

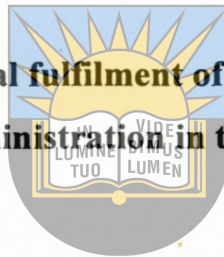
**AN INVESTIGATION OF THE ROLES OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP
IN THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE IN SOUTHERN SUDAN**

FROM 1983-2004

by

Kuol Deng-Abot Kuol

**Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
Master's Degree in Public Administration in the Faculty of Management and
Commerce,**



University of Fort Hare
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University of Fort Hare

Supervisor: Prof. M.H. Kanyane

Completed: June 2008

DECLARATION

I, Kuol Deng-Abot Kuol, hereby declared that this research dissertation submitted to the University of Fort Hare for the Master's Degree in Public Administration has never been previously submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university, that this is solely my own work in design and execution and that all material contained therein has been duly acknowledged.

Signed.....



Date:



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DEDICATION

This research prospect is faithfully dedicated to all those who have sacrificed their souls and died in the longest civil war in Southern Sudan. To mention a few: our symbolic traditional leaders and chiefs, e.g. Paramount chief Aryandhdit, Gundeng, Aguer Geng and Baeke of Agar, and Chief Ajang Duot, Chief Tambura and the list goes on to include all war victims who might not have been mentioned here. The work is also dedicated to the gallant fallen SPLA heroes and martyrs, especially the beloved heroic founder of the SPLM/A, the visionary leader, the late Dr. John Garang De Mabior.



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

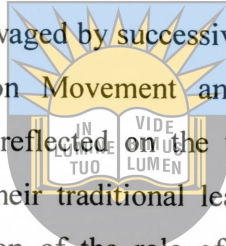
I would like to express my sincere gratitude and appreciation to the following people for their outstanding support, contributions, guidance and encouragement:

- The Lord Almighty for granting me the will, commitment, perseverance and strength to complete this research study;
- The Africa Education Trust (AET) for the financial assistance provided to further my career, especially Dr. Michael and his staff in London;
- Prof. M.H. Kanyane, my supervisor, whom I believe has enabled me to accomplish this work. He guided me through this study like a toddler taking his first steps. His patience, continual support, guidance and assistance throughout the research processes have been incredible. His patience is highly appreciated. May the Lord bless him abundantly;
- Dr Lora, Mrs Elle and Miss Shungu Gwarinda who were very supportive with continuous encouragement. Their support gave me courage and was the actual reflection of Fort Hare's alumni and togetherness in excellence. I really give them my sincere appreciation and gratitude;
- My family (Helen Abai, our only daughter and our six sons) for their resolve during the difficult days of war and during my studies. I am really proud of them;
- Our colleagues and participants for the support and respect they accorded us.

ABSTRACT

The aim of this research study was to examine the role of traditional leadership during the upsurge of civil war in Southern Sudan. There has not been much research conducted in this field especially in Abiem County. Throughout the research process the role of traditional leaders has shown an unprecedented position during the liberation struggled characterized by huge support in terms of material support, manpower and political mobilization.

The data analysis clearly reflected the roles of traditional leaders that occupied the historical perspective amidst the armed struggle waged by successive liberation movements and especially during the Sudan people's Liberation Movement and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLM/SPLA) from 1983 - 2004. It reflected on the vital roles of people's support in the liberation movement represented by their traditional leaders, chiefs, elders, spiritual leaders, women and youth. Thus the perception of the role of traditional leadership in its different categories has shown a satisfactory and effective contribution to the war of liberation in Southern Sudan.



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However, in order to achieve the objectives, an investigation was conducted with various interviewees. As stated earlier, participants ranged from the chiefs and elders to local military and civil appointed administrators, women, youth and religious leaders. The main results of the study have profoundly asserted the important role of traditional leaders in the local government and their involvement in popular decision making and in local conflict management.

