participation in Sudan in order to develop optimal programming for the next phase of USAID assistance."³⁸

USAID is interested in an analysis that provides answers to the following:

- Assess success of USAID-supported partners in their implementation of the current civic participation program;
- Analyze the state of the enabling environment for civic participation and media freedom/freedom of information;
- Determine how USAID can employ its Implementing Partners to work in the target areas, given the complexity of working with the governments in the North and the Three Areas;
- Describe the current nature and extent of civic participation across all sectors—as it related to civic participation programming. To the extent possible, this may include economic growth (financial services and microenterprise), agriculture and food security, rule of law, the security sector, peace processes, and humanitarian assistance—in addition to basic services such as health, education, water and sanitation.
- Determine the constraints to effective civic participation with respect to capacity, access to information, resources, infrastructure, and enabling environment;
- Describe the opportunities to increase civic participation, both in quantity and in quality. This would include the potential to build on assets and activities currently supported by USAID (all sectors and areas, including the Office of Transition Initiatives-OTI);
- Identify other donor-, International Non-Governmental Organization (INGO)-, Local Non-Governmental Organization (LNGO)- and government-supported mechanisms, approaches, and activities as well as other USAID programs and activities to avoid duplication, promote synergies, and ensure incorporation of USAID mission-wide strategic priorities;
- Provide recommendations on the geographic targeting of USAID assistance. States and areas critical to regional peace and stability need to be taken into consideration. The following questions should be considered by the Study Team:
 - Should Abyei and/or the North-South border region continue to be areas supported through civic participation programming?
 - Should the focus be on rural versus urban areas, or a combination thereof?

³⁷ The CPA era refers to the six-year interim period between the signing of the CPA and the administration of the Southern Sudan and the Abyei Area referenda (scheduled for January 9, 2011) and a six-month transition period post-January 2011.

³⁸ USAID (2010). Civic Participation Assessment Scope of Work.

- Should the focus be on conflict-prone versus more stable areas?
- Consider the gender implications for civic participation programming.

To this end, Management Systems International Services under Program and Program Offices for Results Tracking (MSI-SUPPORT) Program was tasked by USAID/Sudan to conduct an assessment of civic participation in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. The assessment was not expected to cover northern Sudan; however, USAID did expect that the assessment would consider whether any space existed in the North and identify any opportunities for USAID support. The assessment was carried out by a four-person team consisting of three external researchers—Dr. Robert Brandstetter (Team Leader), Mr. Monim Eljak and Mr. Jok Madut Jok—and Mr. Will Schmitt, a USAID staff member, between July 5 and August 18, 2010. The assessment was carried out in the Three Areas—Blue Nile, Southern Kordofan, and Abyei—and five states in Southern Sudan—Central Equatoria (CES), Upper Nile (UNS), Warrap, West Bahr El Ghazal (WBEG), and Western Equatoria (WES).³⁹

The selection of the locations and the organizations to be visited was made according to USAID priorities and the extensive knowledge of team members regarding civic participation and civil society in Sudan, taking into account logistical and travel considerations. The team developed interview protocols to guide semi-structured interviews with the various participants in order to generate valid and reliable primary source data.⁴⁰ Using Key Informant Interviews, Group Interviews and informal conversations, the team collected primary source data from more than 150 individuals from a wide spectrum of Sudanese society and from all parts of civil society and government, as well as a number of expatriates. While no site visits were undertaken in northern Sudan, telephone interviews and meetings in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas with civil society activists and media experts from the North were conducted. As part of the fieldwork, the team also utilized direct observation of the context. An extensive document and literature review of secondary source materials was undertaken.

The timing of the assessment mission so close to the referenda⁴¹ was a significant limitation to the research. The momentous choices facing all Sudanese citizens tended to hinder people's interest in speculating about the post-referendum future. The understandable preoccupation with the referenda influenced the work of the team in virtually all respects, but in particular it made it especially difficult to envision the post-referendum political environment in either the North or in Southern Sudan. Given that the team is tasked with explaining the political and 'enabling environment' in which the next phase of USAID's civil society, media, and civic participation programming will be implemented, as well as to make strategic recommendations concerning the most appropriate and effective program approaches in these areas, the uncertainty of the current moment and people's reticence have made it necessary for the team to speculate possibly more than is desirable.

³⁹ See Annex 2 for the mission schedule

⁴⁰ See Annex 4 for an expanded discussion of the methodological approach.

⁴¹ Referenda are scheduled for January 2011 to decide if: (1) Southern Sudan will continue to be united with the north or will opt for secession leading to independence; and (2) Abyei will continue to be united with the north or will opt to join Southern Sudan, in the event that it secedes. In addition, the future status of both South Kordofan and Blue Nile States in the north will be decided by Popular Consultations.

II. SITUATIONAL ANALYSIS

THE STATE OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY SECTOR

The Constituency

Southern Sudan and the Three Areas (Abyei, Southern Kordofan, and Blue Nile States) have experienced over three decades of war, famine, drought, and floods. The entire country has experienced a series of humanitarian crises that have frequently, but only temporarily, caught the attention of the international community. These crises, combined with an oppressive political regime in the North, have resulted in the devastation of the social framework of society and vast underdevelopment.

Sudan is the largest country in Africa, with a total area of about 967, 495 sq miles. Over 100 languages are spoken across the country, and Southern Sudan alone is home to 62 different ethnic groups. The population of Southern Sudan is predominately rural, and virtually all urban Southern Sudanese still have deep roots in their village and are intimately aware of occurrences in their local area. This connection to the rural context is also manifested in the civil society organization composition. For example, the majority of mid-range CSOs discussed later in the report have both urban and rural constituencies. The Ru'ya Association in Kadugli has a membership of over 5,000 rural women who are mentored and supported. The leadership of Ru'ya is in constant contact with rural women and is able to serve as an intermediary between the needs of women and the limited government capabilities available in Kadugli. Similarly, the development assistance that Nuba Relief, Rehabilitation, and Development Organization (NRRDO) in Kauda has been able to provide is entirely for rural communities. In addition, the Sudan Network for Democratic Elections (SUNDE), based in Juba, has chapters in the capitals of all 10 southern states and maintains an active dialogue among these chapters by cell phone, email, and meetings held at the head office.

There is also diversity in the strengths and challenges faced by and within the different states and communities of Southern Sudan. Consequently, the level, quality, and focus of civic engagement are also diverse. For example, political processes such as the referenda in Southern Sudan and Abyei Area and popular consultations in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan are the most important current issues for civic engagement. However, on other issues of citizen concern (such as security, border demarcation, service delivery, abuse by law enforcement or the military, access to legal redress and other civil rights), citizens' engagement is prioritized differently in different states with differing levels of engagement, depending on which problem the respective citizenry feels is the most important.

While there is very limited overall political engagement due to a restrictive environment throughout the country, it is important to emphasize the unique circumstances that civil society confronts in Southern Sudan's different regions. Northern border states of Warrap, Upper Nile, Western and Northern Bahr el Ghazal, and Unity have distinctly different problems than the southern and eastern border states of Western Equatoria, Central Equatoria, Eastern Equatoria, and Jonglei. The diversity of problems reflects the great diversity of Southern Sudan, and includes geography, history, resources, ethnic groups, and religion.⁴² (Annex 5 provides brief summaries of the regional- and state-level differences that the team noted during its fieldwork.)

State of the 'Enabling Environment'

The enabling environment is defined as “ . . . a set of interrelated conditions—such as legal, bureaucratic, fiscal, informational, political, and cultural—that impact on the capacity of . . . development actors to engage in development processes in a sustained and effective manner”⁴³

⁴² As noted above, because of time and logistic constraints, the team was unable to visit five of the ten Southern states: Eastern Equatoria, Jonglei, Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Unity, and Lake States.

⁴³ Thindwa, J. (2001).

The Open Forum on CSO Effectiveness provides a useful overview of the considerations to be taken into account when investigating the enabling environment. Although these considerations are presented specifically to understand the requirements of CSOs, they can, nonetheless, inform the broader discussion being undertaken in this report.

The Open Forum on CSO Effectiveness notes that:

“A flourishing civil society requires an enabling environment, which depends upon the actions and policies of all development actors including governments, donors, and CSOs. Currently, conditions vary enormously from country to country ranging from what could be defined as a disabling environment, even oppressive environment, in some cases, to restrictive or problematic environments, to what may be considered models of good practice, setting an example for others to follow, in other instances.”

CSO development effectiveness is premised on mutually reinforcing internal and external factors. Internal factors primarily relate to CSOs capacity, the embodiment of principles of CSO development effectiveness, and collective structures and mechanisms. External factors relate to the recognition of the role and voice of CSOs and the development of an enabling environment for CSOs to operate.

What constitutes an enabling environment is a complex set of conditions. These include:

CSO Recognition:

- Political factors and other circumstances influencing CSO recognition and operations. These may include mechanisms to ensure the promotion and protection of human rights, including the rights of expression, peaceful assembly and association, and access to information.
- General legal and judicial system and related mechanisms affecting for instance charitable status provisions, CSO legislation and taxation, or whether CSOs, or their constituencies, can seek legal recourse.
- Administrative factors affecting the way in which a given government deals with CSOs.

Promotion of CSO Voice:

- Processes, structures, and mechanisms creating access, space, and capacity for CSOs to formulate, articulate and convey opinion in consultations and decision-making processes nationally and internationally.

Promotion of CSO Capacity:

- Funding mechanisms that ensure CSO capacity is promoted.
- Regulations and norms to promote CSO transparency and accountability to their constituencies.
- Government and other support programs for developing CSO capacity and effectiveness.
- Measures to promote philanthropy and corporate social responsibility.

CSO External Relationships:

Whether CSOs are allowed and enabled to engage in the following relations with other civil society actors:

- North/South relations⁴⁴
- International networking

⁴⁴ ‘Northern’ in this instance refers to developed countries.

- National CSO networks and platforms

Role of External Partners and Actors in Promoting CSO Development Effectiveness:

Whether external partners are allowed and choose to promote CSO development. External partners include northern and international CSOs, donors, and multilateral institutions.⁴⁵

Governments, as the primary regulators and leading national development actors, are primarily responsible for most of these conditions, especially those relating to the regulatory framework, which conditions the activity and visibility of CSOs as well as the safety of their staff and volunteers. Donors also have an essential role to play in developing an enabling environment for CSO development effectiveness. They do so through the openness that they themselves demonstrate towards CSOs, through their efforts to encourage involvement of CSOs in policy dialogue, and by virtue of the terms and conditions that they impose on CSO recipients. CSOs have identified a number of donor reforms in aid practices and architecture that would enhance CSO development effectiveness (Tomlinson, 2006).”⁴⁶

Security

In January 2005, Sudan’s major warring parties, the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM) in the South and the Government of Sudan (GOS), led by the National Congress Party (NCP) in the North, signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). This agreement was obtained under heavy pressure from the international community and the United States in particular. Over the past six years, the country has very slowly been healing and building a degree of security in which economic, social, and political growth can take place.

Despite the peace brought by the CPA, Southern Sudan remains an extremely fragile area. The potential for North-South conflict to erupt into full-fledged war remains high, while South-South low-level conflict has continued among cattle herders clashing over pasture and water rights. Along the southern border, the Lord’s Resistance Army (LRA) also presents a serious security problem. These Southern conflicts are frequently attributed to Northern provocations aimed at creating general instability in Southern Sudan.

Insecurity in many areas of Southern Sudan and Three Areas is a major concern of citizens. Government responses to provide security have been largely inadequate or non-existent. Civic engagement is greatly stifled by insecurity for obvious reasons—citizens are occupied with security concerns, scared to move about freely and engage with each other, and associational life inevitably suffers. There are three major levels of insecurity: (1) North-South political tensions on national issues; (2) economic, historical, and political dynamics of the border areas; and (3) conflicts within some of the states themselves. All these levels of insecurity constrain the ability of citizens to effectively engage politically.

These levels are often merged and mixed. In southern states, especially the border states and the Three Areas, there is a generalized sense of insecurity that pervades all three levels. The insecurity in border states such as Upper Nile, Unity, and Northern Bahr el-Ghazal originates from the political tensions between the Khartoum and Juba governments over border control, natural resources (pasture and water), and the upcoming referendum. Previously, these tensions have been managed through historically established mechanisms between the ethnic groups, which share mutual benefits from co-existence. The intensity of political disputes between the North and Southern Sudan, however, has politicized and militarized the cross-border relationships and has created an environment in which citizens are not free to establish cross-border or inter-tribal dialogue to mitigate the historically and/or economically driven tensions. This in turn means that while insecurity is the single most important concern for citizens in border areas, citizens can bring very little influence to bear on the governments on either side of the border regarding security issues. Nor can civic associations embark on community initiatives to resolve conflict without approval from the government of either side. Attempts to resolve these tribal conflicts have now moved out of the hands of traditional

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Open Forum for CSO Effectiveness (no date provided). The possibilities are included in Annex 6.

authorities and rest in the hands of the state. This shift makes it difficult for communities to resolve their own conflicts through traditional mechanisms. The solutions to their local disputes are now tied to the solution of the larger, intractable national conflicts.

Insecurity in the rest of Southern Sudan, though sometimes influenced by national politics and security arrangements, is mainly based on competition for resources along tribal lines, particularly in cattle herding communities.⁴⁷ This kind of insecurity has historically been subject to local citizens' initiatives to mitigate it. Chiefs' mediations, tribal peace meetings, and church interventions have all proven to be successful mechanisms for reconciliation and peace building, and it can be said that this is the most significant form of civic engagement in rural areas of Southern Sudan. Civic engagement is still strong in this area due to the moral authority that these mediators hold; thus, the church and the institution of the chief(s) are more trusted than the government-led truces and are more respected by the citizens. Some of the most notable of these church and traditional gatherings include the indigenously financed tribal meetings led by local chiefs between 2003 and 2005 that addressed Arab-Nuba, Nuba-Nuba, and intra-group relations.⁴⁸

The trust, respect, and credibility of these institutions come from their non-power seeking status; they are therefore seen as complementary to the work of government. In this sense, government in the south sees them as a classic example of actors filling "appropriate" roles for civil society actors. For the rest of the civil society actors, their engagement is limited by widespread suspicion within government about the work of groups that are not condoned and controlled by the government.

In order to understand the political environment for civic participation in the Three Areas (Southern Kordofan, Blue Nile, and Abyei) it is important to highlight two specific points regarding the Three Areas' political context. First, the Three Areas have been part of the long North-South conflict, with residents in those areas fighting the central government alongside the SPLA. Much of the violence in the Three Areas was fuelled by the same factors that escalated the North-South war, namely deliberate marginalization by the central authorities of Three Areas communities. Second, the existing political, legal and security environment, and arrangements in the North also apply in the Three Areas. Despite the special protocols for the Three Areas in the CPA, including the Abyei Referendum and Popular Consultations in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, the Interim CPA period has been characterized by a high level of tensions in the Three Areas associated with dissatisfaction over implementation of the CPA.

The factors fueling instability in the Three Areas are different from those common in the overall national environment. Unique provisions for addressing the causes of instability in the Three Areas were therefore included in the CPA. The political structures and institutions created by the CPA for the Three Areas are extremely fragile and have in some cases heightened levels of tension, particularly in Southern Kordofan and Abyei (for example, the May 2008 eruption of violence that led to destruction of Abyei town, and ongoing ethnic tensions in Southern Kordofan).

Many of the actors who met with the assessment team in the Three Areas shared their disappointments regarding the security environment in their regions and the lack of progress to date under the CPA, saying that the CPA does not articulate clear solutions for most of the structural causes affecting peace and stability. Indeed the team realized that a major common political characteristic in the Three Areas is the uncertainty of the political future and the invisibility of emerging political processes. This is particularly true in light of the results of the April 2010 elections and the dominance of the NCP in the central government (see below for further explanation). This uncertain political future is driving intense levels of CSO activity and demand for civic participation in political processes in the Three Areas.

⁴⁷ The question of Darfur is another major issue generating great insecurity in Western Bahr el Ghazal, Northern Bahr el Ghazal and Southern Kordofan; however, this was not part of the assessment team's Scope of Work (SOW).

⁴⁸ Tanner, Victor, Weeks, Willet and Hashim, Jamal (2010).

Political Landscape, Space and Processes

Southern Sudan

Government openness to citizen and civil society engagement (especially in political matters) varies significantly across Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. However, in most areas, government officials and institutions show a general openness to CSO engagement in service-delivery activities, but a wary attitude toward political engagement or advocacy-type activities (this may be implicitly or explicitly expressed to citizens). Southern Sudan's political leadership has made numerous pronouncements regarding the importance of civic participation and their commitment to ensuring its growth, and most government officials speak of civil society as an important component of democratic governance. To date, however, there is no legislation, concrete actions, or practicable policies in place to promote civic participation or to allow an enabling environment for the development and growth of civil society.

The post-referendum period may be characterized by the political climate shifting from an era of “unity of opinion” around the single issue of the referendum and independence to an era of contestation over a broad range of political issues. This shift will occur in the midst of a period of intense state formation and consolidation and the rise of political differences and conflicting visions of what the new state should be and who should control it.

Northern Sudan

The issues and concerns regarding civic engagement, which the CPA was envisaged to transform, remain the same. Results of the elections in the North are blocking the creation of political space envisaged by the CPA to create a sustainable framework for democratic transition and for the respect of basic human rights and freedoms. Without any reform efforts to the media law, freedom of expression and association of CSOs and media will remain restricted. The post-election period has been to date characterized by media censorship, closure of NGOs and newspapers, arbitrary arrests, and other human rights violations.⁴⁹

The recent experience of intense concentration on one political process at the expense of others (with for example, focus on the referendum leading to the neglect of democratic transformation) may have complicated prospects for peace and could backfire. Therefore, it is extremely important for the sake of civic participation in the North that citizens and CSOs begin considering North Sudan's post-CPA environment. They must consider issues such as how to empower democratic actors to articulate their concerns on a new constitution, legal reform, upcoming elections, citizenship issues, peace and justice in Darfur, and reconciliation, among others.

Three Areas

Abyei

The Abyei Area Protocol was signed in 2004 as an integrated part of the CPA to address the special status of the area during the war and for the interim period. The Protocol provides special administrative status directly connected with the Presidency, a process to determine the area's boundaries, security arrangements, and a referendum in 2011 to determine if Abyei will be part of the South or the North. Five months before the CPA reaches its final destination with Southern Sudan and Abyei simultaneous referendums in January 2011, Abyei's Protocol is in a complete state of deadlock, as none of its major political processes have been implemented.

Indeed five major shortcomings have led to the current threat of Abyei's referendum not being conducted on time. These shortcomings include (1) the rejection of Abyei Boundaries Commission (ABC) resolutions; (2) the destruction and burning to the ground of Abyei Town after clashes between the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) and the SPLA; (3) the failure to demarcate Abyei's boundaries according to the ruling of the

⁴⁹ Press Release, Amnesty International. “Sudan: End Clampdown on Freedom of Expression before Referendum.” <http://www.amnestyusa.org/document.php?id=ENGPREF013182010&lang=e>

Permanent Court of Arbitration of the Hague; (4) the reluctance to form the Abyei Referendum Commission as required by the CPA; and (5) putting the Misseriya livelihood rights at risk by constraining their movements.

Different actors consulted by the assessment team in Agok and Abyei Town repeatedly emphasized that Abyei represents a historically strategic position in the North-South civil wars. They portrayed the current status of deadlock in Abyei's Protocol as the weakest point in the implementation of the CPA, and expressed that failure to implement Abyei's referenda and other political and security concerns is considered a serious threat that may erupt in a full-scale war between the North and Southern Sudan.

Interlocutors from the Abyei Civil Society Forum, INGOs, and UNMIS agreed on a number of factors that influence Abyei's high vulnerability to renewed violent conflict. Abyei boundaries continue to be a major factor for tension among the communities of Abyei and between the CPA's two partners. Despite the acceptance of the Misseriya and Ngok Dinka of the Hague ruling, tensions remain widespread, mobilized by the Misseriya and the NCP. Indeed, the Boundary Demarcation Commission has stopped its work, which is affecting other provisions of Abyei's Protocol, including voters' eligibility to vote in the Abyei referendum.