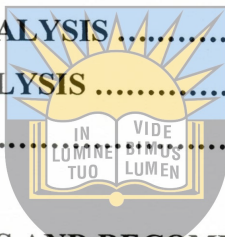
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL ORIENTATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The history of the liberation movements in Southern Sudan has consistently been either spear-headed by the traditional leaders or largely backed by them, in different ways, as required by the nature of the challenges faced by the leaders. This has been, by and large, the pattern since time immemorial. It goes back far beyond the scramble for Africa in the 19th Century. The history of the participation of all Southern Sudanese communities in the liberation struggle against their oppressors makes it imperative to investigate the role played by their traditional leaders in canvassing community participation. It necessitates investigation of the varying degrees of their contribution to the war, and the manner in which those communities preserved their cultural norms and traditions, while observing and maintaining social cohesion among diverse communities. In many instances traditional leaders have been war victims themselves, losing property and positions, as well as their lives when carrying out their traditionally recognized administrative functions during the wars of liberation. Such circumstances appear at times to be brought about by the clashes between the traditional ways of carrying out their responsibilities and the 'alien' ways, which undermine their roles.

During the colonial conquest and occupation of the Sudan by the external forces of Mohamed Ali Pasha, the founder of the Turko-Egyptian Rule in the Sudan in 1821, the slave trade intensified, and so did traditionally led resistance. Hence, many traditional leaders found themselves challenged to organize and lead their people's resistance. With the advent of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Rule in 1898 which brought down the Mahadist State in 1898, and due to the ethnic, geographical and religious diversities of the people on one hand and the vastness of the territory on the other, traditional rulers were recognized by the colonial Condominium administration as a matter of necessity to be able to relate to their 'new subjects'. The role of the traditional administration (tribal institutions in essence) gained dominance and prominence with the growing resistance against the intensifying slave trade and the

complications of the internal feuds introduced by those external forces through the introduction of the policy of divide and rule. This was the pattern of administration which was adopted by the British colonial administration in Southern Sudan, especially after the declaration of Southern Sudan as a “Closed District” in 1927. By virtue of that Act, Southern Sudan was administered in such a manner that traditional administration had a free hand to deal with the affairs of the people in their traditional ‘tribal’ formations.

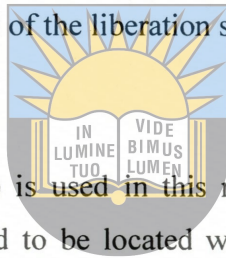
At the 1947 Juba Conference both the British and the Northern intelligentsia attempted to assign the national political role of leading the people of Southern Sudan to traditional leaders to embrace the independence of a united Sudan, but without being adequately prepared for it. Those attempts were thwarted by the emergence of a new class of educated Southern Sudanese politicians who organized the 1955 armed resistance spear-headed by Anyanya One. Although many traditional leaders were illiterate, the majority of them, if not all, supported the Anyanya Movement, which lasted for 17 years in an almost identical manner to the way traditional leaders supported the SPLM/SPLA. The importance of the role played by the Southern Sudanese traditional leaders can therefore be investigated by examining how they performed their administrative mandates during the first 17-years-long war of Anyanya One, from 1955 to 1972, and continued to do so between 1983 and 2004.

Hence, this research proposal is composed of a brief introduction to the theme of the study, the problem statement, research questions, objectives, methodology, significance of the research, as well as a preliminary review of related literature, clarification of key terms, outline of the study and bibliography.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Since its inception, the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) has in its political manifesto and policy programme, as well as in the first SPLA disciplinary laws, always recognized traditional leadership, the role of local authorities, as well as their significant support of the war efforts. Taking cognizance of the role played by traditional leadership, at the first SPLM National Convention (NC) at Chukudum in 1994, it reasserted the people at grass-root’s

participation in civil administration. Furthermore, the SPLM and SPLA often pledged themselves to recognize the role of traditional leadership. That was further manifested when it organized and invited all traditional leaders, including the traditional monarchs (kings and queens), traditional chiefs and elders from all over the diverse Southern Sudan communities, including many others from the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile, which are generally considered as part and parcel of the New Sudan. The June/July 2004 a meeting took place at Kamutu Centre in Kapoeta County where the famous Kamutu Declaration was agreed upon, which paved the way for the future role of traditional leadership and traditional authority. In this respect, the research is aimed at examining and investigating the extent and level of the role played by traditional leaders throughout the period of the liberation struggle in Southern Sudan, from 1983-2004.