Another factor contributing to the ongoing tense situation in Abyei is the increasing prominence of ethnic politics, in particular the politicization of ethnic relations in the area. The former Popular Defense Forces (PDF) are increasingly organized and fear that the implementation of the Abyei Protocol will endanger their livelihoods and their traditional patterns of movement into the south. The Hague ruling on Abyei's boundaries has actually guaranteed the movement rights for the Misseriya. However, many reports and some of the informants consulted raised the point that there is renewed military support to Misseriya and encouragement to settle in the Abyei area. Furthermore, the oil industry's operations continue to be a dividing factor between the two partners charged with implementing the Abyei Protocol. The oil industry's operations also represents a primary area of dissatisfaction for Abyei residents, as they are frustrated at receiving only marginal benefits from the oil production in terms of employment opportunities and development.

Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile

Popular Consultation processes for Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile represent the essential component of the Protocol on the Resolution of the Conflict in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile States. This Protocol is indeed considered by most people the team met in the two regions to be a necessary compromise for achieving peace and stability, but not one that comprehensively meets their aspirations. Therefore, the Sudanese Church's recent statement seems to hold true: "Failure to address the aspirations of the people in these two states could derail any peaceful post-2011 transition."⁵⁰

The Popular Consultations were also envisaged as a vehicle for the citizens of Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile to express their overall satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the special arrangements accorded to their regions by the CPA, and the way they envisage their relationship with the central government in Khartoum. Constitutionally and according to the Popular Consultation Act, the CPA has created interim arrangements in the two states, to be confirmed or changed during the Popular Consultations to be held after national and state elections.⁵¹ Regardless of the outcome of these Popular Consultations, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile will remain part of the North, keeping in place whatever new political or institutional arrangements the negotiations with the North have achieved.

Interviewees consulted in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile particularly highlighted their concerns about the uncertain political future of both areas and about the apparent problems in emerging political processes (especially the Popular Consultations) that will likely keep them from truly reflecting citizen interests and opinions. Interestingly, while interviewees showed an interest in the Popular Consultations as a process and confirmed citizens' motivation to participate, they emphasized an overall lack of citizen interest in the outcomes of the process. The head of a community-based organization in Kauda summed up the shared

⁵⁰ *Choose Life: A Vision for a Peaceful Sudan*, statement by the Sudanese Church, May 2010.

⁵¹ The Popular Consultations are a CPA-mandated process whereby the two states will seek to renegotiate political, administrative, and constitutional arrangements with the central government.

opinion of most citizens in Southern Kordofan: “[The Popular Consultation] is good as an exercise for learning, but now we understand it will not take us to our aspirations for an autonomous Nuba Mountains [region].” NDI’s focus group research and other public opinion research highlighted the perceptions and expectations of the Popular Consultations and the lack of clarity among the citizens before the April 2010 elections and before the enactment of the Consultations Act. However, citizens now appear to be less confused about the process, but also less interested in its outcomes. This understanding is clearer and more plainly stated by interviewees in Southern Kordofan than those in Blue Nile.

Two factors appear to be behind this lack of interest in the outcomes of the Popular Consultation: one is the failure of the CPA to achieve the envisioned democratic transition in the central state that would have allowed for smooth negotiations with the elected central government regarding Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile’s status, and the second is the looming possibility of an independent Southern Sudan. This second factor has created a feeling of “abandonment” by Southern Sudan, including a perception that the Three Areas have no political or military “backup” in challenging the North regarding their political future(s).

Political activists and civil society leaders in the Two Areas argue that the results of the election and overwhelming dominance of the NCP within the political and legislative decision-making center in Khartoum will return Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan to the same position they occupied before the Naivasha talks, when, after a hard fought war, they managed to achieve special status. The domination of NCP in their view is now weakening the capacity of the Two Areas to achieve their civic and political rights. Furthermore, the leaders feel they have been largely “abandoned” by Southern Sudan to face NCP’s various stalling methods aimed at averting the special arrangements included in the Popular Consultations and the subsequent negotiations with the Two Areas. Many civil society leaders clearly see the forthcoming situation in the post-Popular Consultations era as alarming and fear that in the post-referenda era, the Khartoum government will not approach matters of the Two Areas’ political status or citizen needs in good faith.

Legal and Regulatory Framework

Southern Sudan

Currently, there are no laws regulating or supporting CSOs. The lack of a legal framework for CSOs and civic participation in general can be seen to create both opportunity and constraints. The first concerns how much the lack of laws to control the objectives, organization, membership, and activities of civil society opens the public arena for an undefined field of civic participation. Legally, with no law, any function or activity of the government can publicly be discussed, challenged, or approved in an open and transparent manner. There is an opaque legal enabling environment, allowing for a lack of definition of boundaries, responsibilities, and rights of both government and citizens to engage.

The lack of laws, however, also means that the roles and relationships of government and CSOs are undefined and the government has a free hand to discourage and repress the same objectives, organization, membership, and activities of civil society as it sees fit, or even capriciously—and not be bound by any constraints. It also means that procedures for settling disputes are not available, nor are CSO registration procedures and fees defined or publicly listed. Lastly, the lack of a legal framework has made the regulation and control of CSOs something of a political football bouncing between the Southern Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission (SSRRC), the Ministry of Legal Affairs and Constitutional Development (MOLACD), and the Ministry of Gender, Social Welfare, and Religious Affairs (MOGSWRA). The rivalry between these agencies weakens the possibilities for a rational enabling environment.

While there is not yet any overt government hostility toward civil society and politically active citizens codified in the law or regulations, there is a subtle but restrictive legal environment, which constrains civic participation in political processes and governance in general. The absence of laws that protect basic rights, such as the media laws and regulations, supremacy of the rule of law, and freedom of expression, has made it difficult for civic associations to develop.

There are two important laws that have been tabled since 2008, but are yet to be passed by the Southern Sudan Legislative Assembly (SSLA): the Non-Governmental Organization Law and the Media Law. Without the NGO Law, there is limited legal protection for CSOs, a lack of clarity regarding government oversight

responsibilities, and an unknown expense for registration. An example of how difficult it might become to register CSOs is illustrated by the turf war between GOSS ministries about what ministry will have the responsibility of administering the law. This responsibility was initially placed under the custody of the Ministry of Presidential Affairs (MOPA); it was then taken over by the Ministry of Legal Affairs (MOLA), and finally the new Ministry of Humanitarian Affairs (MOHA) is currently fighting to take control of it. The team did not have access to a copy of this law, but it has talked to members of the NGO Forum who have seen the draft law and claim that it is restrictive and would not serve the humanitarian community and civil society well if it passes in its current form.

A similar process is playing out concerning the Media Law. A previous draft bill, which was drafted in a cooperative effort between the Ministry of Information and the Association for Media Development in Southern Sudan (AMDIS), was regarded by AMDIS as a well-written law with adequate protections for an independent media. After the 2010 government reshuffle, the new Minister of Information and Broadcasting redrafted it and produced a bill that was unrecognizable, which the media has decried. This bill has yet to be tabled in front of SSLA. Both the NGO Law and the Media Law appear to be “indefinitely on hold.”

Media and Access to Information

Southern Sudan

One of the most important obstacles to the growth of civic participation is the very limited number of media outlets through which citizens can engage the government and receive news and government information. For the vast majority of citizens in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas, extremely limited access to information (including to all forms of media, forms of communication, and to government information) remains a fundamental problem. Poor access to information and communication networks also drives an extremely poor level of understanding of basic democratic governance practices and of the functions and responsibilities of government and government institutions. Most citizens do not have a realistic understanding or expectation of what services government can and cannot reasonably provide and what functions it should perform. Therefore, effective civic participation across a wide range of issues remains difficult, as people generally lack an understanding of their basic rights as citizens, how they can engage with government, and how or why they should expect to do so.

The lack of infrastructure and the high illiteracy rate severely limit the extent of coverage that the media is able to supply. There is only one government owned TV station in Juba (*Southern Sudan TV*), and one private TV station, *Ebony TV*, which has only recently been launched. There is, of course, satellite TV, but few people own TVs, and the satellite service have little national news.

Radio is the most popular news medium, but it is limited by the number of receivers and by citizens' ability to buy batteries. Sudan Radio Service (SRS) is a shortwave radio service supported by USAID funding, and covers all of Sudan. SRS will also soon open a Frequency Modulation (FM) station in Juba. *Radio Miraya* is an FM station managed by the UNMIS and broadcast throughout the south with some 14 relay stations. There are a number of FM stations broadcasting mostly in the Juba area, including Liberty FM (also in Yei), Capital FM Juba, and Radio *Bakhita* (Sudan Catholic Radio Network), which has several stations throughout the country; additionally, there are five community-based FM stations supported by the USAID/LINCS program.

Print media is also limited both by the high rate of illiteracy and the small number of journals and newspapers with small distribution figures. The English newspapers include *The Citizen*, *Juba Post*, *Sudan Vision*, *Sudan Tribune*, *Southern Eye*, and the *Khartoum Monitor*, which are mostly circulated in Juba. There are also a number of newspapers published in Arabic, which a limited number of people can obtain and read.

Lastly, computers are becoming more common, especially among the younger people, and there is more access to the internet, although the connections are still extremely limited. There is also an increasing number of private internet cafes in Juba and some of the large towns in Southern Sudan.

In sum, the extent of media coverage in the south is quite limited and the access to all kinds of information is restricted. Informing and educating citizens not only on their political rights, but on the intentions, actions,

and activities of both the southern sub-national government and the state governments is an immense challenge. The paucity of media and media outlets also makes it easier for the government to control the free flow of information if, and when, it wishes. Journalists, in particular, are extremely vulnerable to government harassment. As Amnesty International noted:

“In Southern Sudan, the press was also curbed during the presidential elections as journalists were harassed for writing articles critical of the government, hosting debates on the election or interviewing independent candidates. Some were detained by the Southern Sudanese security forces before being released without charge.”⁵²

Civic Engagement and Civil Society Organizations

Overall Comments

On the side of civil society and civic activists, the view is that civil society is the only channel of communications available with the government, but the intensity of involvement of the citizens in this communication depends on the nature of the activity itself. Where civic engagement is concentrated on the delivery of basic social services, both government and citizens see no conflict in their relationship. Citizen demand for civic engagement regarding service delivery needs is great, while the government's supply of space for them to engage in these matters is equally open, in principle. In practice, however, civic engagement on political issues, such as free elections or constitutional reforms, is quite limited. While this situation applies to Southern Sudan in general, it is important to note that there is a great deal of diversity in the level of civic engagement between the states. This diversity is born of the diversity on the issues of utmost concern for the citizens in each state.

Despite the presence of a large number of non-state actors in the Sudanese political landscape, there are clear indications that civil society and civic engagement have weakened since the signing of the CPA. This is mainly due to the absorption of former civic activists and CSO leaders into the new national and state governments. It is also evident that civic participation, as an important component of governance structures and of democracy, is taking place in a restrictive environment. The fact that so many civil society groups focus on service delivery leaves a wide gap in the area of political participation and rights-based advocacy.

There is a generalized sense of fear among citizens to challenge the government on policy issues or criticize public officials who are incompetent or corrupt. This fear is born of the legacy of the war. Southern Sudan has been engaged in a brutal and protracted opposition to the Khartoum-based governments for 30 years. The prolonged conflict militarized the citizen-government relationship whereby free speech has often been discouraged and citizen opinion generally silenced, with many effectively forced to support political opinions, policies, etc. dictated by military authorities. While the 2005 peace agreement has brought some significant changes in citizens' ability to openly express political opinions, a general expectation remains on the part of the GOSS and the SPLM that a single line of thought and opinion must be followed in the struggle to bring about secession.

Consequently, many individual citizens and civic associations are wary about pushing for political space to question or simply dialogue with the state, lest they risk being seen as detracting from a unified liberation effort. Therefore, to the extent that there is any political activity, it is largely targeted at the North. The fear to initiate civic engagement on political or policy issues is also due to the long history of authoritarian regimes that ruled the country through a highly centralized system in Khartoum. Sudan was long governed through orders coming directly from the political center, often through a tightly controlled system and executed by a

⁵² Press Release, Amnesty International. “Sudan: End Clampdown on Freedom of Expression before Referendum.” <http://www.amnestyusa.org/document.php?id=ENGPREF013182010&lang=e>

strict security apparatus, resulting in a culture of submission that over time eroded even the practice or habit of citizens demanding basic rights. Despite the strong recent history of underground civic activity and a strong military resistance from the peripheries, like the South, southern Blue Nile, Nuba Mountains, Darfur and the Red Sea Hills, the impact of Khartoum's near complete closing of political space has been a curtailment of citizens' access to and demand for their basic rights throughout Sudan.

The level of engagement and membership in CSOs in a given area depends largely upon the seriousness with which the members perceive the problems that they face. Where major political decisions are to be made, such as the concern regarding the referenda in Southern Sudan and Abyei or the Popular Consultations in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, the level of civic engagement is very high. This is especially true in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile due to the uncertainty that people feel about their regions' political futures. The level of citizen interest in national politics and their everyday involvement is born of the opacity of these political processes, uncertainty about citizens' role in the process and lack of mechanisms to hold government accountable. Where a crisis looms in the decision about the political future, such as in Abyei, there is more intense civic activism, including spontaneous protests by youth, professionals, women's groups, and laypersons. For example, on July 9, some 3000 people marched in Abyei and petitioned the government in Khartoum and the UNMIS commander not to delay the border demarcation and the referendum. These demonstrations were going to be repeated monthly in order to keep the issues alive. Where the political future appears more certain (as in much of Southern Sudan), the immediate concerns shift to the more mundane questions of social services and development programs.

It is important to point out that established associations are not the only venues for civic engagement. There are a variety of loosely organized groups that have become strong vehicles for sending messages to government officials and seeking solutions to specific problems. In the Abyei area, there is widespread sympathy with the Abyei Area Administration, the body that governs the area under the CPA protocols. A number of organizations and individuals repeatedly mentioned in interviews that there was no need to demand action from this body on behalf of the citizens, as it seems that the citizens and the area administration are in agreement regarding the issues of greatest importance to both, namely the referendum, border demarcation, and security. On these issues, civic engagement targets the Khartoum government and not the local government. Of course, this focus of civic engagement allows the Area Administration to govern unchecked. On the question of service delivery, civil society actors are of the mind that the area administration does not bear responsibility for the lack of services, as Khartoum is said to be intransigent on budget allocation obligations to the area mandated by the CPA.

The present civic participation environment demonstrates a paucity of effective CSO actors filling this intermediary role of creating direct information and access linkages to government institutions. Similarly, GOSS and state governments have little ability to increase the 'supply' of opportunity for more information and access. Both CSOs and government institutions currently lack the motivation, structures, and capacity to appropriately fill this mutual role.

The long years of war and lack of an effective state structure have severely inhibited the development and growth of civil society in Southern Sudan. Ironically, civil society's origins in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas are rooted in the people's responses to the challenges that accompanied the last two decades of civil war and associated humanitarian crises. Associations such as the Nuba Relief, Rehabilitation and Development Organization (NRRDO), the Twic County Women's Association, and New Sudan Youth Association (NSYA), originally arose as ancillary agencies in areas controlled during the war by the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M). These community groups assisted in providing immediate needs and services normally in the domain of local government, such as health, education, and humanitarian assistance. The groups existed to support the SPLM/A, and positioned themselves politically close to the movement and its struggles.

Now, in the transition from war to peace, the role of these groups and other community organizations in the society is in a formative period. In an assessment of CSOs in 2006, Mercy Corps (MC) identified some 975

groups and organizations across Southern Sudan considered to be CSOs.⁵³ These CSOs functioned in a wide range of activities encompassing some 22 sectors, from health, education, food security, relief, gender, advocacy and lobbying, and peace building to bricklaying, youth, sports, and IDP/returnee issues.⁵⁴ The MC study highlighted the undeveloped state of civil society, the extremely low-level capacity of the majority of grassroots CSOs, and the desire of CSOs to improve their skills and strengthen their ability to serve their communities. At the same time, however, the study stressed that communities had a significant lack of confidence in CSOs' abilities to effectively address community needs.⁵⁵

The level of institutional capacity among CSOs remains very low, with a few notable exceptions. The problem of institutional capacity applies both at the level of individual organizations and to the overall "coherence" of the civil society sector.⁵⁶ Individual organizations mostly lack the capacity to develop an effective and targeted strategy supported by related programs and/or advocacy agendas. At the same time, the civil society sector does not have a collective sense of its responsibilities or a cohesive vision of its role in approaching government or aggregating and representing citizen interests. In other words, among most citizens and organizations, there is a general lack of understanding about what CSOs and NGOs are and what their roles in society can and should be.

A final factor contributing to the weakness of civic participation is the capacity of civil society organizations themselves. Their lack of sufficient institutional capacity to write funding proposals and handle donor money, and the development of a skilled staff able to understand the working legal and political climate, requires a great deal of improvement. They also face challenges of basic infrastructure such as meeting space, means of communication and transport. Also, the personnel of most CSOs have very limited knowledge and understanding of their roles and responsibilities and legal rights and obligations.

Citizens' and organizations' access to the funding and the infrastructure necessary to engage in individual and collective forms of civic engagement remains limited. Indigenous, local funding is almost non-existent. Most CSOs find accessing donor funding to be very difficult or impossible. Poor communication network infrastructure and basic transport challenges (distances, poor roads, and prohibitive costs) prevent CSOs and citizens from communicating with each other, assembling, and/or networking consistently and effectively.

Southern Sudan

In thinking about programming approaches to the promotion of a participatory system of governance, the team found that it is useful to distinguish between the types of civil society organizations based on their activities, with an eye to identifying both the areas of most intense civic activity and the areas of deficit with regards to citizen engagement with the government.

Civil society activity can be divided into four categories that are described in as follows:

1. Engagement in **service delivery** issues, as the various levels of government lack the capacity to take full responsibility for providing public services.
2. **Advocacy, government oversight, and direct citizen or CSO participation in political processes.** There are few civil society groups that are openly active in this category, due to the restrictive environment, lack of organizing capacity, the murky legal framework, poor infrastructure, and limited funding.
3. **Faith-based groups** engaged in both advocacy and service delivery activities.

⁵³ Mercy Corps and International Rescue Committee (2006).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Note that the issue of overall CSO sector "coherence" was raised by both the NGO Forum (Juba) and the Joint Donor Team, both of which are considering specific training and program approaches to address this problem.

4. **Single-issue or event-based** organizations that focus closely on one major concern to its members and community.

Service Delivery CSOs

Most civic engagement in Southern Sudan is concentrated on service delivery issues, i.e., education, primary health care, HIV/AIDS, reproductive health, disability issues, water, sanitation, food security, agriculture, emergency relief.⁵⁷ In an environment where the government does not have the capacity to deliver these services, a variety of CSOs have attempted to supplement the deficit. Because their work has generally been successful, not only has the government been accommodating, but it has seen this work as complementary to its own, even taking credit for it at times. There are some voices blaming the government for not having delivered, especially since the signing of the CPA, but the groups see their work not as a critique of the state, but simply as filling in for a weak state, much as they did during the war.

After the CPA was signed, there was widespread expectation that the government would be capable of assuming more of its responsibilities to provide services. Some CSOs and NGOs closely related to the SPLA were even decommissioned, in the expectation that their responsibilities would shift to the state. This did not materialize and more CSOs and national NGOs were formed to fill the vacuum. Citizen frustration with state inability to provide services as immediate, tangible peace dividends has caused many CSOs to take on more advocacy-focused roles related to service delivery issues. With engagement in these advocacy activities, however, they risk projecting themselves as more adversarial and critical of the government than complimentary, and by doing so expose themselves to either government cooption or intimidation. The result is that these CSOs are opting to stay focused on service delivery, conscious of their precarious situation.

Politically Engaged and Advocacy/Influence CSOs

These are groups that try to challenge the government on issues of governance, the rule of law, basic freedoms, and other issues in defense of citizens' rights. Examples of such groups include the Southern Sudan Law Society, Abyei CSO Forum, and Association for Media Development in Southern Sudan (AMDIS). When engaged in such advocacy programs and activities, these groups have the desire and the capacity to challenge the government regarding its legal, political, and security commitments in an open forum. Unfortunately, this is the area most deficient in civic engagement, mainly due to the fear of government interference or disapproval, the lack of a clear legal framework, poor understanding of civil rights, and the lack of a culture of demand by citizens who do not know their rights. The general meaning of statements made, for example, by the Minister of Internal Affairs, in the context of the January referendum, urging "Civil Society Organizations and activists engage in educating population to apply own censorship on messages that they deliver and make sure that their work does not instigate breaching of peace," and extending a "similar call to various Media houses to exercise constraints of sensitive information they release to the public and remember that they have a big role in sustaining the existing peace," are not lost on advocacy groups seeking to promote a more open society and political, civil and human rights, even apart from referendum issues.⁵⁸

Faith-Based CSOs

In the context of Southern Sudan, the adjective "faith-based" is a reference to churches and church-affiliated groups. These faith-based organizations (FBOs) include such national groups as the Sudan Council of Churches, the Sudan Catholic Bishops' Conference, and many local groups such as the Interdenominational Community in Yambio. These ecumenical groups engage in both service delivery and advocacy when the

⁵⁷ For a categorized list of CSOs, cf., Mercy Corps and International Rescue Committee. *Emerging Space for Civil Society: Findings of an Assessment of the Civil Society Environment across Southern Sudan and the Three Areas*. Submitted to USAID/Sudan, June 2006: p. 43.

⁵⁸ "Southern Sudan warns against sabotage of peace and tranquility," Sudan Tribune, October 3, 2010 [<http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article36470>]

church's vital interests are involved. More than any other CSO, the ecumenical church has taken the responsibility to fulfill the huge deficit of social services that the state has been unable to fill. Thus, the education system in Southern Sudan is almost entirely financed and managed by the church. The health care system, including hospitals and clinics, is primarily maintained by the church. A whole range of humanitarian assistance for widows, orphans, handicapped, flood and drought victims, refugees and internally displaced people, and poor people in general receive social assistance from the church.

Because of its unique role and history in Southern Sudan, the church is also the most influential and powerful advocacy organization in the country. The credibility and legitimacy of the church is unquestioned among the general population. This is due to the moral authority that the church commands in the society, its resources, its skilled staff, and international connections. Moreover, the church communicates with more people weekly than any other institution in the society. The power of communication and information is amplified by an extensive network of church FM radio stations. This moral authority is used to promote the church's position on issues of social and moral importance such as human rights, the rule of law, freedom of expression, good governance, and against the abuse of state power. The assessment team was told, for example, about a successful protest organized and led by the Inter-denominational Community of Yambio (Evangelical Lutherans, Catholics, and Anglicans) in January 2010 against local state authorities who ordered the use of SPLA soldiers to disperse a demonstration of school children. Some 60 people were injured and other abuses were perpetrated against citizens. The church community was the only CSO capable of seeking and obtaining redress for this abuse of state power.

Single Issue/Event-Based CSOs

Another category of CSOs are single issue or event based CSOs. These organizations are of more recent origin and have tended to focus on electoral issues related to the CPA. Thus, the Sudanese Network for Democratic Elections (SUNDE) is a CSO consortium or network of service organizations that work together intensively on election and voter issues. SUNDE, with assistance from the National Democratic Institute (NDI), was very active in the 2001 voter registration and 2010 general elections, participating nationwide in voter education programs and observation and monitoring activities. It is now participating in activities related to the January referendum. In Kurmuk, the Forum of Civic Education for Elections is a local CSO engaged in similar activities. The struggle against HIV/AIDS has also fostered CSOs such as Free the World from AIDS Association in Yambio and the Camboni AIDS Awareness Team (CAAT). These single issue CSOs have a higher level of staff capacity, a great ability to conceptualize problems, the capacity to responsibly manage donor funding, and a degree of passion for their cause. It is possible to envision these types of groups expanding their focus to more politically involved advocacy, information, and oversight issues of public concern. Indeed, SUNDE has submitted a proposal to NDI for assistance to continue with public service work after the referendum.

There are currently many civic education programs on electoral processes. So the question is what are the civic education programs that can be used as jump off points for civic education on other political matters? The most significant observation regarding the ability of civic associations to conduct civic education is the widespread fear that CSOs feel that they have to wait for a green light from the authorities before they can embark on educating their communities on political processes like the referendum. The team's interviews have revealed that although there are no direct government orders for CSOs to await government instructions regarding civic education for the referendum, the general attitude among the groups and individuals is that they have to wait for directives to move forward with civic education. Currently a restrictive environment for civic participation, coupled with fear left over from the war days, causes less demand from the citizens for a wider political space. Very few groups or individuals, even when they are aware of the need to embark on civic education, are willing to start it without being prompted by government authorities, lest they risk being accused of subversion. So to promote civic education, USAID needs to work with both civil society groups and the local governments on the issue of rights and responsibilities of the citizen.

There are also many types of civic education programs on various issues such as public health concerns, the importance of girls' education, nutrition, and conflicts. Many of our respondents made strong statements about the importance of raising awareness about these issues, what civic groups and other community associations are already doing about them, and the need for capacity and donor assistance. While these concerns are not particularly within the scope of Democracy and Governance programs, the communities see

them as crucial for their lives. They are also seen as platforms for making a political statements and engaging with the government on its failure to deliver these services.

Northern Sudan

Most of the interviewees from the North and the Three Areas emphasized the importance of taking a nationwide, holistic approach to understanding the successes, constraints, and shortcomings of the CPA as a framework for civic participation. In this regard, in addition to the Southern Sudan referendum as a key milestone in the CPA, it is important to understand that the CPA was also initiated to pave the way for democratic transition in the political center and to conduct the Abyei referendum and the 'Two Areas' (Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile) Popular Consultations in a manner that satisfies the interests of the citizens of these regions. Despite two decades of control by the NCP and the exclusion of other civic movements and political parties—which has now been somewhat legitimized by the recent elections— independent civil society and media actors have continued their participation in the civic and public spheres and the defense of their right to do so. Independent civil society and media groups—even given limited political space and resources—continue to challenge the prevailing political, legal, and security environment. They continue to contribute to peace-building efforts, the defense and protection of human and women's rights, raise awareness of political issues and encourage civic participation through civic and voter education activities, etc. For example, SUGDE, which is SUNDE's counterpart in northern Sudan, provided elections observers in the North during the elections period.⁵⁹ A wide range of independent and democratic CSOs, NGOs, and media outlets (printed, online, and TV) have continued to tackle these issues since the 1990s and into the CPA era, whether through direct engagement with citizens when political space has allowed it or from underground, border areas, and from the Sudanese Diaspora. In addition to these groups and media outlets, the post-CPA era is also witnessing the emergence of regional and sectoral groups with new and different civic engagement demands. For example, many regionally based and focused civil society groups are now advocating for their regional areas' demands. Examples include eastern Sudan groups demanding basic improvements in service delivery and development, Nubian groups in the far North insisting on their rights to cultural preservation, citizens displaced by agricultural and infrastructure development in the North demanding land rights, women against Northern public order laws, democracy activists, etc.

Three Areas

Abyei

Many observers think that the scale of ongoing grave insecurity in Abyei, which is likely to remain so for a long time, requires security and political interventions that go beyond civic engagement. This is true in terms of the need to mobilize the international community to provide long-term political and security support. Nevertheless, citizens of the area are the ones to shape and influence the existing and any emerging political process. In Abyei, although citizens are more worried about their political future, there is a much more intense political engagement. For example among actors consulted, where there is grave concern over border demarcation, cross-border insecurity, the formation of the referendum commission, and the conduct of the referendum on time, there is much well-organized and mature civic engagement.

Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile

Civic participation in the Two Areas has largely been shaped by issues that contributed to the eruption of conflict before the CPA. For several political and security reasons the interim period in the Two Areas has not resulted in major breakthroughs with regard to civic participation, stability, and development of the areas.

⁵⁹ The Sudanese Group for Democracy and Elections (SUGDE) is a joint effort of eight independent, non-partisan organizations working together to encourage free, fair, and non-violent elections. It includes the AZZA Women Association, the Group for Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights Studies (GESCRS), HELA HELP organization, Human Security Initiative (MAMAAN), the Institute for Development of Civil Society (IDCS), the Social and Human Development Consultative Group (SAHDCG) and Sudanese Environmental Conservation Society (SECs). SUGDE and SUNDE Elections Statement (2010). Accessed at: http://www.ndi.org/files/SuNDE_SuGDE_Sudan_Statement.pdf

Politicization and militarization of ethnic relations is one of the major issues from which the CPA processes have diverted attention, while it has certainly not addressed them. Ethnic identity issues continue to be a major dividing factor in the extremely ethnically polarized context of the Two Areas. It represents both a major conflict trigger and a continuing major cause of insecurity. In fact, insecurity is influenced by several overlapping factors, all with significant potential to erupt, including interethnic conflict and North-South conflict related to the unsolved border demarcation process. Land issues represent the third major concern in the Two Areas. Land disputes and access to natural resources can easily result in violence and tribal conflicts, in particular given the delay in establishing the Land Commission. Development projects are also seen as urban-centered and not taking into account citizens' considerations about the needs and interests. This was clearly pointed out by community-based groups, several of whom expressed that development projects should be designed and resources should be allocated according to citizens' priorities rather than according to the government's interests.

Despite the uncertain political and security future in Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, civic engagement during the war in humanitarian work and levels of participation in civic education after the CPA represent solid ground for the future of citizens' participation in public sphere. The head of NRRDO, a leading civil society organization in Kauda, portrayed this experience in explaining, "We learned how to be flexible and meet the change in context from serving our community with humanitarian needs during the war to do development and peace building after the CPA, and we are ready to go back to emergency humanitarian aid as peace does not seem likely to last." Also, the current relative government openness to civic and voter education efforts supported by international donors and NGOs (especially the AECOM Popular Consultations program model⁶⁰) represent a good foundation for citizens' engagement with government and for the post Popular Consultation era. Adopting a long-term and strategic vision for promoting civic engagement is especially important. Assisting citizen participation and/or CSO participation in negotiations with the central government after the Popular Consultations represent a good starting point for citizens to begin participating in determining the political future of their areas.

Gender

The team had a meeting with the representatives of Ru'ya, a women's development association in Kauda, and also interviewed separately female members of the various civil society organizations in Kurmuk, and conducted a group interview with a large number of women in Wau. The information on gender relations and on women comes from these interviews. What these interview data reveal is the gendered aspect to public debate about governance, the upcoming political processes, and dynamics of women's participation in all civic engagements.

Currently, the government of Southern Sudan has embarked on a plan to address historical injustices against women by instituting a policy of affirmative action at every level of government. That policy calls for at least 25 per cent representation of women in government. Despite the constitutional provisions that are aimed at increasing women's political participation, women remain largely marginalized in the political arena, making their fight for political inclusion and affirmative action programs take precedence over women's involvement in other types of political engagement. Many women's groups suggested that such policies only remain on the books, as there is very limited effort to overhaul the basic socialization mechanisms that are at the root of women's exclusion. Many women suggested that while the presence of a few women in activist groups is a

⁶⁰ AECOM's approach to the Popular Consultations has been to support empowerment of state level actors to coordinate and conduct Popular Consultations activities in the two states. Civic education "technical committees" were established in both states by the governors in late 2009. These multi-partisan groups, which also contained representatives from civil society, were charged with finalizing civic education plans and coordinating civic education activities for their respective states. International and national organizations have been working through these committees in conducting coordinated and systematic civic education programming across each state (with AECOM being the primary implementer of civic education activities in both states). AECOM provided in-kind grants to these committees to build their capacity and direct materials support to the committees. AECOM then worked with each state technical committee to conduct state-level and then locality-level civic education workshops in both states.

welcome development, the presence of a few females is largely a means for some men to whitewash their exclusionary tendencies, rather than being evidence of a genuine drive to provide a platform for women's involvement. Furthermore, any responses to the pressures to redress gender-based exclusion have been merely tokenistic, as a way for government and the male-dominated organizations to show themselves as equitable in gender terms. Affirmative action policies have also contributed to the flight of many women from war-time civil society activism into government. This movement has been a mixed blessing. On the one hand, the presence in government of women with a background in activism might help drive a legislation that is friendly to women-led associations. On the other hand, the associations are robbed of much of their talent and experience.

Traditionally, many communities in Southern Sudan socialize boys and girls differently, with a tendency to make boys more aggressive and girls submissive. This rigid definition of gender roles has had many negative consequences for women, including their political invisibility and exclusion from major political roles. Historically, women in Southern Sudan have had very limited access to political office, limited control over resources, and above all have been excluded from public forums where issues of concern for the whole society are debated. In recent decades, there has been a significant shift in this order of things. Even where there is a vibrant civil society activism as in Abyei or Southern Kordofan, women's involvement still focuses on the traditional areas such as women's health and poverty, and very little involvement is found in the field of politics or governance. Many women's associations and individual women indicated to the team that they are usually expected by male authority figures to simply focus on "women's problems." This means that women's commentary on governance and their critique of the justice system as well as any focus on seeking political office, joining a civic association, criticizing the state for lack of services, unemployment, or efforts to challenge gendered violence, are all seen as deviating from the expected roles for women. Women have expressed a desire to get involved in these areas, but they meet with resistance from the state and from their local communities. So, while the environment for civic participation in general may be restrictive and most civic associations are faced with challenges of capacity to organize, women seem to face three distinct stumbling blocks. They are confronted by the general restrictive attitude of the state, the issue of capacity to organize or manage funds, and by the gendered biases that undergird women's exclusion from or confinement to specific fields of activity.

Almost all the groups of and individual women who were interviewed spoke of their achievements and the challenges that they still face. Obstacles to women's civic activism are not unlike those for men: illiteracy, lack of funding, managerial capacity, communication problems, and access to information. However, the problems are only made much graver for women by the simple reality of historical injustices in education, control of resources, and the attitude of their societies that view women as appendages to men. Women face more challenges with the justice system, security apparatus, and violence. They are more likely to be clamped down on by the law enforcement agencies. Their complaints are less likely to get noted by the police, they are accorded less status by the courts, and their associations are more easily threatened with closure. When the team asked the only woman who attended the group interview in Abyei and several women in Wau about the way forward, they all suggested that growth in participatory democracy is the only solution, not just for women, but for the whole field of civil society and civic engagement. Many women also suggested that investment in women's education would sow the seeds for future vibrancy in civic participation.

MAJOR CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE STATE OF THE CIVIL SOCIETY SECTOR

Conclusions Common to Both Southern Sudan and the Three Areas

- The priority issue for most communities and CSOs is insecurity, which generally hinders civic engagement of all types across borders and tribal boundaries.
- Uncertainties about the political future intensifies citizens' desire for knowledge and engagement in political affairs, although there is a great deficit of knowledge and information about political processes and the political future across the region.
- Service delivery is the primary objective of most CSOs and the majority of civic participation is in this sector. The decision by CSOs to stay focused on service delivery should not be seen as an indication that they are disinterested or do not see the value of political engagement, but simply as a way for them to avoid government suppression and to continue functioning.
- Civic education is hampered by poor infrastructure, poor communication technology, lack of far-reaching media, and illiteracy. Any civic education program will be confronted with the challenge of reaching remote rural areas.
- The involvement of women in civic engagement is often hampered by a deliberate focus on issues specific to women, such as gender-based violence, instead of a broader focus on increasing women's political participation and involvement in democratic governance.

Conclusions about Southern Sudan—Enabling Environment and Political Climate

- Civil society's political engagement has weakened during the CPA era due to the flight of senior-level CSO management to government at both the GOSS and State levels.
- The ecumenical church is the most influential and powerful civil society actor in Southern Sudan. It is the only civic institution in the country capable of effectively proposing or challenging government policy and contesting government abuses of authority.

Conclusions Common to the North and Three Areas—Enabling Environment and Political Climate

- Civic engagement in the Three Areas is generally driven by uncertainty about the regions' political futures. Engagement around the key political processes in all three areas is high and seems primarily driven by the uncertainty and anxiety about the future in post-referendum Sudan.
- Despite the increasing level of understanding of the political processes, the citizens in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan are concerned that no matter how the Popular Consultations are executed, the results will still be unsatisfactory in meeting their aspirations.
- Despite two decades of control and repression by the NCP and the exclusion of civic movements and political parties, independent, democratically oriented civil society and media actors have continued their participation in the civic and public spheres and the defense of their right to participate.

DONOR ACTIVITIES

USAID Civic Participation Approach and Activities (2004–2010)

Description of Approach

As part of its commitment to Sudan and the peace process articulated in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (signed January 5, 2005), the United States government (USG), and particularly USAID, is supporting the development of democratic governance and assisting in the key political processes set forth in the CPA, including the census, the national elections (April 2010), the forthcoming Popular Consultations in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan, the referenda on the future status of Southern Sudan and Abyei (both scheduled for January 2011), and the six month post-referenda transition period. USAID is assisting the administration of these processes, promoting civic participation and consensus building, encouraging civic education, and supporting local and international observation of the implementation of these processes.

Additionally, it is assisting the development of activities that strengthen the core institutions of the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) such as the Office of the Presidency, the Legislative Assembly, the judiciary, police, military, and line ministries. Assistance is being provided to the State governments as well, including the Executive/Governor's Office, and the Legislature/Assembly, particularly in the area of service delivery. USAID is also helping to generate systems to meet citizens' development needs and influence government priorities at both the state and national levels. A portion of this assistance specifically targets state governments along the North-South border, enhancing local governments' ability to transparently manage resources, deliver tangible peace dividends, and increase incomes.

USAID considers civic participation as an essential element for an effective system of democratic governance that responds to citizens' priorities and needs. It seeks to promote a strong, active civil society by building institutional capacity and accountability in CSOs, particularly among groups led by women and other marginalized groups. Assistance is currently provided to over 95 CSOs. Civil society partners work in health, education, HIV/AIDS and hygiene, literacy, peace promotion, human rights, and vocational training among other issue areas, targeting youth, women, and returnees. In addition, 11 USAID-funded Community Resource Centers provide hubs for training, civic education, access to information, and communications infrastructure to partner CSOs and their communities. Lastly, USAID promotes civic participation in elections, supports domestic elections and referenda observation, civic and voter education, and funds significant media programs.

Media freedom and the freedom of information are also essential to a democratic society and USAID has encouraged the development of an independent media.

A brief history of the USAID program design approach, original 2004 civic participation problem statements, and the resulting program strategy will help to elucidate both the 2010 program design choices that USAID faces and the tradeoffs and challenges implicit in those choices.

USAID's DG Program during the CPA era was designed in late 2004 under a single Strategic Objective (SO) of "more responsive and participatory governance," including a special emphasis on support to the achievement of key CPA milestones and the provision of peace dividends to Southern Sudanese citizens. The 2004 assessment upon which USAID's civic participation program was based identified four key constraints to civic participation in Southern Sudan*:

- Poor access to information
- Extremely limited knowledge or understanding of the CPA, political processes, and demographic governance practices

* Note that the assessments on which USAID based its 2004 civic participation program design did not include the Three Areas.

- Extremely limited CSO institutional capacity development
- Extremely limited local resources

The 2004–2010 civic participation program and its components were designed with the assumption that progress in addressing these four key constraints would be the most important factors in improving citizen participation and engagement with government institutions and processes and in strengthening the civil society sector and media in general.

With the exception of the Three Areas (Abyei, Southern Kordofan, and Blue Nile), USAID/Sudan did not implement major civic engagement programs in North Sudan through the DG Office.

The 2005–2011 DG civic participation programming was designed to respond to the immediate needs highlighted by the 2004 constraints during this six-year transitional period defined by the CPA. Over the course of 2005–2010 period, USAID has invested approximately \$98,700,000 in three core projects: \$30,560,000 for the Localizing Institutional Capacity in Sudan (LINCS) project implemented by Mercy Corps; \$24,159,185 for the Sudan Radio Service (SRS) project implemented by Educational Development Center (EDC); and \$44,000,000 for the Supporting Consensus Building and Civic Participation in Political Processes Program implemented by NDI. There are also components of civic participation in other USAID-funded programs—the Health, Education, and Reconciliation Project (HEAR), the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI), and the BRIDGE Program (Building Responsibility for the Delivery of Government Services). In general, these programs have made notable success in meeting their objectives, although as noted, the problems are profound and cannot be resolved on a short-term basis.

Description of Activities

Educational Development Center (EDC)

EDC established the Sudan Radio Service (SRS) in early 2003. SRS was initially established as daily, shortwave service broadcasting out of Nairobi, modeled after the BBC. It has grown to be one of the most widely listened to radio services in Southern Sudan, claiming an estimated 1.1 million listeners, in nine languages. These listeners have indicated a high degree of trust in the service as shown in a USAID-funded survey report.⁶¹ In late 2010, SRS's main office, studio, and transmitter for FM programming (98.6 SRS) will be relocated from Nairobi to Juba. Production of shortwave broadcasting will remain in Nairobi.