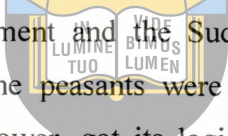


The term “traditional leadership” (TL) is used in this research proposal to describe form of leadership which is generally perceived to be located within the local communities, and with leaders acting as custodians of local authority, customs, values and traditions, and accountable to their social and community base. The term, however, is often used as an integral aspect of communal identity, culture and self-governance. The term is therefore used categorically to throw significant light on the historical perspective of the long period of war, and the absence of appropriate tools of governance in the South during the years of the upsurge of war. The term “traditional leader” is defined by Weber as “a person who was a leader by dint of hereditary and class” (Henry, 1995). This definition outlines the main focus of this research, which intends to examine the dynamics and character of traditional leadership in the liberation struggle. The focus is also on the case of the Abiem people of Southern Sudan who faced grave challenges in the two decades of conflict.

In March 2005, the SPLM’s local government secretariat (LGS) and UNDP-Sudan, commissioned a series of baseline survey workshops to identify the role of traditional authority in the future government of Southern Sudan. This indicates the importance of understanding the role of traditional leadership in promoting democracy and also in civil administration in a country emerging from conflict, that is, Southern Sudan. Based on the above, the research investigated and analyzed the role played by traditional leadership during the period of war from

1983-2004. To some extent this is also important in informing the role that they will play in the future Southern Sudan. Thus the study also focuses on investigating the roles played by traditional leaders in the liberation era in general and Abiem area in particular during the period between 1983 and 2004, which is the war period during which Southern Sudanese traditional leaders were directly or indirectly in the field of management and administration of the affairs of their people, under the administration of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement. The focus is also on specific aspects in which traditional leaders played their moral, material and political roles to fulfill the needs of the people and the Movement.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM



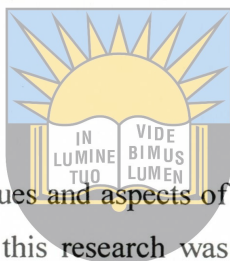
The Sudan People's Liberation Movement and the Sudan People's Liberation Army were, indeed, a peasant-based revolution. The peasants were the main reservoir from which the Movement recruited its required manpower, got its logistic support, and drew its moral and political support. Given the issues raised, it is important to register as such the significant role played by traditional leaders throughout the two decades of the Southern Sudanese resistance. The liberation army, during all the different phases of the liberation, was primarily dependent on the support of the peasantry for granting political backing, recruiting fighters, and feeding and sheltering them as well. However, this would not have been possible without the approval of the traditional leadership in ethnic Southern Sudanese communities that contributed to the liberation efforts for the self-governance of the people.

From the Northern Sudanese-oriented and supervised civil administration, the SPLM/A inherited a lot of difficulties, which hindered it from maximizing its material and moral gains. During that devastating war the SPLM/A's structures of administration remained essentially weak in most of the areas under its control in Southern Sudan. This was an overt phenomenon, which made it difficult and at times impossible for the Movement to shoulder its responsibilities and exercise its mandate towards the public during the period 1983 - 2004, especially where traditional leadership structures were not strong. Where local traditional structures were relatively strong, the Movement successfully established viable structures of administration and received huge support from the local population. It is therefore imperative to establish what roles were played

by traditional leaders in their communities, which might have assisted in managing social bases and directly influenced the support the Movement received from communities. There is an urgent need to determine the roles played by traditional leaders throughout the years of the struggle, and their ability to maintain viable local institutions to support the SPLM/A in its mission to carry out its strategies and accomplish its objectives.

It was the intention of this study to fundamentally examine and establish empirically whether the roles played by the Traditional Leadership (TL) in the liberation movement in Southern Sudan from 1983-2004 had an impact on the trend of the war effort or not.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS



Taking cognizance of the discussed issues and aspects of traditional leadership, the fundamental research question to be addressed by this research was: What was the impact of the role of traditional leadership in the era of the liberation struggle in the Abiem area of Southern Sudan from 1983-2004? This fundamental question was further divided into the following questions:

- What were the major roles played by traditional leadership in the liberation struggle in Southern Sudan?
- What were the principal factors that enhanced or hindered the functions of traditional leaders in their communities?
- Which aspects of the functions of the traditional leadership would be most relevant for effective participation in local government and service delivery?

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This research study sought to achieve the following objectives:

The general objective of this research was to establish how and to what extent traditional leadership played a role in the liberation struggle in Southern Sudan from 1983-2004.

This study sought specifically to:

- determine and examine the role played by the traditional leadership in Abiem in their contribution and moral support to the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and the Sudan People's Liberation Army, in their liberation struggle and in establishing local administration in the area;
- identify and analyze the factors affecting the functions of traditional leadership in Southern Sudan;
- assess the possible future roles and functions of traditional leadership in establishing local administrative structures and promoting good governance in South Sudan.