In addition to providing balanced news and information on health, agriculture, educational issues, culture and women's issues, an essential part of SRS content to date has been a series of civic and voter education programs. In 2004, SRS initiated a program series entitled *Road to Peace* to educate listeners about the North-South peace process. The focus has shifted to educating listeners about the CPA and its implementation, in addition to issues of democracy, governance, and sustainable peace. Another program series entitled *Let's Talk* developed with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) uses drama, group discussions, straight talk, and interviews to educate, inform, and entertain listeners on a wide range of civic issues. A third program, *Spotlight*, takes a comprehensive look at complex issues affecting citizens. A number of anti-corruption programs were also aired as part of the civic education activities. The success of these programs can be attested to by their wide rebroadcast over various FM state and SPLM radio stations (such as in Yambio and Turalei) as well as seven stations of Bakhita Radio of the Catholic Church Radio Network.

Another major objective of the EDC program has been to help develop a cadre of professional Sudanese journalists. The program has trained some 14 journalists (including 5 women) out of a targeted total of 92 (23 women/69 men) in 2010. EDC has also established a journalism course of study in collaboration with Juba University, leading to a Certificate in Broadcast Journalism (CBJ).

⁶¹ Graham Mytton, Media Study in Blue Nile, Southern Kordofan and Unity States, Sudan. USAID, Intermedia & Consumer Options: Washington, D.C., 2009

EDC has also established an Advisory Board of five prominent Sudanese for SRS. The purpose of the Advisory Board is to promote and protect SRS's status as an independent media house, review SRS's mission statement and annual goals, and assist in development efforts.

While SRS has had considerable success in providing current, accurate, and balanced news and information and has been a primary source of training for Sudanese broadcast journalists, there are some notable problems. During the time of CPA transition, shortwave broadcasting covered all of Sudan with a single program. The Juba FM station's signal will cover most of Central Equatoria. Internews has community FM stations in Blue Nile (Kurmuk) and Southern Kordofan (Kauda). The problem for SRS is that while national coverage on the shortwave has the potential of reaching the entire country, the circumstances surrounding the referendum and local opinion are different for people in different areas, and what applies to the 10 states of Southern Sudan does not apply in the Three Areas.

Another problem that must be considered when promoting the SRS network and community-based FM radio is that radio/media networks are expensive operations to develop and maintain. Given the present capacity of Southern Sudan, it is unlikely that an extensive radio network can be sustainable without a long-term commitment to subsidize the operation.

Lastly, it must be recognized that credible radio news—especially when broadcasted by community-based FM stations—represents a powerful democratic tool. In the absence of favorable media legislation, strong civil society support for media, and favorable government attitude(s), these media outlets will remain highly vulnerable to censorship, official takeovers, detention, and harassment of journalists, and even destruction.

In sum, in spite of some problems, the radio network developed by EDC is one of the most powerful tools for the spread of reliable information and the open exchange of information and civic dialogue in Southern Sudan, and as such is a cornerstone for the promotion of a democratic society in the country.

National Democratic Institute (NDI)

NDI has been working in Southern Sudan since 2004 providing support to the country's reconciliation and political transition and assisting Southern Sudan in developing a democratic society. The current program, Supporting Consensus Building and Civic Participation in Political Processes, started in 2009. The Institute has been supporting four types of activities:

- Promoting civic engagement and voter education
- Supporting domestic election observation
- Conducting public opinion research
- Developing legal frameworks and institutions conducive to civic participation

NDI has made an important contribution to promoting civic engagement and voter education. NDI has been involved in the production of the radio series *Let's Talk* for the Sudan Radio Service (mentioned above). The Institute's activities were crucial to the success of the electoral process in the 2010 national elections. NDI's efforts to educate people on the importance of the census and its extensive civic education activities about the national elections are recognized throughout Southern Sudan as contributing to the large voter turnout. NDI's work with and through faith-based community organizations such as Catholic Relief Service (CRS) has been noteworthy. NDI provided CRS with its civic education materials focused on voter registration and the April 2010 elections, while CRS distributed these materials to citizens through its extensive network of churches and faith-based organizations.

The training and fielding of some 2000 domestic observers during the registration and election processes provided a neutral and credible witness to the process, as well as providing trustworthy analysis of the election results. The development and support of the Sudanese Network for Democratic Elections has also been a major achievement of NDI during the course of its work in voter education and domestic observation activities in Southern Sudan. SUNDE is now one of the major CSOs in Southern Sudan, with a nationwide cadre of dedicated, responsible, and trained members. Thus far, the organization has had a single-issue focus (elections-related activities). NDI is now working with SUNDE leadership to develop its post-referendum

strategy for future activities. Depending on the members' initiatives, such activities could involve representing citizens' interests in the constitutional reform process and providing input to the Southern Sudan High Election Committee's post-referendum decision-making regarding election issues. It is important that the enthusiasm, training, skills and nationwide network and organization that SUNDE has developed during the elections and referendum periods be sustained. SUNDE has the capability to transform itself into an effective, credible and accepted CSO representing citizens and promoting citizen dialogue with government on issues of public concern and public policy.

The comprehensiveness of representation within SUNDE's membership appears to be somewhat limited. Some national CSOs capable of making potentially strong contributions to the elections processes are not members of SUNDE. This situation suggests that SUNDE might revisit its criteria for selecting member organizations. Some independent, national CSOs, like Ru'ya in the Nuba Mountains, do not participate in the SUNDE civic education program.

NDI is the only organization engaged in conducting and publishing the results of public opinion research gathered through intensive focus group study. These surveys of public opinion targeting specific issues of national concern are unique in Southern Sudan and provide the only reliable data on these issues available in the country. NDI has been conducting this kind of research since 2004 and now has a valuable set of baseline data on public opinion against which changes in opinion can be tracked and with which useful comparative analyses can be conducted. According to several different sources interviewed, focus group research has apparently not been well received and/or trusted by the government officials to whom it was presented (and who, in a sense, were the intended audience). Some GOSS officials reportedly do not understand its purpose and applicability to public policymaking, while others mistakenly interpreted the reports (with some air of resentment) as policy advice directly from NDI and/or the U.S. government instead of aggregated opinion(s) of their own constituents.

NDI has made itself available to provide expert advice and consultation on legal frameworks and institutions conducive to civic participation. For example, technical assistance was provided to the SPLM representatives participating in the national interim constitutional development process. NDI provided extensive administrative and technical support to the Southern Sudan Technical Drafting Committee and, in March 2007, the Institute provided technical assistance to the SPLM in drafting an electoral framework for presentation to the National Constitutional Review Commission (NCRC), which was tasked with creating national election laws.

Mercy Corps—LINCS Program

The Mercy Corps "Localizing Institutional Capacity in Sudan" (LINCS) program began in 2005. The program functions in four states (Central Equatoria, Northern Bahr El Ghazal, Unity State, and Warrap State) and the Three Areas. The LINCS program has five objectives:

- To develop and improve the organizational ability and capacity of nascent CSOs to promote and support active social, economic, and political participation in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas.
- To build and develop Civil Society Resource Centers to provide CS groups with meeting space, structural support, and inputs to facilitate interactive information and training opportunities.
- To foster networking and issue-based coalitions and to support the active social, economic, and political participation and leadership of women and/or other marginalized groups.
- To strengthen the political consciousness of CSOs by building skills, trainings, dialogues, and coalitions on advocacy, media, elections conflict mitigation, and peace building.
- To support a network of community radio stations to provide sustainable access to information, foster active citizen engagement and responsive governance.

The LINCS program has partnered with 95 grassroots CSOs (to date), the majority of which are focused on service delivery. MC has been successful in recruiting these organizations and developing basic organizational

and institutional capacity among them, although according to the program's typology, most of these CSOs are characterized as 'pre-nascent' and 'nascent.' Many of these CSOs' programs are unquestionably serving the basic needs of rural citizens, including women, and have great merit.

The program has constructed and is currently operating ten resource centers (in Agok, Abyei, Kauda, Kurmuk, Lainya, Leer, Malualkon, Mankien, Turalei, and Yei). These centers have unquestionably had a positive impact on capacity building for CSOs, and they have had the unintended consequence of providing a valuable space and facilities for local government staff use and training (where most local governments have no such facilities). Nevertheless, while providing access to information and providing a meeting space for CSOs, the assessment team questions whether overall CSO effectiveness and ability to influence government activities have been enhanced by these centers. Some centers were built far from the population centers where they would be most useful. The center in Kauda, for example, is over two kilometers from the nearest population center, making it all but impossible for women with household responsibilities to use. The team also questions whether the value gained by CSOs using the centers is worth the cost. (In truth, the assessment team was unable to make a decision about the utility of maintaining and/or expanding the number of these centers. CSOs' need for meeting space and internet facilities is huge, but how this helps the development of civic participation and citizen influence is hard to determine).

To date, the LINCS program has built five community-based FM radio stations (Kurmuk, Kauda, Malualkon, Leer, and Turalei) and provided training to 33 journalists through its Internews sub-agreement. As noted above, the development of community-based radio stations has served the pressing needs for credible information in the broadcast areas, and provided access to civic and voter education programming developed by NDI. These stations have the potential to contribute to lessening conflict by providing reliable information.

Lastly, the LINCS program has been very costly (some \$30,650,000 to date) and is seen to have limited sustainability especially with respect to activities beyond supporting CSOs working in basic service delivery. In light of this, there is a question of whether or not the program and its model can deliver value for money in a post-referendum environment (in the context of USAID DG objectives).⁶²

Other USAID Activities with Civil Society and Civic Participation Components

Other USAID projects in the South and Three Areas that have civil society and civic participation components are:⁶³

- The BRIDGE Programs, implemented by Winrock International (WI) and Mercy Corps (MC). The BRIDGE/Winrock International is working in Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Unity, and Warrap states, while BRIDGE/MC is working in the Three Areas and Upper Nile.
- The HEAR Project (Health, Education and Reconciliation) implemented by Creative Associates, Incorporated which is working exclusively in the Three Areas.
- OTI, and subsequently OTCM, through implementing partners DAI and AECOM.

One of the five components of the BRIDGE program "is to strengthen the capacity of communities and government to work together to identify, prioritize, and address community needs," and the empowerment of communities through civic participation is one of the goals of the program. The HEAR project has a component on Reconciliation and Governance, which focuses on the development of school governance

⁶² Management Systems International (2010). *Localizing Institutional Capacity in Sudan (LINCS) Mid-Term Evaluation—DRAFT report*. Juba, Southern Sudan: Management Systems International.

⁶³ The assessment team did not investigate or observe any of these projects, although an extensive interview was held with the governance member of the BRIDGE/MC project in Agok, and a short conversation with AECOM staff in Kadugli.

through the development and support of Parent Teacher Associations (PTA). Both of these programs are at mid-term in their project cycles and the successes of the civic participation components are still unclear. The mid-term evaluation of the HEAR program, however, does note that school governance through the development and support of PTAs is showing promise.⁶⁴

The Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) has been working in Sudan since 2003 and recently finished its last and final phase in February 2010. Phase I focused on small grants mainly aimed at building up the nascent government through “Government-in-a-box” materials and structures as well as support to civil society in Southern Sudan (many Phase I activities were handed over to the USAID Mission’s Democracy and Governance Program after the CPA was signed). Phase II opened up support to northern Sudan civil society in the East, Darfur and Khartoum. Civil society organizations supported include some of the current leadership of SUNDE and SUGDE. Phase III focused on the Three Areas. The third phase had three objectives: to help the emergence of responsive, effective and inclusive civil authorities; promote the development of an empowered and active civil society capable of monitoring the peace processes and advocating for change; and, to provide support to independent media outlets. The draft evaluation of this program notes that it was successful in supporting aspects of the CPA, mitigating local conflict, and creating political legitimacy for progressive local leaders.⁶⁵ The OTCM (Office of Transition and Conflict Mitigation) is the successor to the OTI program and has focused on the Popular Consultations in the Two Areas. AECOM has been implementing capacity building of local government authorities and civil society activities under this contract. Given the importance of the border areas and the volatility in the region, there may well be opportunities for collaboration between the DG Office and the OTCM on mutual and/or synergistic activities, especially in the Three Areas.

Other Donors

The assessment team had very limited time to interview all the major donor groups that are working on Sudan. The team did talk to the United Nations Mission in Sudan (UNMIS), the European Community, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Joint Donor Team (JDT), the British Consulate, the Department for International Development (DFID), and the Norwegian Mission. At present, there do not appear to be any other major donor-initiated programs focusing on the development of civic participation in the post-referendum period. Some of the organizations have funded programs that have a component involving civic participation such as media training, legal reform, and human rights, but little or nothing is happening by way of supporting an indigenous civic association that works directly on seeking a widening of political space and engagement with the government. Many of these organizations do, however, have plans for future involvement in civic education, civic participation and media activities such as legal reforms and training courses for journalists and other media professionals. For example, through its civil affairs office, UNMIS has provided some limited funding for civic engagement on an *ad hoc* basis. UNDP works directly with the GOSS at the state level through the ministry of local government to promote the development of the rule of law. The Norwegian and Swedish missions have provided one-time funding for media training. At present though, USAID is the only major donor with a funding program directly focused on promotion of democracy through civic engagement.

DFID and the JDT both indicated that they were not planning to launch any initiatives involving civic participation, nor were they involved in planning for such activities. They implied that donor assistance would primarily be focused on state- and nation-building through the GOSS. Though, JDT representatives indicated that both the Open Society Foundation and Norwegian Peoples Aid were investigating programs for media support and journalist training. There is obviously a very high interest among many donors to support media activities. They were waiting to see how post-referendum events would shape the political and social environment. Those interviewed were pleased to learn that USAID was doing an assessment of post-

⁶⁴ Tilson, Thomas and Andrew Epstein. Mid-Term Evaluation: Health, Education and Reconciliation (HEAR) Project. Management Systems International (MSI). Submitted to USAID/Sudan, May 2010.

⁶⁵ Tanner, Victor, Willet Weeks and Jamal Hashim (2010).

referendum civil society and civic participation and were eager for USAID to share the findings of the assessment.

III. STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS TO INFORM FUTURE PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT

The following section represents the assessment team’s best judgment about actions and activities that USAID should consider in its next design phase for post-referendum Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. Some of these are long-term interventions, while others have more short-term objectives.

An optimal and *realistic* set of program interventions for the next phase of USAID civic participation activities that reflects the prioritization and tradeoffs that must inevitably be considered in designing the program of support are presented. Note that, unless otherwise stated, all suggested program approaches also apply to the Three Areas and should be considered to the extent possible, given the uncertain environments for program implementation in the post-referenda era.

PROGRAM CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Problem Statement

The lack of basic knowledge about the meaning and practice of democracy, a lack of citizen voice and participation in government decision-making, and poor access to information (especially media) inhibits democratic governance in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas and feed citizen alienation and dissatisfaction.

Development Hypothesis

Participatory governance (that is, citizen participation in political processes) and the coherence and cohesion of the civil society sector can be influenced positively by:

- strengthening the capacity of civil society organizations and networks to represent citizen interests to government in the future with or without donor assistance;
- increasing citizens’ access to information so that they will be more informed and better able to participate in democratic governance and community life; and
- enhancing the regulatory and legal framework to be more conducive to the development of the civil society sector.

Principles Underpinning Program Development

The supply side and the demand side of future initiatives will be balanced.

The intermediary level of actors (currently largely filled by CSOs and the media) that links the supply and demand sides will receive particular attention.

A healthy environment for effective civic participation incorporates a balance and synergy between the “supply side” and the “demand side” of civic participation. The demand side should be understood as significant citizen demand for participation, access, and information, while the supply side is government officials’ and institutions’ openness to civic engagement and creation of channels and processes for citizen participation (in both executive and legislative processes and decision-making) and access to government information.

Donor-funded interventions tend to fall largely on the “supply” side, because government institutions and processes are inherently more “output-oriented” and because helping create citizen demand is difficult and effective methods to do so are not well understood. In Southern Sudan, on the supply side, this means supporting and strengthening pre-determined government processes (both the administration of the processes and citizen participation in them). One example might be to support the development and implementation of an anticipated constitutional review process and new national elections in the post-referendum era. On the demand side, this suggests that donor support to local, indigenous civil society initiatives is seen to be more legitimate and acceptable by citizens than arbitrary activities, organizations, or networks created by donors. There are innumerable examples of donor-created organizations and activities that have failed as soon as funding is withdrawn.

The attention given to capacity building and other foci will not be over-balanced to the detriment of the attention given to key public trust-building activities (such as communication).

The World Bank study, *The Missing Link: Fostering Positive Citizen-State Relations in Post-Conflict Environments*,⁶⁶ provides useful guidance for thinking about civil society and civic participation. The study sketches a simple yet helpful model of the “public sphere” and draws on lessons learned from donor support for public sector capacity building, civil society, and the media in post conflict environments that are informative for the special cases of Southern Sudan and the Three Areas.⁶⁷ The study contends that several problems routinely plague both the development of a healthy, well-functioning public sphere in post-conflict environments and donor efforts to support that development.

- Donors typically lavish funding on public-sector capacity building initiatives in post-conflict environments while largely (or at least comparatively) neglecting civil society and the media, the other two components of the public sphere. The anemic development of civil society and the media result in dangerously poor communication between citizen and government and few channels for citizen engagement with government and checks on government decision-making.
- “Key governance challenges can be traced directly to the lack of attention paid to communication, dysfunctional public-state relations, poor management of expectations, and lack of public trust.”⁶⁸ In this same vein, a key objective in building the foundation of effective governance in post-conflict states should be *building public trust*: “citizens [must] perceive the state as a credible and trusted source of information.”⁶⁹

These perspectives offer several important reminders when considering programming options and the allocation of scarce program resources in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. Among the most critical are: (1) public sector capacity building should not be overwhelmingly supported at the expense of civil society and the media; (2) a focus on achieving seemingly basic governance and/or civic participation program goals (e.g. “increased citizen trust of public sector entities” and “multiple direct citizen-government communication channels created and functioning”) should not be overlooked in favor of more complex objectives such as building a comprehensive legislative library and robust professional staff for the national legislature. In other words, such basic building blocks of effective civic participation *are* critical program achievements in supporting good governance.

⁶⁶ Von Kaltenborn-Stachau, Henriette, “The Missing Link: Fostering Positive Citizen-State Relations in Post-Conflict Environments,” The World Bank Group, 2008: www.worldbank.org/commgap.

⁶⁷ The “public sphere” is described as the space comprised of the public sector (government institutions), civil society, and the media, and the linkages and respective “checks and balances” exercised by these entities on each other. The public sphere is, above all, the “platform for national dialogue,” the spirit of which is the root of all democratic processes.

⁶⁸ *ibid*, p.8

⁶⁹ *ibid*, p.13

Proposed Civic Participation Program Purpose and Objectives

Purpose: To strengthen participatory governance.

Objectives:

- (1) Strengthen civil society organizations' capacity to represent citizen voice and interests to government.
- (2) Improve the capacity of targeted bodies within the media sector to provide accurate and objective information.
- (3) Improve the regulatory and legal frameworks that impact on the development of civil society.

RECOMMENDATIONS, RATIONALE AND POSSIBLE INTERVENTIONS

Targeting

1. Continue to support DG program civic engagement activities in the border states between the North and the South and in the Three Areas, ensuring a strong focus on peace building, conflict resolution, and reconciliation.

The border states between the North and South and Three Areas are unstable regions, and the likelihood of major North-South conflict is high. Because of the major ethnic and political divisions in these states, they are extremely volatile and insecure and will remain so into the future. The implementation of the remaining CPA milestones in these areas (elections, Popular Consultations, and the Abyei Area referendum) over the next year makes these areas increasingly prone to conflict.

2. Target civic participation programming largely in the urban areas, including state capitals, giving special attention to Juba as Southern Sudan's capital.

Southern Sudan is embarking on the long process of nation-building in which the democratic, institutional framework for the future is being created. The nation-building activities of constitutional reform, new legislative elections, the writing of fundamental legislation defining the relationship between citizens and government, and a plethora of other major political decisions will occur in Juba, the capital. Juba is already the headquarters of all of the major donors and most of the major CSOs and NGOs, both national and international. As such, Juba is and will be the focus of all lobbying and influence groups for the entire sub-national region/country. Juba will also be the center for media and the primary source of political, social, economic, and cultural information for the country, for Africa, and for the world.

The development of civil society in Juba is still inchoate, and the post-referendum period will be an opportune time to further assist the "coherence" and maturation of the civil society sector. Civil society influence on and direct access to government will be particularly critical in the period immediately following the referendum, as critical foundational policy decisions will be made in this period. An active civil society and citizen input to government are particularly critical during this time. Support from USAID can facilitate the development, growth, and maturation of CSOs in the capital. Support not only for physical infrastructure, but also for capacity building will be required.