1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

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The importance of this research was in its intention to examine and evaluate the role played by the traditional leaders in the liberation struggle in Southern Sudan, a field of study that had received very little if any attention previously. Due to the war conditions and general insecurity that prevailed (and in some regions still exists) research on the region in general had been nearly impossible. As a region that was emerging from conflict, not many researchers and scholars had written much about Southern Sudan. In this regard, it was important to contribute to the documentation and a growing body of literature and knowledge that would in turn contribute to nation-building, reconstruction, development and the establishment of relevant civil administrative structures in the country. There had been work done by other researchers which focused on issues of customary law, but this specific study focused on public administration and management in a region emerging from conflict, which remained a pioneering field of study.

In view of the role of traditional leaders as indicated in existing literature, it was important to note what would be the interface between traditional authorities and the future government of Southern Sudan under the SPLM/A. In addition, it was essential for this study to assess how traditional leaders and their social institutions could promote good governance, popular

participation in decision-making and development. Assessing the compatibility of traditional authorities at local levels with the processes of good governance and democratization in the future government of South Sudan would provide the framework for putting forward suggestions or recommendations on how best to include traditional leadership in the current reconstruction and nation-building processes.

This research topic is quite distinct, in the sense that its theoretical framework distinguishes the traditional functions of traditional leadership in the rapidly changing environment of the liberation struggle. The findings could also be presentable in the field of public administration in African countries, where there is an interface and linkage between public administration and management on the one hand, and existing traditional leadership structures and systems of civil administration which were in place on the other hand. This topic is significant in the sense that it is necessary to understand the role played by traditional leaders during the liberation struggle in order to inform their participation in the future government of Southern Sudan. Such legitimacy may therefore indicate their ability to develop local institutions and allow effective participation in local governance processes and facilitation in reconstruction and socio-economic development. This makes the topic peculiar and indispensable for study and exploration in order to lay down propositions for the benefit of public administration and literature in the developing world.

1.7 CLARIFICATION OF KEY TERMS

The following are some of the key terms used in this study:

- **Traditional leadership:** This refers to a position of inherited power and authority or ability to influence others in order to achieve a common goal in the community.
- **Traditional authority:** This is used to denote the form of authority which is basically perceived to be within the local community, which therefore reflects local customs, laws, history and their social being.
- **SPLM/SPLA:** Sudan People's Liberation Movement and Sudan People's Liberation Army.
- **Movement:** This is frequently used throughout the research to indicate the SPLM/A.

- **Payam:** This is an administrative unit equivalent to a district. It was derived from the administrative structures of the great Kingdom of Cush.
- **Buma:** This is the smallest administrative unit and functions at village level.
- **County:** This is a province.
- **NSCC:** New Sudan Council of Churches
- **Cdr.:** An abbreviation for the Commander who commands an army unit from a brigade to a division. During the liberation the SPLM/A combined all the ranks of Lt. Col., Colonel, Brigadier, Maj. General and Lt. Gen. into the rank of Commander.
- **Wentnom:** This is a Dinka word which means leading.
- **Anyanya Movement:** **Anyanya** was the name of the first Southern Sudan Movement which later signed the famous Addis Ababa Accord in 1972 with the government of Sudan. **Anyanya** is a word derived from ... and means 'poison'.
- **Maraheel:** This is an Arabic word which means 'mobile Arab nomads'.
- **INC:** Interim National Constitution.
- **UNDP:** United Nations Development Programme
- **CPA:** Comprehensive Peace Agreement.
- **INC:** Interim National Constitution for the Republic of Sudan

1.8 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

This research study consists of six chapters.

Chapter One: Introduction and General Orientation. It deals with the problem statement of the study, background, research questions, objectives and significance of the study.

Chapter Two: Historiography of the Abiem Social Community, including a literature review.

Chapter Three: Literature Review. This chapter also comprises the role players in the study, research methods and procedures, data collection and data analysis.

Chapter Four: Research Design and Methodology.

Chapter Five: Presentation and Analysis. This chapter includes classification of traditional leaders, data analysis of TLs' roles in the liberation and their impact, and the future role of TLs in relation to local government structures.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations. This chapter provides a summary of the study, its limitations and suggestions.

1.9 CONCLUSION

It is a historical fact that resistance of the people of Southern Sudan was anchored in the traditional societies' backing throughout the olden times. The resistance was first against the British rule in many different parts of Southern Sudan and against Sudan's successive central governments. This chapter has encompassed a brief introduction to the theme of the research study, the background of the study, the problem statement, the research questions, objectives, methodology, the significance of the study and the literature review.

The chapter has also defined traditional leadership as the form of leadership that exists within the traditional societies based on traditional hereditary customs and values. The historiography of Abiem social communities was fundamental to all aspects of the chapter.

The literature review basically focuses on the main theories of leadership with a normative framework. Relevant literature on and references to public administration and management, as well as SPLM/A documentation were studied.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP IN SOUTHERN SUDAN

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the examination of the impact of the role of traditional leadership in enhancing the war of liberation in Southern Sudan and specifically in the Abiem area, attempts have been made to review the related literature. Furthermore, it is a fact that over so many years the controversy over the role of traditional leadership has been an issue in all contemporary African countries. In the pre-colonial and post-independence eras in African countries, the roles of traditional leadership and traditional authority have been identified as the only institutions that govern the majority of African rural areas in general and in Sudan in particular.


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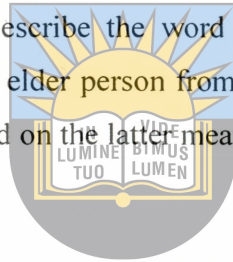
In this context Southern Sudan, being part of Africa, has continued to rely on hereditary traditional leadership in most of its various societies. Even during and after the Condominium British-Egyptian rule, the old chieftaincies continued to be recognized in the South. Deng (2004:189) explains that ‘the organizational structure and mode of operation of the Movement itself draw on the local cultures’. Thus the review has been centered mostly on different perspectives of theories of leadership, particularly on Weber’s classical view on traditional leadership, as well as Guru’s theories of leadership perspective.

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE ABIEM DINKA

The Abiem Dinka is one of the components of the great Nilotic Dinka, which is known historically as one of the largest tribes in the Sudan and the first in Southern Sudan. The Dinka (Jieng) tribe is reported to be 11% of Sudan’s total population and 50.4% of the population of Southern Sudan (Ahmed, 2002:17). The Abiem Dinka is said to have descended from the great Rek-Dinka, which is the largest Dinka component in Southern Sudan, in spite of the fact that the Abiem tribal community had been fragmented into three: Abiem-chek which remained in Tonj,

another part in Apuuk (in Gogrial area) and the major part known as Abiem-Baar which is the subject of this research study. The latter is located in Northern Baher el Gazal, in the area known as Eastern Aweil (Abiem).

The word Abiem has been very controversial even during the research questions and interviews. The word 'Abiem' remains elusive in the entire history of the Abiem traditional communities. During various discussions and debates with chiefs and elders there were different opinions about the definition of the word Abiem. Some attributed the name to a woman. In Dinka tradition most of the families' names are either attributed to historical leaders or to a famous elder woman within the family. Other versions describe the word Abiem as a dense group, which was accorded this large community by an elder person from a section known as Pahol. In different parts of Abiem many agreed and settled on the latter meaning as the actual definition of the word Abiem.



During the historical movement of various Dinka tribal groups, the Abiem community group is orally said to have migrated from the East and crossed the White Nile, westwards, to settle in different parts of the Baher al-Ghazal region. Geographically the Abiem area is divided into three, according to topographical features:

- a) **Gok** (high land), 60%. It is western Abiem which is inhabited by four sections: Akenyjok Amou; Wondiing Achol; Dutlwit; and Akwany Ngor. These four sections were under one paramount chief, called Dau Rual with Alama thiith (Red Strip), which is the sign indicating the seniority of the Chief. But during the SPLM/A war, each section was made independent with its own executive chief for the same reason as stated earlier.
- b) **Gog-chel** (Middle highland), 25%. Its main centre is Wanjok, which is the court centre for the four sections of Won Anai, Makwac Athian, Ajoung-thii Ton Tong, and Apoth Bol. These four sections were under Chief Makwac Kuol. But again each section was made independent with an executive chief. Each section has Mataem, each subsection has Alama-Chol and each subgroup is under Mareng.

- c) **Toc** (mostly swampy area), which is about 15%. Toc is the smallest area with alluvial soil, loamy soil extending towards mid-high land and it is the smallest section, composed of two sections: Lou and Ajuang.