Other state capitals and urban areas, including lesser centers such as Abyei, Kurmuk, Kauda, Malakal, Wau, Yei, and Aweil, are also both centers of information and civic activity, and their needs and interests need to be conveyed to the leaders in the capital. The most effective way for CSOs to represent the interest of citizens is to be near the centers of power. Indeed, at this stage of the development of civil society, the

interests of rural people are perhaps best represented to government by conscientious, responsible leadership in CSOs located in the (sub-)national and state capitals.

3. Ensure that any new programming is underpinned and informed by gender-sensitive program design and implementation and that gender-sensitive indicators are included in any program monitoring and evaluation.

Objective I: Strengthen civil society organizations' capacity to represent citizen voice and interests to government

4. Continue to support the CSO community, but incorporate a shift in focus to “advocacy, influence, and government engagement” in the post-referendum era and ensure that the bulk of the funding and capacity building efforts are aimed at an emerging cadre of medium-capacity national CSOs that are well-positioned to effect and influence government policy.*

While the 2004–2010 DG program focus on basic capacity building for grassroots CSOs realized significant achievements in that area, the focus should largely shift in the post-referendum era. The new objectives of this program area should be to:

- Support further institutional capacity development of individual “high potential” CSOs—those considered best positioned to become or continue as government influencers.
- Support direct citizen engagement in government processes and the effective aggregation and representation of citizen opinion and input by capable intermediary organizations.⁷⁰

USAID's civil society activities should focus on creating critical citizen-government links and on creating space for civil society-government dialogue on issues of critical importance to citizens. In other words, USAID should support the emergence of a cadre of capable advocate/influence organizations that facilitate dialogue with government, engage on policy issues, and provide criticism where appropriate. In order to play such a role, these CSOs will require additional training and capacity building in effective advocacy methods, media strategies, etc. Some will require strategic advice on expanding into new program areas (e.g., a women's empowerment group that is ready to transition into lobbying of and engaging with government on behalf of women). Specific post-referendum issues that may be particularly propitious for support to CSO engagement include constitutional review, elections, the rule of law, human rights, and civic education and democratization, increased women's participation in public life, as well as service delivery issues. The immediate post-referendum period will be a critical time for assistance to these CSOs, since the government itself will be in a formative period, and precedents for civic engagement in policymaking will likely be set during this time. USAID's strong advocacy for good governance, transparency, and anti-corruption should provide important leverage for creating effective citizen-government linkage during this period and for the future.

It must also be recognized that while CSOs' capacity to robustly represent citizen opinion is still being built, a vacuum will remain in both providing citizen opinion directly to government officials and in independent

* The team encountered a number of such high potential, “medium capacity” CSOs in its work. A partial list includes the Nuba Relief, Rehabilitation, and Development Organization (NRRDO—Nuba Mountains), SUNDE and its member organization SUDEMOP (Juba), the Abyei Civil Society Forum, The Southern Sudan Law Society (Juba), *Ru'ya* Association (Kadugli), and Women Training & Promotion Association (WOTAP—Wau).

⁷⁰ Note the importance of a two-pronged program objective. USAID should not only provide further capacity building for high-potential CSOs, these same CSOs should be supported in engagement in specific activities with concrete program objectives/outcomes in what amounts to a “learning while/by doing” approach.

policy advice being provided to government. In addition, adequate CSO representation of citizen opinion and “voice” will be a medium-term achievement at the very best. An interim approach to fulfilling these objectives should therefore be considered that mimics the intent of NDI’s focus group public opinion research. However, continuing the focus group research approach does not seem advisable given the apparent lack of value placed on the research to date by GOSS officials (see discussion above in Section VI). One alternative might be procuring the services of a regional (Kenyan or Ugandan) public opinion research firm that might be more trusted by GOSS as a “credible source.”

Other prospective areas of intervention are support to national CSOs’ engagement in fulfilling the CPA’s political processes, peace-building initiatives, as well as their engagement with government in its efforts to mitigate conflict, including cross-border reconciliation conferences, cross-border meetings of traditional authorities, and support to CSO networks/networking. CSOs and government may also mutually benefit from CSO participation in the 10 member border states’ Governors’ Forum (*al Tamazuj*). Such interventions could benefit from partnership with OTCM activities. International donor partnerships for cross-border activities are also a strong possibility, especially with the UNDP, the Norwegians, and the Swedes who have all shown interest in the border areas and funded peace and reconciliation activities.

USAID should also consider the integration of the faith-based community as a major partner in programs aimed at strengthening individual CSOs, building the coherence of the civil society sector, and building further capacity for advocacy and citizen participation in government decision-making through CSO intermediaries. As discussed above, the ecumenical church has the highest capacity and is the most legitimate civil society body in Southern Sudan, with experience in representing and speaking as a unified voice for the public. It also has the largest and most effective information network in Southern Sudan, which reaches into virtually every village in the country. For these reasons, it should be considered a critical partner in civil-society strengthening program approaches.

It may take some creativity and flexibility on USAID’s part to find legitimate and appropriate means to integrate the church and/or other FBOs into its programs, but the importance of the faith-based community should not be ignored. One possible approach is to work through an already familiar intermediary FBO partner such as Catholic Relief Services, which already has relationships with many individual churches and church leaders throughout Southern Sudan and is experienced in governance and peace-building.

Additionally, USAID should consider the following advantages of working with FBOs:

- Access to the largest and most reliable “information network” in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas (church parishioners)
- The possible positive spillover effects of nascent secular CSOs networking or working directly with and learning from more experienced FBOs.

Finally, USAID should consider creating a set-aside direct grants portfolio as one component of this program area as described below in recommendation ten.

5. Continue to support local grassroots CSOs, particularly in institutional capacity building; however, while important, support to CSOs should not be a primary focus of the DG program.

The LINCS program’s approach has been successful in initiating the development of institutional capacity in some 95 grassroots CSOs, with a particular focus on women and other marginalized groups. However, in the post-referendum era, a focus on the development activities of grassroots, service delivery CSOs does not serve core DG objectives, particularly improved direct citizen and CSO engagement with government. Local government civic engagement should remain a priority focus for these groups and could be best addressed by the BRIDGE program (or its successors), much in the way its Community Action Group components already operate. Other CSOs may also benefit from association with USAID programs in the education, health, and economic growth sectors, and USAID might consider shifting grassroots CSO capacity building support to these portfolios.

6. When USAID bilateral agreements with the North allow, support and engage with democratically-oriented CSOs and NGOs and media outlets that are well-known and have legitimacy and credibility among Sudanese citizens.

Objective 2: Improve the capacity of targeted bodies within the media sector to provide information

7. Develop a comprehensive, stand-alone media program.

Given the great information deficit in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas and the vital role of free and credible information in a democracy, the media assistance provided by USAID is essential and should be continued and expanded under a broader, strategic approach.

Any comprehensive media program initiated should incorporate:

- Expansion of FM network (SRS and community FM stations);
- Improvement of media capacity and professionalism (training opportunities across several media sectors, e.g., radio, print, internet, and satellite TV); and
- Inclusion of civic education content in media training.

USAID should take account of the following:

- Capitalize on the success of EDC's development and support of the shortwave SRS network, the anticipated success of the new SRS Juba FM station, and the existing community-based FM radio stations by expanding the community-based FM infrastructure and the civic education programming content supplied by NDI to both SRS and FM stations. A 'hub and spoke' model might be the best way for such a network to function, with SRS and its FM station in Juba serving as the hub, providing content and programming in multiple languages to the outlying FM stations. In such a model, the Juba hub could also serve as an excellent training facility for radio journalists and technicians. Greater consideration for the stations' sustainability should be built into the program up-front to the extent possible (i.e. an emphasis on running the stations as a business), but it should be understood that such a media program will not likely produce self-sustaining media outlets within a 3–5 year timeframe.
- Furthermore, given the lack of capacity in the media sector as a whole, a comprehensive media program should include support for the development of a professional media sector in a program similar to the one recently initiated at Juba University by SRS—but serving a considerably larger number of students— or a separate media training institute. Such training should also include, where feasible, assistance to other forms of media, such as television, print news, or internet. This also may be an area for collaboration with other international donors, such as the BBC World Service Trust, the Swedish Government, the Danish Government, and the Open Society Institute, which have shown an interest in media capacity building and professionalization.
- The Association for Media Development in Southern Sudan, founded by Sudanese professional journalists, was for a time serving as an effective media lobby group in engaging GOSS on public interest concerns. Recently, for unclear reasons involving internal management problems and unreliable donor funding, AMDIS has floundered. USAID engagement with AMDIS supporters is encouraged to determine whether or not the organization can be revitalized to once again serve as the lead media association and as an effective media lobby representing the interests of all its

constituent organizations. If so, USAID funding of AMDIS could be a key component of an effective, comprehensive media program.

- An expansion of a community-based FM network with its hub in Juba will ensure that the rural areas are not neglected and cut off from what is happening in the urban centers. This radio network should also supply the decision-makers in the urban centers with news from the grassroots.
- The strategic placement of community based FM radio stations, which are capable of broadcasting reliable and credible news and information in local languages across borders into unstable areas, will help to mitigate the potential for conflict. The provision of reliable, verifiable, and acceptable cross-border information can have a positive effect in defusing potentially explosive situations fueled by rumor. There are already stations in Kauda, Nasir, Kurmuk, and Aweil; however, a number of informants pointed out the remaining large information vacuum throughout most of the border areas. The placement of additional stations in Renk and Agok/Abyei, Bentiu and Malakal should be considered along with other central locations in prospective flashpoint areas.

Objective 3: Improve the regulatory and legal frameworks that impact on the development of civil society

8. Provide direct support to the reform and development of the legal and regulatory framework that regulates civil society activity, the media, and civic participation in general. *(Note that this program element will not likely be possible in the Three Areas.)*

As noted earlier in the report, the absence of a legislative and regulatory framework governing media and civil society activity in Southern Sudan has left both the boundaries of this activity and the “rules of the game” uncertain for all players involved. Confusion across ministries regarding which ministry is ultimately responsible for the oversight of NGO and CSO activity has left the registration process unclear and the ultimate government source of authority in this area unknown. USAID should recognize the post-referendum period as a key window of opportunity for supporting the legal and regulatory reforms that will provide protection to CSOs, NGOs, and media outlets and will allow them to do their work freely.

Any initiatives aimed at the reform and development of the legal and regulatory framework should take into account the following points:

- Reform and development of the media laws and NGO laws/regulatory framework deserves USAID attention, even if support must be provided through a stand-alone activity. Support the establishment of a legal and regulatory framework that guarantees and protects an independent media sector through a CSO prepared and qualified to lobby directly (perhaps AMDIS) *and/or* through “supply side” support—direct technical support to the Ministry of Legal Affairs (for legislation drafting) and/or to Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (MOIB) to become a “proper” regulatory body rather than a media censor/watchdog.
- It may be that support could best be channeled through a CSO prepared to tackle the issue from a lobbying and oversight perspective (for example, a reinvigorated AMDIS)—in other words, support from the “demand side.” However, if no such group emerges, it is worth considering providing direct technical support to the ministries and/or commissions leading the policy formulation and legislative drafting processes. For example, support might be provided in the next GOSS capacity building contract, similar to the assistance provided to the Ministry of Legal Affairs in legislation drafting by Deloitte.

- Any USAID support to a constitutional review process should include a focus on basic guarantees of the freedom of information, expression, assembly, etc. Adequate protections and freedoms for the media, civic society, and citizen participation must be enshrined in the new constitution.

Objective 4: Leverage Emerging Opportunities

9. Establish a set-aside, flexible “quick response-quick impact” fund that can be drawn upon to respond to unforeseen, urgent DG needs and provide support to newly emerging, high-potential actors that merit USAID assistance.*

A “quick impact” fund should not necessarily be oriented to implementing a series of OTI-style quick impact projects, nor would it need to contain a large amount of money. It should, rather, be somewhat of a contingency fund that awards mostly small grants for addressing newly emerging, urgent priorities and/or emerging actors deserving of DG support (e.g. a new CSO that emerges to tackle a pressing legal reform issue). The fund might also enable the team to provide small amounts of one-time funding to “known quantity” CSOs for event-based activities (e.g., SUNDE civic education efforts for a given political process if for some reason they are not pre-programmed).

The assessment team suggests developing this fund for two key reasons: (1) In setting up a civic participation program during the early stages of the post-referendum period, it will be difficult for the DG team to pre-program all of the activities and actors that it will eventually want to support. Such a fund will give the DG team more flexibility in meeting emerging civic participation needs in the first few years following the referendum; and (2) The team understands that the DG team was not as well-positioned as it would like to have been in responding to periodic episodes of conflict and/or providing support to longer-term (but not cash intensive) conflict mitigation activities, such as cross border peace dialogues, and cross-border media programming development, etc.

To summarize, the three types of activities most suited for such a fund likely include:

- Support emerging organizations’ engagement in key political processes:
 - Media association lobbying
 - Constitutional review
 - Civic education for elections, other political processes
- Support a “known quantity” CSO’s one-time, event-based activity:
 - SUNDE civic education or other activities
- Urgent conflict mitigation needs could be jointly addressed by DG and OTCM funding:
 - The development of specific cross-border media programming targeting a specific conflict or crisis, but not pre-programmed.
 - Support to the logistical needs of cross-border or regional peace conferences such as transportation stipends, facility rental, etc.

* Note: The team assumes that such a quick impact fund will be justifiable under USAID rules and regulations while Sudan remains a Critical Priority Country—or that a similar approach can be adopted given USAID/Sudan’s special status.

ANNEXES

ANNEX I: SCOPE OF WORK

Management Systems International (MSI) SUPPORT Program with USAID/Sudan/Sudan¹ Southern Sudan and the Three Areas: Civic Participation Assessment Mission (July—August 2010)

1. Study Context

USAID has been investing in a range of efforts to foster civic participation in governance since 2005. The current civic participation portfolio will largely be completed by 2011. This study will inform USAID's strategy to resume civic participation programming for the period after 2011.

2. Study Purpose

The purpose of this assessment is to learn from the experience of USAID and other international organization efforts to promote civic participation in Sudan in order to develop optimal programming for the next phase of USAID assistance

3. Background

A. Country Context

Sudan is the largest country in Africa, borders nine countries, and has a population estimated at 40 million. Since independence in 1956, Sudan has suffered from civil war, with only a decade of troubled peace from 1972 to 1983.

Southern Sudan and the critical border areas (consisting of the northern states of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, plus Abyei—commonly referred to as the Three Areas) are characterized by years of underdevelopment, war, famine, drought and flood, producing a crisis of enormous proportions across the region and resulting in the devastation of economic, political and social structures. In addition to the loss of lives, opportunities and infrastructure, the war displaced families and divided communities. In consequence, the health, education and infrastructure status of the Sudanese people are among the poorest globally.

After decades of civil war, Sudan's warring parties signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January of 2005. Since that time the country has taken steps toward peace, reconciliation and good governance, although the pace has been slower than expected or desired.

Despite the signing of the CPA, Sudan remains a vulnerable state. Its children, many of whom are orphans, returning refugees and ex-combatants, are particularly at risk—especially in the “hot spots” of the Three Areas. It is essential that displaced and other affected people, particularly orphans and ex-combatant youth,

¹ MSI holds a 3-year contract to provide Mission-wide support to USAID/Sudan/Sudan in Program and project evaluation and designs, MIS management, translation services, logistics support, facilities management, VIP hosting, and research. An in-country team, based in Juba, provides these services, supplemented by short-term technical assistance.

be safely reintegrated into their communities. In the case of the youth, affected by the many conflicts and tensions during the past 21 years, the provision of basic education is critical to providing a solid foundation upon which their future success and contribution to society can be based. The provision of education can also be seen as a tangible result of the “peace dividends” expected by Sudanese citizens and, in turn, will contribute to stabilization in the region. Durable stability is contingent upon demonstrative and observable change “on the ground” and education, highly valued by the Sudanese, is both a necessary and visible symbol of that change.

In many areas, primary health and education services have been almost exclusively externally funded. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), faith-based organizations (FBOs), and multilateral and bilateral aid agencies offering humanitarian relief became the prime providers of an array of much needed services. As peace is consolidated, USAID will continue to support a responsible transition from emergency to development assistance that seeks to improve access to and quality of basic education. Education and health activities are reinforced by investment in other essential services, such as water and sanitation, in an effort to rebuild local communities, reduce tensions, and provide the much sought-after peace dividends.

B. Sector Context

In Southern Sudan and the Three Areas of Abyei, Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, USAID is supporting democratic governance and assisting the key political processes set forth in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). Yet the legacies of civil war, from lack of infrastructure to high illiteracy rates and inexperience in democratic governance, have made it difficult for it to deliver services. USAID is supporting activities that work to strengthen the core institutions of the GOSS and develop systems to meet citizens’ needs and influence government priorities at the state and regional levels. This assistance targets state governments along the north-south border and the Three Areas, enhancing local governments’ ability to transparently manage resources, deliver tangible peace dividends, and increase incomes. At the same time, USAID is strengthening citizen participation in governance through working with civil society organizations (CSOs), political parties, media, improving access to information, civic education, and dialogue between government and citizen groups.

USAID also supports implementation of activities aimed at achieving key CPA milestones—the census, the national elections (scheduled for April 2010), popular consultations in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan (to occur prior to the national referendum in January 2011, and the referenda on the future status of Southern Sudan and Abyei (both scheduled for January 2011). USAID is assisting the administration of these processes, promoting civic participation and consensus building, and supporting international observation in support of these milestones.

USAID considers civic participation essential for democratic governance that responds to citizen priorities and needs. USAID seeks to promote a strong, vibrant civil society by building institutional capacity and accountability in CSOs, particularly among groups led by women and other marginalized groups. Assistance is provided to over 90 CSOs and will be extended to approximately 24 more CSOs. Civil society partners work in health, HIV/AIDS and hygiene, literacy, and vocational training, targeting youth, women, and returnees, among other activities. In addition, eleven community resource centers provide hubs for training, civic education, access to information, and communications infrastructure to partner CSOs and their communities. Three additional resource centers are under development. USAID also promotes civic participation in elections, and supports civic and voter education and expanding media programs.

USAID considers media freedom and freedom of information to be integral to an independent media sector in rebuilding countries. However, most citizens lack access to the relatively small amount of information that is available. USAID is supporting the development of individual and organizational media capacity, assisting government communications, and establishing public, private and community media outlets and infrastructure. Partners include the GOSS Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, the Sudan Radio Service (SRS) short-wave radio, and five community FM stations. Activities have included assisting the development of the Southern Sudan media regulatory framework, supporting establishment of public information radio

and television in Southern Sudan, journalist training, and distributing solar-powered wind-up radios in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas.

When USAID's civic participation program was designed in 2004 the assessments on which it based its programming decisions did not include the Three Areas. At that time, the four major constraints to civic participation in Southern Sudan were identified and targeted as follows:

- **Poor access to information.** This led USAID to support short-wave radio broadcasting and massive distribution of radios in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. A community radio program was added more recently, with five FM radio stations in place.
- **Extremely limited knowledge or understanding of the CPA, political processes, and democratic governance practices.** This led USAID to support civic education in parts of the South and the Three Areas. It also led to support for public opinion polling, research, and dissemination.
- **Extremely limited CSO institutional capacity development.** This led to a long-term, intensive institutional capacity building program in parts of the South (5 states) and the Three Areas.
- **Extremely limited local resources.** This led to support for new community information and resource centers that provide trainings, computer, and information access in several states in Southern Sudan.

The assessment described in this SOW will take place amidst considerable political upheaval and tension in Sudan with elections having been held in April 2010, and preparations being made for a referendum on whether the people of Sudan want national unity or want Southern Sudan and Abyei to become independent from the North.

C. Linkage to USAID/Sudan Strategy and USG Foreign Assistance Framework

USAID/Sudan wants to understand how its current civic participation program is working in Southern Sudan and in each of the Three Areas with respect to:

1. The political context in which they find themselves;
2. General rights and responsibilities in relationship to the appointed and/or elected governments;
3. Ability of citizens to influence basic service delivery, e.g. education, health, economic growth; and
4. How effective citizens have been in preventing, mitigating or resolving conflict.

USAID's civic participation objective for Southern Sudan and the Three Areas is to promote citizen and CSO participation in three spheres:

1. Governance (government planning and eventually service delivery oversight/ accountability);
2. Peace-building/conflict mitigation; and
3. Key political processes—elections that may be organized after the referendum scheduled for January 2011 and the expiration of the CPA. Currently, there is no road map of political processes after the CPA expires.

USAID's overall objective for the 2012–2014 timeframe is to support a peaceful transition from the end of the CPA through either a new united Sudan or an independent Southern Sudan. Supporting the development of democratic governance in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas is critical for either outcome. USAID considers a vibrant and effective civil society (CS) and increased access to information, supported by a free and independent media to be indispensable to achieving the goal of democratic governance in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas.

D. Geographic Orientation

USAID/Sudan's development and reconstruction portfolio, traditionally focused on Southern Sudan, now includes the Three Areas. As a result, USAID already possesses substantial information about key

stakeholders in Southern Sudan and the Three Areas, given its ongoing work in these regions. In support of USAID policy to promote civic engagement, the assessment will be undertaken in and for three distinct areas of the country:

i. Southern Sudan

This political entity includes the ten states governed by the GOSS. Per the terms of the CPA, appointed government officials based in Juba govern Southern Sudan with its ten states.

ii. Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile

These states are under control of the government in Khartoum. Per the CPA, they are undertaking a popular consultation process which will set the conditions whereby northern and southern tribes agree to remain peaceful, e.g. possibly through establishment of quasi-autonomous regional designations. This process will be under way during the team's visit. Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile states are constituent parts of the Three Areas and, along with Abyei, are acknowledged as the *de facto* separation between the North and the South.

iii. Abyei

This state will undergo a referendum in 2011 to determine whether it will be a Northern or Southern state (i.e., joining the South should that region gain independence as a result of the national referendum). The rules guiding how this decision will be made have recently been legislated and should be in effect during the team's visit.

Accordingly, the Team will travel to:

- At least three states representative of different aspects of Southern Sudan;
- Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile, and
- Abyei.

4. Available Information to Support the Study

The following information will be provided to the Team in advance of its arrival in Juba:

- Mid-term evaluation (April 2010) of the Localizing Institutional Capacity in Sudan (LINCS) project.
- *Conducting a DG Assessment: A Framework for Strategy Development*, USAID, Center for Democracy and Governance, November 2000
- *USAID Guidance for Democracy and Governance Programming in Post-Conflict Countries, (DRAFT)*, USAID, Center for Democracy and Governance, December 2009.
- *USAID Democratic Decentralization Programming Handbook*, June 2009
- *The Missing Link: Fostering Positive Citizen-State Relations in Post-Conflict Environments*, Henriette von Kaltenborn-Stachau, 2008
- 2009 impact evaluation of the "Let's Talk" radio program
- The World Bank CommGAP "Public Sphere Assessment Toolkit" and "Toolbox."

5. Study Focus

The assessment is intended to:

1. Assess success of USAID-supported partners in their implementation of the current civic participation program (see Annex I for description of each Implementing Partner's activities);
2. Analyze the state of the enabling environment for civic participation and media freedom/freedom of information;
3. Determine how USAID can employ its Implementing Partners to work in the target areas, given the complexity of working with governments in the north and the south;

4. Describe the current nature and extent of civic participation across all sectors. This relates not just to basic services such as health, education, water and sanitation, but also to economic growth (financial services and micro-enterprise), agriculture and food security, rule of law, the security sector, peace processes, and humanitarian assistance;
5. Determine the constraints to effective civic participation with respect to capacity, access to information, resources, infrastructure, and enabling environment;
6. Describe the opportunities to increase civic participation, both in quantity and in quality. This would include the potential to build on assets and activities currently supported by USAID (all sectors and areas, including OTT);
7. Identify other donor-, INGO-, LNGO- and government-supported mechanisms, approaches and activities as well as other USAID programs and activities to avoid duplication, promote synergies, and ensure incorporation of USAID mission-wide strategic priorities;
8. Provide recommendations on the geographic targeting of USAID assistance. States and areas critical to regional peace and stability need to be taken into consideration. The following questions should be considered by the Study Team:
 - Should Abyei and/or the North-South border region continue to be areas supported through civic participation programming?
 - Should the focus be on rural versus urban areas, or a combination thereof?
 - Should the focus be on conflict-prone versus more stable areas?
9. Consider the gender implications of civic participation programming (see Annex II of this SOW).

The assessment should present its findings, and make prioritized recommendations, for USAID's strategic planning and programmatic planning purposes, for the period after the current civic participation program ends in December 2011.

6. Study Methods and Procedures

Assessments should be conducted separately for Southern Sudan, Abyei, and the northern states of Southern Kordofan and Blue Nile. Below is presented a set of frameworks and approach that identify enabling factors for civic participation and will facilitate the assessment. The Team will spend part of the Team Planning Meeting (TPM) at the outset of the Juba visit finalizing a methodology that integrates the frameworks below.

This assessment will address the Study Focus (*Section 5, above*) utilizing a systematic analytical approach to be constructed in draft prior to arrival in Juba and finalized during the TPM. The Team should consider which parts of the following frameworks may be of use in developing that methodology:

- 1) *Conducting a DG Assessment: A Framework for Strategy Development*, USAID, Center for Democracy and Governance, November 2000
 - a. Step 2, "Identifying Key Actors and Allies (page 31), and
 - b. "Identifying Key Institutions," (page 37)
 - i. Other Spheres of Competition,
 - ii. Arenas of Governance,
 - iii. Local Government Sphere,
 - iv. The Civil Society Arena," (page 49);
 - c. Distilling the Strategy (page 53)—Consider the 10 donor constraints
- 2) *USAID Guidance for Democracy and Governance Programming in Post-Conflict Countries, (DRAFT)*, USAID, Center for Democracy and Governance, December 2009. The assessment team should consider this as it relates to the objectives described above.

- a. part 2, subsection 13 “Civil Society” (begins on page 109). Be sure to review “Contextual Considerations,” “Impact of Conflict on Civil Society,” “Key Tradeoffs,” and “Programming Options”
- b. Annex 13.1: Civil Society Contextual Analysis: Areas for Consideration

3) *USAID Democratic Decentralization Programming Handbook*, June 2009

The assessment team should consider specific sections of this handbook as they relate to the Purpose and Objectives sections of the SOW.

- a. 4.0 Institutional Arenas of Reform, 4.4.3 Civil Society
- b. 5.3 Strategies to Bolster Civil Society

4) *The Missing Link: Fostering Positive Citizen-State Relations in Post-Conflict Environments*, Henriette von Kaltenborn-Stachau, 2008 (The World Bank Communication for Governance & Accountability Program, CommGAP). Included in this report is the “Public Sphere Assessment Toolkit,” pg 35–39; and “Toolbox” for interventions that foster positive citizen-state relations in post-conflict environments, pg 40. See www.worldbank.org/commgap go to “publications.”

Annex III includes sample questions generated by the team that developed this SOW. Please note that these suggestions are Southern Sudan-specific. They are not intended to supersede the above-mentioned guides and tools. The Team should *not* respond to all questions. They are intended to support Team brainstorming.

The assessment will consider all of the relevant actors and institutions that relate to civic participation. These include the general citizenry, CSOs (from grassroots to state level and above), human rights organizations, media outlets (radio, print media, television, the Internet and new media technologies), traditional leaders, professional associations, nascent labor movements, governmental and quasi-governmental NGOs, networks and coalitions, coordination bodies and intermediate support organizations (such as the NGO Forum and the Southern Sudan Capacity Building Forum), think tanks and academic institutions (such as Juba University). Many registered CSOs were assessed in depth, state-by-state, in a UN-Habitat mapping assessment of local organizations in Southern Sudan that was undertaken from 2008 to 2009 and published in May 2009 (available on line via the Southern Sudan NGO Forum’s website, [www.ngoforum/info](http://www.ngoforum.info).) The assessment commissioned by USAID under this SOW should avoid duplicating this work. The civic participation assessment team is expected to consider the gaps between this SOW and the scope of the UN assessment, and proceed accordingly. Consultation by phone or e-mail with the author and key participants would be appropriate prior to and during the visit to Sudan.

The assessment will also address group public opinion research. Polling presents a means of obtaining citizen views about political processes and governance in the absence of a more well-developed civil society that might otherwise play this function and represent citizens’ views in policy making arenas. The team will look at that issue as part of its assessment of the nature and extent of civic participation in Southern Sudan and each of the Three Areas. For example, is support for alternate means of gathering citizen views and channeling them into policy making or other spheres of interest still necessary? (See www.ndi.org to find links to the reports, the most recent of which is entitled “Envisioning the Elections”). Similarly, a recent impact evaluation in 2009 of the “Let’s Talk” radio program, produced by NDI and broadcast on SRS and community FM radio is available and recommended for reading.

7. Team Composition

The Team will be comprised of four individuals (two expatriates and two Sudanese). It is anticipated that USAID will provide one expatriate and MSI will provide both Sudanese participants as well as the expatriate Team Leader. Collectively, team members should bring knowledge and experience in the following areas:

- Experience working with USAID programs and projects;

- Strong analytic, writing, and oral communication skills;
- Extensive experience working in East Africa, Sudan, and/or similar post-conflict environments;
- Governance and civic participation issues
- Sudan's political history
- Conflict mitigation and peace building;
- Media
- Democratic governance
- Civil society
- Civic education

The Team Leader will be the formal representative of the Team, provide intellectual direction for the effort, and be responsible for writing the report. He/She will also arrange for updates regarding progress against the work plan to the USAID Activity Manager (or his/her delegate) and MSI's Chief of Party (COP) or Assessment, Monitoring and Evaluation Specialist (AME), as determined at the TPM.

The Activity Manager for USAID/Sudan

8. Activities, Logistics, and Timing

Team members will be provided the information provided in Section 3, above, before arriving in Sudan. They will be expected to be familiar with this information prior to arriving in Juba and—under the direction of the Team Leader—to have developed a draft methodology prior to arrival in Juba.

Tasks (Based on Team Leader, unless otherwise noted)	Work Days (6-day weeks in Sudan; 5 outside Sudan)
Initial Preparation Review advance background documents, study assessment methodology and SUPPORT Project's Evaluation and Special Study Guide, make travel preparations, and travel days to Juba.	8
In-Country Preparation TPM, methodology development and mutual training	3
Juba Meetings Focus on USAID, donors, key non-government institutions and GOSS	4

First field visit Two sub-teams (of one expatriate and one Sudanese each) will travel—each to one of the Three Areas	6
Methodological and Analytic Review The full team will meet to fine tune the methodology, based on experience; and to begin to consider the analytic implications of what was learned in the first visit. Some Juba meetings may also be arranged	2
Field Visits The two sub-teams will split up to visit three states and the remaining Three Area not yet visited	14
Data Analysis and report drafting Analyze data, brief USAID and GOSS, draft report	6
Return travel	2
Final Report Preparation in home country Incorporate USAID feedback, complete final report, and submit to MSI office in Juba.	5
Total for Team Leader²	50

A Team Planning Meeting (TPM) will be held upon arrival in Juba to agree on how team members will work together, how they will interact with the client and other stakeholders, to fine tune a common methodology (based on the tools suggested in *Section 6*, above) to be applied during the field visits, and to develop a work plan and finalize a Travel Schedule. The Team will need to visit each of the Three Areas as well as three states in Southern Sudan. Accordingly some transportation will be arranged prior to the team's arrival.

During the TPM the team will finalize the methodology to be used and adapt the analytic instruments to be employed. The Work Plan will also include a schedule for periodic progress reports to the USAID Activity Manager and to MSI, as well as possible submission of specific work products, as determined by the parties.

The Team will then split into sub-teams, each travelling to one of the Three Areas. Upon returning to Juba one week later, the full Team will gather to reflect on the effectiveness of the methodology, refine it as necessary, and reinforce efforts to ensure a consistent approach to data gathering in the two teams. The two sub-teams will then return to the field to visit three states and the last of the Three Areas.

² Due to differences in responsibility and allowable workweeks, the LOE for the Sudanese consultants will be less than for the Team Leader. The second expatriate consultant will have three four fewer days of LOE since he/she will not perform final edits.

Approximately four days prior to departure from Juba the Team will present to USAID and the GOSS an out-briefing, with succinct supporting documents. The Draft Report will be submitted prior to the Consultants' departure from Juba.

The Mission will submit its comments on the draft report within fifteen work days of receipt the draft report. The Draft Final Report will be submitted to USAID fifteen work days after the Team Leader's receipt of USAID's final written comments on the draft.

It is envisioned that all Consultants will be in Sudan the entire duration of the in-country component (six-day work weeks are authorized), including the TPM, a debriefing, and submission of a draft report to MSI's COP or AME prior to departure from Sudan. In addition to travel days, additional days are provided for the Consultants to complete reading and processing all background information and developing a draft methodology prior to departure for Sudan. Additional days are provided to finalize the report. (See graphic presentation in *Section 9*, below.)

MSI's field office in Juba will be responsible for travel arrangements (travel, housing in the field, etc.) for the Team. The Team will be provided office and meeting space, as needed, at SUPPORT's Juba Office Compound.

9. Projected Level of Effort (LOE)

10. Report Production and Format

The Team will present for approval by USAID a draft outline of the report as part of its work plan submission. The report must:

- Comply with all instructions of the SUPPORT Project's "Evaluation/Special Study Quality Management Guide"
- Contain an Executive Summary of no more than three pages
- Include any annexes the Team considers useful to the reader, including a copy of this SOW; and
- Not exceed 40 pages, excluding annexes and Executive Summary.

A formal debriefing will be provided to USAID and the GOSS, as scheduled during the TPM and indicated in the study work plan. The Team will present key findings and recommendations for comment from the stakeholders. The Team will record all relevant feedback from the meeting and will respond to all comments in completing its draft reports. The Consultants need not include all suggestions in the report, but must consider such suggestions in finalizing the Draft Report.

An electronic (in MS Word) version of the Draft Report will be presented to USAID in Juba, with four hard copies provided to the USAID/Sudan Mission prior to the departure of the Team Leader.

USAID will combine internal comments, resulting in a unified set of comments from USAID, submitting them *electronically* to MSI's COP—using the "track changes" and "comments" functions in MS WORD as much as possible. The Mission will receive ten paper copies of the final report as well as an electronic version, once the Mission has accepted the product.

11. Deliverables

- A draft work plan, ensuring that all aspects of Getting to Answers (from the TPM) are addressed
- A schedule of travel and key activities

- Interim progress briefings to SUPPORT's COP or AME and the Mission's Activity Manager
- Preliminary report outline
- Draft Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations to MSI prior to completion of the first Draft Report
- Out-briefing, with supporting documents
- Draft report
- Final report

Annex I

Program Area: Civil Society

Implementing Partners: EDC, NDI, and Mercy Corps

Program Element: Civic Participation

EDC will broadcast civic education programs on Sudan Radio Service (SRS) on issues such as: anti-corruption; the importance and role of civil society organizations in Sudanese society; the laws of Sudan; and the upcoming national census and national elections.

NDI will continue to produce a radio-based civic education program that will educate the masses on important civic education messages such as: anti-corruption; the importance and role of civil society organizations in Sudanese society; the laws of Sudan; and the upcoming national census and national elections.

Mercy Corps program has provided institutional capacity and accountability training to 70 nascent civil society organizations (CSO) that represent women and marginalized groups, and allowed these organizations to better build consensus across ethnic, social, and religious divisions on a number of fronts. The project's civil society partners, represented in all regions of Southern Sudan and the Three Areas, will work to ensure that local governing authorities are engaged in dialogue with nascent civil society actors. With this expansion, Mercy Corps will continue to support these 70 civil society organizations, and will select an additional 30 CSO partners.

Program Element: Media Freedom and Freedom of Information

EDC will train journalists in sourcing information, objectively release it to audience, and understand the CPA, constitutions and ethical implications of covering conflicted related issues. Of its six hour daily broadcast, the largest segment comprises civic education and governance programming that addresses aspects of the CPA, the Interim National Constitution, and the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan and how these documents affect people's lives.

NDI will procure and distribute shortwave, AM/FM, wind-up, solar powered radios to community leaders, rural populations, and vulnerable groups to facilitate access to independent information. (NB: this activity ended in 2009)

Annex II Gender and Vulnerable Groups Consideration

Gender inequality is serious and pervasive in Sudan. Estimates indicate that around 60% of the population of Southern Sudan is female and that women head the majority of households. Yet, women remain a disenfranchised majority with little and/or unequal access to social services, economic opportunity and decision making. Traditional gender roles have not been conducive to women's equitable participation in and sharing of benefits from development programs.

In recognition of the marginalized situation of women, gender assessments are already integrated into on-going projects. To reinforce this attention, the program objective Governing Justly and Democratically will be addressed in the following manner:

- The civil society activity specifically targets women and other disadvantaged groups;
- The political party program is working with the women's caucus in the Southern Sudan Assembly;
- The focus groups will ensure that an equal number of men and women's voices are heard;
- The civil education activity will target both men and women.

Furthermore and in order to ensure that all USAID ongoing and future programs promote gender equality all activities in this document will be required to abide by the following:

1. Strictly adhere to the requirements set forth in ADS 201.3.12.6 making Gender Analysis mandatory and detailing required steps in the planning, solicitation, implementation and evaluation processes for each activity, be they contracts, grants or cooperative agreements. Gender concerns will also be integrated in the technical evaluation and monitoring of these activities as well as the determination of implementing partners' capacity to address gender concerns.
2. State clear measures for addressing gender concerns identified in the mandatory gender analysis stated above.
3. Design and include indicators in the M&E plan for each activity that adequately and sufficiently measure progress against the set equity and gender equality targets.

Annex III : Sample Questions to Shape the Analysis

Legal Framework

The legal framework supporting Civil Society Organization formation and recognition and the media within the government is weak, and arguably an effort could be made to make it more conducive or friendly to CSO involvement.

Much discussion surrounds this issue. In theory, in the social compact between the governed and the governing, the legal standing of citizens to form organizations, assemble, be informed and speak out, should be enshrined in law. In practice, at this stage of Southern Sudan's evolution, with a new crop of elected officials in place by 2012, the question can be fairly asked whether an effort in this regard should be a priority in the next generation of DG/CS programming.

Indicative Questions:

- Who are the players?
- What are their interests?
- What are their resources?
- What resources can be brought to bear?

- What are the key institutions?
- Is the Local Government Act supportive?
- Is the NGO Act of 2003 supportive? Being revised?
- Are fees being extracted from aspirant CSOs? How much? How often?
- Do they constitute a dampening effect on citizen involvement writ large?
- Is there a likely payoff if USAID makes a concerted effort to engage here?
- Are other organizations, e.g. UNDP, other national donors, e.g. DfID, the Joint Donor Team, working this legal framework set of concerns sufficiently?

Media/Information

Media, and the information it carries, is a major component of USAID programming in the South and the Three Areas. In a country where 85 % of the populace is illiterate, and 65% of the GOSS civil servants, is not an oral information medium important?

Indicative Questions:

- What is the footprint of the media?
- Does a mapping of coverage exist? U.S.-sponsored media, UN, church?
- Are there areas not covered with something other than short wave?
- Who are the players?
- Are there areas not covered?
- What are they broadcasting?
- Is USAID programming, e.g. basic literacy and numeracy, being carried?
- By which stations? With what coverage?
- Are there government impediments? What might they be?
- Should an additional investment be made in providing new stations? Or repeaters?
- Should an emphasis be made to expand programming that meets elemental needs of the populace?
- Has programming had a salutary effect on peace building/conflict avoidance?

Political Processes

Elected officials, north and south, have been put in place as of April 2010. The assessment team will be on the ground perhaps to witness the aftermath to the elections, and to determine lessons learned that can be applied to future elections. The next election like events will be the two referenda (scheduled for January 2011) and discussions about elections at the Payam level are taking place for an undisclosed time period (check this out—not sure if it's true).

Indicative Questions:

- Who are the key players?
- What are their interests?
- What resources might be applied? Governmental? International?
- What worked from the April election? What didn't?
- What current CSOs are in position to play critical leadership roles in influencing future elections, e.g. at the Payam level?
- Should civil society be playing a role regarding strengthening of the elections processes? With the National Electoral Commission?
- What role if any is open to citizens regarding party formation and candidate selection?

- How do citizens obtain information about election related matters?
- How might those information streams be strengthened?
- Are there geographic dimensions to the political processes discussion that need to be addressed?

Governance

Elected officials, north and south, will have been put in place as of April 2010. Civil society related to appointed officials at all levels before, but the potential exists for an entirely different post-election relationship, based on a new social contract. An enormous job lies ahead to help Southern Sudan's citizenry understand the new relationship given: 1) the newness of the democratic idea here, 2) at least three generations of Southern Sudanese who have not been educated, 3) widespread illiteracy.

Indicative Questions:

- Who are the players?
- Is there a basic understanding of just what it means to be a constituent?
- Is there a basic understanding of responsibilities of elected officials to their constituents?
- Is there a basic understanding of the idea of advocacy? How wide spread is it? Does it widespread?
- What are the deficiencies in CSO ranks guiding this debate?
- What might be done at the national i.e. Juba level and at the state level?
- Is there a need to develop new CSOs/CBOs that might guide the process?
- What about citizen leadership training?
- Is the enabling environment such that citizens feel confident to speak out?
- Are people intimidated?
- Does the extant USAID and other international civil society program provide a base that can be built upon?
- Should there be a heavy dose of formal training to introduce the idea of rights and responsibilities of the governed and the governing? Where should it be introduced? National level? State?
- What is the current role of the media as it relates to citizen rights and responsibilities?
- Is there any programming oriented toward the basic social contract?

Conflict

Considerable concern exists that an upsurge of conflict might occur during the 2012–2014 time frame for which this next generation of civil society programming is being prepared. Much will have happened that has the potential to spark violence and political contestation, including the 2010 elections, the referendum on separation and the referendum on which way Abyei will go. Speculation is rampant that, assuming the North South war will not erupt, the South's common enemy will have disappeared and old South-South enmities will increasingly play themselves out. Concern about debilitating conflict is warranted.

Increasingly, in the civil society and in other subject matter sectors, there is new thinking as regarding basic functions as they relate to conflict and basic security. The theory goes that normal programming, be it in democracy or health or education or economic growth, cannot function effectively if insecurity reigns.

Indicative Questions:

- Where is conflict now going on?
- Is security a basic concern?
- What are the conflict drivers?

- What are the issues behind conflict? Grazing rights, water rights, land rights? Ethnic/tribal issues? Political power?
- Does a perception of a breakdown in traditional justice systems ever lead to conflict?
- What is the geography of conflict in Southern Sudan?
- Anything special about the Three Areas?
- What are the historic enmities?
- What can be learned from the Anyana I and II war periods?
- Is there a reliable ethnic tribal mapping capability?
- What systems are in place to deal with conflict? At the tribal level? At the national governmental level?
- Are there early warning/conflict avoidance mechanisms in place?
- Can they be strengthened?
- Is the UN peace commission work having a salutary effect?
- What is the evaluation of current international programming, e.g. the BRIDGE program as it relates to peace?
- Is food insecurity an underlying problem as it relates to conflict?
- Do people ever discuss community policing as something they would like to see?
- What about youth? What is being done to address the causes of their disaffection and to redirect their energies away from violence and criminal activity?

The team, based on its preparatory work, should discuss the various issues laid out in the SOW and, using the assessment framework and tools reference, come to agreement on how to proceed.

ANNEX 2: MISSION SCHEDULE

TABLE 1: MISSION SCHEDULE JULY 5—AUGUST 18, 2010

DAY	DATE	LOCATION/TASKS
JULY		
Monday	5	Team Planning Meeting (Juba)
Tuesday	6	Team Planning Meeting (Juba)
Wednesday	7	Team Planning Meeting—focus on methodology development and refining of tools (Juba)
Thursday	8	Interviews/meetings in Juba
Friday	9	Interviews/meetings in Juba
Saturday	10	Interviews/meetings in Juba
Sunday	11	OFF
Monday	12	Interviews/meetings in Juba—also including handover presentation by LINC'S MTE team
Tuesday	13	Brandstetter/Elgak—Southern Khordofan; Jok—Blue Nile State—Interviews/meetings
Wednesday	14	Brandstetter/Elgak—Southern Khordofan; Jok—Blue Nile State—Interviews/meetings
Thursday	15	Brandstetter/Elgak—Southern Khordofan; Jok—Blue Nile State—Interviews/meetings
Friday	16	Brandstetter/Elgak—Southern Khordofan; Jok—Blue Nile State—Interviews/meetings
Saturday	17	Brandstetter/Elgak—Southern Khordofan; Jok—Blue Nile State—Interviews/meetings
Sunday	18	Brandstetter/Elgak—Southern Khordofan; Jok—Blue Nile State—Interviews/meetings
Monday	19	Brandstetter/Elgak—Southern Khordofan; Jok—Blue Nile State—Interviews/meetings
Tuesday	20	Brandstetter/Elgak—Southern Khordofan; Jok—Juba—Interviews/meetings
Wednesday	21	Brandstetter/Elgak—Southern Khordofan; Jok—Juba—Interviews/meetings
Thursday	22	Brandstetter/Elgak—Southern Khordofan; Jok—Juba—Interviews/meetings
Friday	23	Review/refine methodology (as needed)—midterm check in with USAID
Saturday	24	Continue to review/refine methodology (as needed)
Sunday	25	OFF

Monday	26	Brandstetter/Jok/Elgak—Agok/Abyei—interview/meetings
Tuesday	27	Brandstetter/Jok/Elgak—Agok/Abyei—interview/meetings
Wednesday	28	Brandstetter/Jok/Elgak—Agok/Abyei; Schmitt—Kwajok—interview/meetings
Thursday	29	Brandstetter/Jok/Elgak—Agok/Abyei; Schmitt—Kwajok—interview/meetings
Friday	30	Brandstetter/Jok—Kwajok; Elgak/Schmitt—Wau—Interviews/meetings
Saturday	31	Brandstetter/Jok—Kwajok; Elgak/Schmitt—Wau—Interviews/meetings
AUGUST		
Sunday	1	OFF
Monday	2	Full team in Wau—interviews/meetings RETURN TO JUBA
Tuesday	3	Full Team (Juba)
Wednesday	4	Full Team (Juba)
Thursday	5	Jok/Brandstetter—Yambio; Monim—Malakal—Interviews/meetings
Friday	6	Jok/Brandstetter—Yambio; Monim—Malakal—Interviews/meetings
Saturday	7	Jok/Brandstetter—Yambio; Monim/Schmitt—Malakal—Interviews/meetings
Sunday	8	OFF
Monday	9	Jok/Brandstetter—Yambio; Monim/Schmitt—Malakal—Interviews/meetings
Tuesday	10	Jok/Brandstetter—Yambio; Monim/Schmitt—Malakal—Interviews/meetings RETURN TO JUBA
Wednesday	11	Full Team (Juba)
Thursday	12	Full Team (Juba)
Friday	13	Full Team (Juba)
Saturday	14	Full Team (Juba)
Sunday	15	OFF
Monday	16	Presentation/debrief to USAID
Tuesday	17	Full Team (Juba)
Wednesday	18	Draft report submitted to MSI and Brandstetter departs

ANNEX 3: INDIVIDUALS CONSULTED

TABLE 1: ORGANIZATIONS CONSULTED

ORGANIZATION		
		Governance & Rule of Law, JDT
<u>SaveDarfur</u>	The Enough Project	Education Basic Services, JDT
<u>EDC</u>	Min of Legal Affairs & Constitutional Development GOSS	Min. of Legal Affairs & Development GOSS
Senior Scholar	NGO Forum, Juba	
<u>NDI</u>	Sudan Council of Churches	
<u>EDC</u>	Independent	Two Trust Witness Organization
Georgetown University	<u>EDC/SRS</u>	State Government of S. Kordofan
<u>NDI</u>	Rule of Law, Judiciary System & Prisons Advisory Section, UNMIS	<u>NDI</u>
<u>USIP</u>	CRS	<u>Ry'ya Association</u>
<u>EDC</u>		S. Kordofan Civic Education
<u>USAID</u>	<u>SUNDE</u> , National Office	Min of Social Affairs, Women & Child Affairs, S. Kordofan State Govt.
	<u>NDI</u>	S. Kordofan State Govt.
Citizen Newspaper	Radio <u>Bakhita</u>	<u>HAK</u> , S Kordofan State
Sudan Council of Churches	<u>USAID/OTCM</u> , Khartoum	
Office of the President/Deloitte		
<u>CBTF Public Sector Team, JDT</u>		

AECOM
Governance & Rule of Law Unit, UNDP
UNDP
Governance & Rule of Law Unit, UNDP
UNMIS
MC Scotland
Governance & Rule of Law Unit, UNDP
Voice of Community Radio Kauda
St. Peter & Paul Catholic Church
St. Peter & Paul Catholic Church
Voice of Community Radio Kauda
MC Scotland
FM Radio, St. Peter&PaulCatholic Church
Kauda Development Assoc
Nuba Relief, Rehabilitation &

Development Organization (NRRDO)
CONCERN Worldwide
Nuba Relief, Rehabilitation & Development Organization
Govt of Warrap State
Communication Action Group; Kwach South
Min of Local Government/Warrap State
Mercy Corps
LINCS Resource Center
SPLM Radio
FM 99 Kwajok
SPLM Secretariat/ Upper Nile State

NDI
Malakal Legal Center
UNMIS
Fashoda Youth Forum/Malakal
UNMIS
Civil Affairs, UNMIS
Malakal Legal Aid Center
British Embassy Office/Juba
Women Training & Promotion (WoTaP)
NDI
UNMIS
SUNDE
SSRRC/Western Equatoria

Evangelical Lutheran Church in Sudan/Yambio
Govt. of Western Equatoria
Change Agency Association; SUNDE
NDI
SUNDE/Yambio
YWCA; SUNDE/W. Equatoria

Diocese of Yambio
NDI
Interdenominational Community of Yambio/Evangelical Lutheran Church of Sudan
SKILLS for Southern Sudan
State Radio FM 90.0
State Radio & TV
NDI

Health Workers Assoc.
SPLM
UNMIS
CSOForum
CSOForum
Abyei Youth Assoc.
Traditional Chiefs Forum
UNMIS

ANNEX 4: EXPANDED DISCUSSION OF METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Instruments

A. Getting to Answers Matrix

TABLE 1: GETTING TO ANSWERS MATRIX

Evaluation Questions	Type of Answer/ Evidence Needed (description; comparison; cause and effect) and notes on special requirements or sources of data	Methods for Data Collection		Sampling or Selection Approach (if applicable)	Data Analysis Methods (e.g., frequency distributions, trend analysis, cross-tabulations, content analysis)
		Method	Data Source		
1. What are achievements of USAID and partners?	Descriptions of goals of three partners and key achievements (from partner, GOSS, USAID, beneficiaries).	Semi-structured interviews Document review	Reports/documents of partners LINC S MTE data/analysis EDC SRS NDI; interviews with partner staff , USAID, beneficiaries, NGOs, Sudanese officials—local government/GOSS—MOIB, Other donors—Swedish, BBC, Norwegians, UN (Myra) Civil Society/Referendum Task Force (Youth Group—Referendum for my Freedom Groups doing voter education)		Content analysis
2. What is the state of enabling environment for CP and media & information freedom?	Description of current media law Government reaction to media critique, what is place of media? Comparison btn ‘enabling’ environment in North vs. South (legislation, censorship, allowances for open discussion). Perceptions of media/information freedom	Document review Semi-structured interviews Group interview	Operating legislation, rules & regulations in SSudan; SSudan gov’t officials, NGOs, media implementers, journalists, political parties, church leaders, IOs in media/civic part. Citizens Deloitte TA to MOIB UN (Sudan Magazine), Swedes, other donors involved EDC, NDI, MC LINC S Monim’s analysis Samuel Dong University students (Min of Peace and Dev) Intermedia Media Assessment	Snowball sample	Content analysis
3. Given complexity	Perception/description	Document	Operating legislation, rules and regulations at 3		

of govt systems in 3 areas, what are most effective & efficient ways for implementing partners to work in the areas? (i.e. a. What CP sectors should be targeted? b. Other IOs working in areas, synergies available? c. Sectors to be avoided?)	of how USAID programs will work in these areas post-referendum. Macro political view of 2 areas.	review Semi-structured interviews	levels of govt; interviews with govt officials, NGOs, IOs & bilaterals, citizens, church leaders NGO forum/Civil Society Task Force NDI, EDC, MC LINCS Law Society Other NGOs (not USAID funded) Veteran's Association		
4. What is nature & extent of CP across all sectors, (mapping)?	Description of decision-making process (top-down or bottom-up). Mapping of CP activities, actors, and sectors.	Semi-structured interviews Document review	Operating legislation, rules & regulations in SSudan, interviews w/ govt. officials, NGOs, political parties, church leaders, local NGOs, media, citizens, USAID, bilateral donors and IOs, US Embassy. NGO forum/Civil Society Task Force NDI, EDC, MC LINCS (Judith Hakim) Law Society Other NGOs (not USAID funded) Veteran's Association		
5. What are the constraints to effective CP, incl. capacity, access to info, resources, infrastructure and enabling environment?	Description of factors that constrain CP for various actors and populations. Description of environment for civic participation within government.	Semi-structured interviews Document review	SSudan gov't officials, NGOs (USAID-funded and non USAID-funded), media implementers (radio stations, newspapers), journalists, political parties, church leaders (radio), IOs in media civic part.—UNMIS (Myra, magazine) Ebony Janubna radio station Citizens, bilateral donors. EDC/MC LINCS/NDI program evaluations, program documents, key staff USAID—Judith DfID—Damon Bristow		Content analysis
6. a. What are opportunities to increase CP? b. What sectors are most receptive?	Identification of gaps existing between work that has been done in CP. Analysis of where further activity would be useful/productive. Recommendation of specific opportunities/sectors to	Group interview Semi-structured interviews Document review	SS govt officials, NGOs (USAID/Non-USAID), media implementers, journalists, political parties, church leaders, IOs in media civic part., Citizens, bilateral donors, USAID Professional associations Women's groups Youth associations Business associations USAID—Judith		Content analysis

	work with.		DfID Local chiefs Joint Donor Team Norwegians European Union		
7. What are other donor interventions? Possible synergies? How incorporate USAID mission wide strategic priorities?	Description of other key donor interventions. Description of potential linkages/synergies.	Semi-structured interviews Document review	USAID; other bilateral & intl. donors (UNDP, Norwegian Aid, GTZ, DFID, etc); SSudan govt officials School for Media training—Swedes JDO World Bank		Content analysis
8. What recommendations can be made about geographical targeting of USAID assistance?	Analysis of information gathered in previous questions. Recommendation on geographical targeting (ie should 3 areas continue to be supported, rural vs. urban, conflict vs. stable)		Judgment of assessment team based on research & experience		
9. What are the gender implications for CP programming?	Level of participation among women in civil society groups, women-led groups. Mapping of women's involvement (what sectors)	Semi-structured interviews Document review Group interviews	key informants/leaders of NGOs, IOs, students, women centered civic groups, church leaders, etc. Program documents/evaluations		

B. Key Participant Interview Guides

1. Interview Guide—GOSS/Political Parties

Date: _____

Interviewees—position in the government, party, etc.: _____

Introduction:

- Inform interviewees about who you are, what you're doing, how long the interview will take, etc. (Take from SOW study context/purpose)
- Define “Civic Participation”—When we say ‘civic participation,’ we mean . .
- Begin the interview following the questions below:

(Enabling environment)

1. How do you define Civic Participation and a Civil Society Organization?
2. What are the existing laws relating to civic participation that you are aware of?
 - a. Are there regulations which discuss women's involvement in government?
3. Based on the legal framework, how would you define civic participation or a civic society group?
 - a. Are there groups that are regarded as civil society groups and other which are not?
 - b. Are there areas of work (sectors) where civil society groups are allowed to work or not allowed to work? What are the restrictions?
 - c. Are women involved? How?
4. In your opinion, what is the role of a civil society group in Southern Sudan?
 - a. How would you characterize your experience with these groups?
5. How much flexibility do you have under the current laws to engage civil society groups?
6. What do you see as the constraints the area administration faces in working with civil society groups?
7. What do you feel are the priority sectors for civic participation?
(i.e. PTAs for building schools)
8. Within your sector, what donors are active in civic participation?
 - a. What are the activities, target populations, etc.?
 - b. Assessment of the activities—useful, not useful
9. USAID program/achievements—Have you had any experiences with EDC/NDI/MC LINCS programs?
10. What do you feel are some of the major achievements toward improving civil society participation?
11. What kind of assistance is needed for further developing links between civic participation/civil society organizations and GOSS/state gov?
 - a. How to include citizens in service delivery?
 - b. Allow citizens to make their needs more clear to government

(Two Areas questions)

1. How much flexibility is there under the current laws to engage civil society groups?
2. What do you see as the constraints that the area administration faces in working with civil society groups?
3. What are the opportunities made possible by the legacy of war?
4. What is your perception of the popular consultation? What do you think will come out of the process?
5. How do you see Civic Participation being engaged after the popular consultation?

2. Interview Guide—Donors UNMIS (Civil Affairs, HR, Radio Miraya) UNDP, DFID, Joint Donor Team, EC

Date: _____

Interviewees—position in the organization: _____

Introduction:

- Inform interviewees about who you are, what you're doing, how long the interview will take, etc. (Take from SOW study context/purpose)
- Define “Civic Participation”—When we say ‘civic participation,’ we mean . .
- Begin interview following the questions below:
 1. What groups are you funding/supporting; What are the objectives/activities?
 2. What is your strategy with regard to CS/CP, has it changed from over time?
 3. Do you anticipate changes in support/objectives in the post-referendum period?
 4. Which implementers have been most successful? Why?
 5. Possibilities of more donor coordination/cooperation?
 6. Engagement with supporting/addressing CS and media enabling environment issues? What are major enabling environment challenges? Do you have any strategy for resolving them?

3. Interview guide—CSOs

Date: _____

Interviewees—position in the organization: _____

Introduction:

- Inform interviewees about who you are, what you're doing, how long the interview will take, etc. (Take from SOW study context/purpose)
- Define “Civic Participation”—When we say ‘civic participation,’ we mean . .
- Begin interview following the questions below:
 1. Can you tell us what the purpose of your organization is?
 - c. Target population, sector
 - d. History, origin
 2. How do you define Civic Participation or a Civil Society Organization?
 3. What is the level of women's involvement in your activities?
 4. How do you engage women to come and work with your organization?
 5. To what extent do your activities cover women's issues? What is the level of women's involvement in your activities? 25% participation in . Legally registered assoc. must have 25% women,
 6. Do you work with other organizations (either as partners, TA, donors)?
 7. If connected to the LINC program: What kind of relationship/assistance do you have with the project?
 8. What successes have you have had?
 9. What problems has your organization faced?

- a. What are the human resource/staffing challenges you face or anticipate facing in the future? How will you deal with this?
 - b. Access to information/media
 - c. Dissemination of information/messaging—communication strategy
10. What is the nature of your organization's interaction with government?
11. What was the process you followed to become a CSO/to register/to incorporate?
 - a. Was it useful/productive?
 - b. Are there any changes to the laws/regulations/practices you feel are necessary to make this process more productive?
12. In your opinion, what is the role of a civil society group??
13. Where do you want your organization to be in 1 year?
 - a. How do you plan to get there?
14. What kind of assistance is needed for further developing links between your organizations and GOSS/state gov?
 - a. How to include citizens in service delivery?
 - b. Allow citizens to make their needs more clear to government

Two Areas questions—

1. How might your organization change after the popular consultation/referendum
2. How much flexibility under the current laws to engage civil society groups?
3. What do you see as the constraints that the area administration faces in working with civil society groups?
4. What are the opportunities made possible by the legacy of war?
5. What is your perception of the popular consultation? What do you think will come out of the process?
6. How do you see Civic Participation being engaged after the popular consultation?

4. Interview Guide—LINCS Participants

Date: _____

Interviewees—position in the organization: _____

Introduction:

- Inform interviewees about who you are, what you're doing, how long the interview will take, etc. (Take from SOW study context/purpose). Remind interviewees that the team is not doing an evaluation of their project.
 - Define “Civic Participation”—When we say ‘civic participation,’ we mean . .
 - Begin interview following the questions below:
1. How do you define Civic Participation or a Civil Society Organization?
 2. Can you give a brief description of the LINCS project?

3. What successes you have had? Which CSOs have succeeded and which groups have had problems? Why?
4. What are the problems your project has faced?
5. What has been your experience in the Three Areas? How might it change after the popular consultation?
6. Who are your main contacts in the Sudanese community?
7. What are plans for the future of LINCOS? What other CSOs might you engage with?
8. What other sectors (ie. education, health, etc.) might be expanded?
9. How were the geographic areas selected? How were sectors/CSOs chosen?
10. Do you feel that these are representative?
12. Do you feel it is possible to generalize the experiences of CSOs in these areas?
13. What is the environment for civic participation? How has it changed?
 - a. How is government critique received?

5. Interview Guide—Citizens

Date: _____

Interviewees—position in the organization: _____

Introduction:

- Inform interviewees about who you are, what you're doing, how long the interview will take, etc. (Take from SOW study context/purpose)
 - Define “Civic Participation”—When we say ‘civic participation,’ we mean . .
 - Begin interview following the questions below:
1. Is there a strong vibrant CS group? Role? How is this seen? Why aren't there strong CS—legacy of war. Environment—Paranoia? Environment of war? Weak CS?
 2. Example of CS group? What should it do?

Service delivery stronger. Immediate needs
 3. Political parties seek power; outside of CS
 4. Political parties enlarging CS participation; engaging government

EX Civic education, CS groups, Politicians-we have party members.

List of primary reasons why for CS groups and civic engagement—main reason—hold accountable to people for HR commitments and stewardship of natural resources. Hold accountable and influence . Serving people.
 5. Political parties have associated groups—women's groups, youth groups, etc
 6. Pol simultaneously CS functions as well as power functions.
 7. Pol parties ultimate advocacy groups
 8. CS means different things in different contexts

Loose definitions of CS

Most SS affiliation with tribe. Citizen's loyalty to tribe first rather than to state.

9. Civic public/primordial public duties/responsibility to both

(Implications for participation in CS)

1. Can you tell us what the purpose of your organization is?
 - a. Target population, sector
 - b. History, origin
2. How do you define Civic Participation or a Civil Society Organization?
3. What is the level of women's involvement in your activities? 25% participation in a legally registered association must have 25% women,
4. How do you engage women to come and work with your organization?
5. To what extent do your activities cover women's issues?
6. Do you work with other organizations (either as partners, TA, donors)?
7. If connected to the LINC program: What kind of relationship/assistance do you have with the project?
8. What successes you have had?
9. What problems has your organization faced?
 - a. What are the human resource/staffing challenges you face or anticipate facing in the future? How will you deal with this?
 - b. Access to information/media
 - c. Dissemination of information/messaging—communication strategy
10. What is the nature of your organization's interaction with government?
11. What was the process you followed in becoming a CSO/to register/to incorporate?
 - e. Was it useful/productive?
 - f. Are there any changes to the laws/regulations/practices you feel are necessary to make this process more productive?
12. In your opinion, what is the role of a civil society group?
13. Where do you want your organization to be in 1 year?
 - a. How will you get there?
14. What kind of assistance is needed for further developing links between your organizations and GOSS/state gov?
 - a. How to include citizens in service delivery?
 - b. Allow citizens to make their needs more clear to government

Two Areas questions—

1. How might your organization change after the popular consultation/referendum?
2. How much flexibility under the current laws to engage civil society groups?
3. What do you see as the constraints that the area administration faces in working with civil society groups?

5. What are the opportunities made possible by the legacy of war?
6. What is your perception of the popular consultation? What do you think will come out of the process?
7. How do you see Civic Participation being engaged after the popular consultation?

ANNEX 5: BRIEF SUMMARIES OF STATE DIFFERENCES

Warrap State

While insecurity remains very important as a result of Dinka-Nuer cross-border conflicts and sectional fighting within the state, it is underdevelopment and absence of basic services that people most decry. Warrap, though the president's home state, is the least developed among the 10 southern states.¹ It suffers from lack of basic infrastructure, high food insecurity, a low literacy rate, and the highest infant and maternal mortality rates in the country, among other things. Though citizens are very vocal in private settings with their criticism of the state authorities for not improving the situation, these voices have not been organized into a formal body that can sufficiently engage with the government and galvanize these voices into an effective form of civic engagement. Being largely rural, most communities have no channels of communication with the state authorities in the capital, Kuajok. There are effectively no independent media outlets, as the only independent radio station, located in the north of the state, does not have wide coverage beyond Tuic County where it is located. Access to information, coordination with civil society groups across the state, and transportation difficulties all hamper the growth of a collective platform on which to more strongly challenge or engage the state about its responsibilities.

Upper Nile State

UNS under-development issues are similar to those of Warrap State; however, UNS has the advantage of being an oil-producing state. Nonetheless citizens complain bitterly that they do not reap any benefits from their natural resources. But there is very little civic activity to organize their voices into explicit civil society activity. This situation is largely due to the environment of fear that exists and the view that any criticism of the state might be read as a stand against separation.

UNS is also one of the states most plagued by violence, both within the state between different groups of Nuer and by the presence of large units of the Joint Integrated Units (JIU) of SPLA and SAF (Sudan Armed Forces). Skirmishes have taken place since the CPA was signed and spill over into civilian areas. These also create a constant fear of larger confrontations. Widespread fear is also caused by overall tensions between Khartoum and Juba on the issues related to oil fields, border demarcation, and the presence of militias and political parties that Juba believes to be supported by Khartoum. Additionally, the formation of the breakaway SPLM-DC by Lam Akol, has now caused a situation where the many Shilluk communities in northern Upper Nile are viewed with trepidation and suspicion about their loyalty to the collective southern drive for secession. Such suspicion can easily intensify into attacks against Shilluk, especially individuals or communities are suspected of planning to vote against separation. Upper Nile is also home to a large number of southern Muslims, who tend to support a unity vote. They are not organized as a community and have limited influence or engagement with state authorities. As such they are very vulnerable to malicious rumors about their loyalty.²

Central Equatoria

CES has the comparative advantage of bordering Uganda which is the major source of imported goods and services for the south. Additionally, the state has the comparative advantage of sharing the benefits of the GOSS in Juba, which is also the state capital. An important consequence of this is that the provision of basic services by the government is much better than in other areas, particularly the schools, water and sanitation, electric power and security services. The state is also better positioned for CSOs and civic participation because of the presence of embassies and other international organizations, local and international media, international NGOs, as well as all of the national government administration. Issue advocacy and influence is much more available in Juba.

¹ Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry (MOAF) *et al.* (2010).

² Othman, Mohammed Chande (2010).

At the same time, Juba is facing all the major problems of a new, rapidly growing national capital, major population growth and consequential land tenure disputes between the indigenous tribes and recent arrivals. There are constant complaints from the Bari community about Dinka domination in government and the unregulated acquisition of land by Dinka. This is an issue that will become even more volatile over time, requiring immediate dialogue and passage of land laws. At the moment, only government agencies are trying to deal with this problem, but it needs the involvement of the local communities, through organized civil society initiatives, in order to avert future conflict.

Western Equatoria

WES has the third smallest population of the 10 states in the south, with some 619,000 people. Only Unity and Western Bahr el Ghazal have fewer people. It is in the 'green belt' of the south, receiving more rain and having better soil than other states in the south. Farming is the predominant agricultural occupation, and is the reason that most people give for why there is a minimum of inter-ethnic conflict in the state. CSOs are almost entirely service oriented, leaving any advocacy or dialogue with government authorities to church leaders, either individually or through the Inter-denominational Community of Yambio, consisting primarily of Catholics, Anglicans and Evangelical Lutherans. In March 2010, it was this group that organized public demonstrations to protest the abuse of power by the SPLA when soldiers beat school children in a protest march. Church leaders meet informally with local authorities when there are public issues of common concern.

Despite the lack of contentious issues between public officials and citizens, the population of the state has two serious security issues. Western Equatoria shares borders with Uganda, Congo and the Central African Republic (CAR). The aberrant Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), which originated in Uganda, is now operating out of the forests of the Congo and the CAR. This band of thugs has crossed borders into Western Equatoria and displaced some 25,000 Sudanese into IDP camps. Both the Ugandan Army and the SPLA have been powerless to stop them. Another security issue which troubles areas of Western Equatoria is the presence of armed, nomadic herding people, the Mbororo (a sub-group of Fulani) said to have migrated from the Western Sahel. In their pursuit of grazing land, their animals destroy crops and create conflict with the farmers. Local rumors are that the Mbororo receive assistance and encouragement from Khartoum to destabilize this southern region.

Western Bahr el-Ghazal

WBeG is a large but sparsely populated state of only some 333,000 people, the majority of whom are nomadic cattle herders. The capital, Wau, is a vibrant market town, with no indigenous dominant ethnic group but rather a multi-ethnic population of Arabs (traders), Dinka, Luo, Darfuri IDPs and Fertit (a collection of small ethnic groups living around Wau). Many of the Northerners have pro-unity sympathies, which puts them in a precarious position vis-à-vis the Southerners and the local government administration. The Northerners' situation is made more insecure in light of the recent history whereby the Fertit were recruited into an anti-SPLA militia during the war.

These caused serious tribal conflict within Wau town and resulted in the town being ethnically divided into Dinka, Juluo, and Fertit sections. In addition to the more common service delivery CSOs, there are active professional groups which are working on issues such as legal defense for women and children in court and in prisons, women's rights, support of women in the state legislature, and women's advocacy in general. Many of these groups consist of minority Fertit, who are increasingly insecure, fearing an ethnic cleansing as the referendum approaches.

ANNEX 6: CIVIC PARTICIPATION RECOMMENDATIONS ADDENDUM

Recommendation 1: Continue to support DG program civic engagement activities in the border states between the North and the South and in the Three Areas, ensuring a strong focus on peace building, conflict resolution and reconciliation.

The idea of geographic targeting is a response to the fact that most areas of the country will have similar crises of democracy and restriction of participatory governance that USAID could respond to, but can't possibly address them all. The task of the team was then to make recommendations for engagement in specific geographic locations, with justification as to why this region or locality was chosen over all others. The team's observation was that there are two ways to think through this question. One is to compare areas that have similar issues of utmost concern to the citizens and then prioritize them, giving precedence to the area whose problems are likely to reverberate across the country. The other approach is to list major concerns for citizens in all the areas covered by the assessment and then recommend the problems most suppressive of civic participation and democratic governance, in which case the spread of the problem guides which locations are chosen for programming. The problems that top the list for the assessment respondents, and which the team has identified as the main factors that weakens civic participation, were:

- Insecurity
- The political processes such as the referenda and popular consultations
- Service delivery: education, health care, clean drinking water, and roads
- Access to information
- Freedom of expression
- Human rights
- Participation in governance.

The team then tried to map all of these problems onto the area covered by the assessment and the following is the geographic spread of the problem that they came up with:

Insecurity

This was the number one issue of concern for citizens of the north-south border states of Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Warrap, Abyei Area, Upper Nile, Western Bahr el-Ghazal and Unity states. It was the problem that has most engaged the attention of the citizens and their civic associations. Insecurity was also the main issue that has distracted the citizens from engagement on other political issues of governance in these states as well as the state of Western Equatoria and the two areas of Blue Nile and the Nuba Mountains. This is what led to the recommendation to support peace-building, reconciliation and dissemination of accurate information across the border by means of radio stations. Radio stations on the current Mercy Corps-LINCS model to be located in Abyei, Renk, Bentiu, Gok Machar, would best serve the goal of building conflict resolution initiatives into all DG programs as a cross-cutting issue would be most effective. Any program design will need to be informed of the importance of conflict and insecurity, and programs have to factor in the disruptive nature of insecurity to civic participation.

Political processes

Due to the important place that is occupied by the referendum in the national psyche in Southern Sudan and by popular consultations in Blue Nile and Southern Kordofan, these political processes have engaged much of the citizens' attention, making room for the development of a participatory democracy. This is the finding that gave rise to the recommendation that this opportunity be utilized to engage with GOSS at diplomatic

level to ensure passage of important legislation soon after the referendum, if the new state were to start as a democratic neo-liberal state. This is what makes Juba so important for civic engagement.

The other issues, access to information, freedom of expression, human rights and citizens' participation in governance, are all the things that restrict advocacy type of engagement. They require support for Juba-based civic associations and those based in state capitals, with an eye to the passage of legislations that address these issues to provide an enabling environment for civic participation.

Recommendation 2: Target civic participation programming largely in the urban areas, including state capitals and with special attention to Juba as the nation's capital.

The justification for targeting urban CSOs is that Juba and the state capitals are the locations where major decisions are taken—decisions that affect the lives of rural people. We are also cognizant of the fact that rural and small town residents are currently most marginalized in a city-centered policy-making. This is the dilemma or contradiction that confronts us. On the one hand we recommend a focus on promoting urban CSOs because that is where most important policy and legislations affecting everyone are made. On the other, we make a strong case that there is a bias against rural people. So the question is how to link up rural voices to urban CSOs. The team's recommendation is a compromise that most, if not all, of these medium capacity CSOs with headquarters in Juba or state capitals, have rural reaches or chapters. Supporting them promotes direct access to government policy-making process, with the ability to communicate such policies to their rural or small town constituents or chapters. In that way, such support would develop urban groups without further marginalizing the rural associations. Furthermore, some of these rural associations that have no links with urban centers might have to join hands in order to create joint representation at the capital, gain capacity from each other and share offices.

Recommendation 4: Continue to support the CSO community but incorporate a shift in focus to “advocacy, influence, and government engagement” in the post-referendum era and ensure that the bulk of the funding and capacity building efforts are aimed at an emerging cadre of medium-capacity national CSOs and NGOs that are well-positioned to effect and influence government policy.

As part of the justification for the support for an emerging cadre of medium capacity national CSOs and NGOs, examples of specific high potential/medium capacity CSOs/NGOs are provided below. We recommend partnership between USAID and these organizations because they are the groups with the most access to the citizens, greater capacity to act as the channel for engagement between citizens and government, and ability to manage donor funding with transparency. They also represent a constituency strong enough to influence political, economic and development reforms.

- 1- Service delivery CSOs with potential for political engagement.
- 2- CSO/NGOs with the capacity to promote civic participation in political processes, rule of law, human rights, freedom of information:
- 3- Faith-based organizations that work on both service provision and advocacy:

Any further programming should take account of the following:

“Governments, as the primary regulators and leading national development actors are primarily responsible for most of these conditions, especially those relating to the regulatory framework which conditions the activity and visibility of CSOs as well as the safety of their staff and volunteers. Donors also have an essential role to play in developing an enabling environment for CSO development effectiveness. They do so through the openness that they themselves demonstrate towards CSOs, through their efforts to encourage involvement of CSOs in policy dialogue, and by virtue of the terms and conditions that they impose on CSO recipients. CSOs have identified a number of donor reforms in aid practices and architecture that would enhance CSO development effectiveness (Tomlinson, 2006). Some of these are:

- Respecting CSOs as development actors in their own right and their autonomy, even when it might be inconsistent with donor and government priorities, through consistently promoting democratic ownership.

- Prioritizing responsive funding for CSO-driven programming priorities fostering CSO diversity and autonomy.
- Assuring long-term funding for institutional strengthening of CSOs, including CSO-determined capacity building activities, networking and coalition building, and policy development and promotion.
- Limiting competition for resources and confining divisive funding mechanisms that encourage competition among CSOs (such as calls for proposals). Donors should give priority to long-term core financial support for broad institutional partnerships with CSOs where possible.
- Engaging with CSOs in dialogue on poverty reduction strategies and priorities. In the Accra Agenda for Action, developing country governments made a clear commitment to engage with CSOs.
- Holding governments to account. Providing support for CSOs to act as watchdogs to hold their governments to account for policies affecting poverty and marginalization as well as supporting democracy building efforts by CSOs enabling their primary constituents to claim their rights.
- Operational relationships need to be reviewed and simplified with a focus on long-term core and programmatic funding, requirements for accountability, reporting and evaluation.
- Investing more human and financial resources to deepen the engagement with civil society, notably through multiplying efforts to reach out to smaller local and grassroots organizations.

CSOs themselves also play a part in fostering good donor-ship practices as donors, recipients and as channels of aid funds. Northern CSOs are likely to be engaged as aid actors in all three ways. Southern CSOs are more likely to be recipients, although, in some contexts (for instance in Latin America), Southern CSOs are increasingly becoming donors and channels of aid funds themselves.

Finally, special attention should be given to the enabling environment for CSOs in fragile states or in countries affected by conflict. In these contexts, CSOs may be in particular need of protection and may often be the only vehicles for service delivery, or engaging in peace-building and reconstruction processes.”³

Recommendation 6: When USAID bilateral agreements with the North allow, support and engage with democratically-oriented CSOs and NGOs and media outlets that are well-known and have legitimacy and credibility among Sudanese citizens.

³ Open Forum for CSO Effectiveness (no date provided).

ANNEX 7: EXPANDED DISCUSSION OF GENDER

The team had a meeting with the representatives of Ro'ya, a women's development association in Kauda and also interviewed separately female members of the various civil society organizations in Kurmuk, and conducted a group interview with a large number of women in Wau.

The information on gender relations and on women comes from these interviews. What they reveal is that there is a gendered aspect to public debate about governance, the upcoming political processes, and dynamics of women's participation in all civic engagements. Traditionally, many communities in Southern Sudan socialize boys and girls differently, with a tendency to make boys more aggressive and girls submissive. This rigid definition of gender roles has had many negative consequences for women, including their political invisibility and exclusion from major political roles. Historically, women in Southern Sudan have had very limited access to political office, limited control over resources, and above all have been excluded from public forums where issues of concern for the whole society are debated.

In recent decades there has been a significant shift in this order of things. The influence of international human rights NGOs, organizations that focus on women's issues, the efforts by indigenous women's groups against these discriminatory practices, and pressures from other countries, all have prompted a change toward increased involvement of women in governance, political activism, civic participation and private enterprise. During the war, some aid agencies that focused on equitable delivery of aid brought particularly intense pressure on the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) to be more gender sensitive. Some changes were made as a result. Currently, the Government of Southern Sudan has embarked on a plan to address historical injustices against women by instituting a policy of affirmative action at every level of government. That policy calls for at 25 per cent representation of women in government. Unfortunately, many women's groups suggest that such policies only remain on the books, as there is very limited effort to overhaul the basic socialization mechanisms that are at the root of women's exclusion. The argument is that unless efforts to ensure equity are built upon a genuine conviction about the importance of gender equity in developing a prosperous and just society, affirmative action policies will accomplish little. Furthermore, any responses to the pressures to redress gender-based exclusion have been merely tokenistic, as a way for government and the male-dominated organizations to show themselves as equitable in gender terms.

Many women suggested that while the presence of a few women in activist groups is a welcome development, the presence of a few females is largely a means for some men to whitewash their exclusionary tendencies, rather than being evidence of a genuine drive to provide a platform for women's involvement. Affirmative action policies have also allowed for the flight of many women from the war-time civil society activism into government. This movement has been a mixed blessing. On the one hand, the presence in government of women with a background in activism might help drive a legislation that is friendly to women-led associations. On the other hand, the associations are robbed of much of their talent and experience.

Such is the environment in which civic participation takes place—an environment that restricts women's participation to specific issues that are more aligned to the traditional notion of what women should do. For example, even where there is a vibrant civil society activism as in Abyei or Southern Kordofan, women's involvement still focuses on the traditional areas such as women's health and poverty, and very little involvement is found in the field of politics or governance. Many women's associations and individual women indicated to the team that they are usually expected by male authority figures to simply focus on "women's problems." This means that women's commentary on governance and their critique of the justice system as well as any focus on seeking political office, joining a civic association, criticizing the state for lack of services, unemployment or efforts to challenge gendered violence, are all seen as deviating from the expected roles for women. Women have expressed a desire to get involved in these areas, but they meet with resistance from the state and from their local communities. So, while the environment for civic participation in general may be restrictive and most civic associations are faced with challenges of capacity to organize, women seem to face a triple stumbling block. They are confronted by the general restrictive attitude of the state, the issue of capacity to organize or manage funds, and by the gendered biases that undergird women's exclusion from or confinement to specific fields of activity.

It does not appear that women are waiting to be given the opportunity to become politically involved. There are many associations and activities that are the result of women's own initiatives and others that may be led by men but that have significant women's membership. This situation suggests that more and more women

are taking their rightful place in government, civil society and private enterprise. Almost all the groups and individual women who were interviewed spoke of their achievements and the challenges that they still face. Obstacles to women's civic activism are not unlike those for men. These obstacles include illiteracy, lack of funding, managerial capacity, communication problems, and access to information. The problems are only made much more grave for women than for men by the simple reality of historical injustices in education, control of resources, and the attitude of their societies that view women as appendages to men. Women face more challenges with the justice system, security apparatus, and violence. They are more likely to be clamped down on by the law enforcement agencies. Their complaints are less likely to get noted by the police, they are accorded less status by the courts, and their associations are more easily threatened with closure. When the team asked the only woman who attended the group interview in Abyei and several women in Wau about the way forward, they all suggested that growth in participatory democracy is the only solution, not just for women, but for the whole field of civil society and civic engagement. Many women also suggested that investment in women's education would sow the seeds for future vibrancy in civic participation.

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