The Abiem people are mostly agriculturist and pastoralist at the same time. These characteristics subject the area to the recurrence of ethnic rivalry over pastures and water. And more importantly, expose the area to Baggara or Arab al maraheel repeated attacks.

The whole Abiem tribe has eleven (11) big sections, which means that it has 11 executive chiefs with Alama thiith (Red strip). The following are the names of the Abiem tribal community, composed of eleven major sections:



- a) Ajuong Malong Yor (Ajongdit);
- b) Lou Aguer Geng,
- c) WunDeng,
- d) Agurpiny,
- e) WunAnai,
- f) Makwac,
- g) Apoth,
- h) Ajuongthii,
- i) Akenjok,
- j) WunDiing,
- k) DutLwit

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Originally there were seven major sections before they were split into eleven sections in the 1990s. These seven sections were: 1. **Makwac**, which is currently subdivided into five sections (Makwac, WunAnai, Alweith, Kotchuar and Apoth); 2. **Ajuongdit** (Agurpiny and WunDeng); 3. **Lou**; 4. **WunDiing**; 5. **Dutlwit**; 6. **Ajuongthii**; and 7. **Akenjok** (Garang Rual and AkonGai). The redivision was not accepted by the traditional leaders at the time. It was imposed by the SPLM/A military administrators and judiciary in order to ease the administration and control of

larger sections and possibly to suit the needs of the administrative establishments in Aweil East (Abiem).

The area of research was in the Abiem centre known as Wanjok, where the main court centre was previously based. This area is vital for three reasons. First, it was the court centre for the Abiem tribal sections, where all the traditional rituals and activities including courts were handled. Secondly, it was where the Anyanya Two established a guerrilla movement late in 1982. Thirdly, in 1985 the SPLM/A made it a military concentration area for the defence of Northern Baher al-Ghazal and a recruitment area up to Malual-Dinka, known as Aweil West.

The area had frequently been subjected to man-made disasters such as brutal attacks, random killing and abduction of women and children into slavery by government-sponsored Arab militias on the one hand and to natural disasters (drought and famine in 1988/89 and 1997/1998) on the other. The preceding factors motivated this study in order to examine the roles played and levels of support provided by the traditional leadership during those terrible days of the war of liberation in Southern Sudan in general and in the Abiem area in particular.



Historically, the Abiem area was subjected to frequent war conditions as a result of Arab el Maraheel attacks (armed, mobile Arab nomads on horseback). Jacob Akol (2005:19) narrates this in his book: “There were stories of sudden and savage attacks on villages in Northern Baher al-Gazal and Upper Nile in 1988. Crops were destroyed, cattle killed or looted as well as young children and women. The results of those attacks were the widespread massacres and destruction during 1987 and many were taken as booty in what Arabs were told and believed was a Jihad (holy war).” In this context it is worth noting some of the following historical perspectives experienced by the Abiem traditional community:

- a) The establishment of a guerrilla movement (A-2) in Northern Baher el- Ghazal in Aweil East in late 1982. That happened as a result of the occurrence of many incidences at the hands of the Arab el Maraheel, sponsored by the government. The formation of Anyanya Two (A-2) in Baher el-Gazal region was basically done with the full support of the local people in Abiem in conjunction with the Abyei Liberation Movement. Evidence is that the cost of purchase of arms was met from the

contributions of the population across different sections and subsections of the Abiem tribal communities. Thus the inception of the guerrilla Movement in Abiem came as a result of the outcry from the population who were frequently subjected to cruel attacks, the killing and unabated abduction of women and children who were taken into enslavement in the North. Under those circumstances, most of the youth embraced the challenge and spontaneously took up arms in order to defend themselves.

b) In 1985-86, the Arab el Marahileen swept the area, destroyed and looted everything, and abducted children and women. Men, including the aged, were promptly killed.

c) From January to May 1986-87, the government forces burned down many suburban areas of Aweil town, affecting the indigenous people of the town and that led the population to desert the town. Many went to the countryside. The rest joined the rebellion, as many others were compelled to migrate to Northern Sudan. That incident was followed by severe drought and famine in the whole area. More than 60,000 were reported dead. Despite the high death toll, the government refused to extend relief services to the area, and used the shortage of food and hunger as a weapon against the population and forced the SPLM/A to capitulate.

d) In 1988 the famine situation became severe in the whole of Baher el-Gazal region. UNICEF reported that around 200,000 to 300,000 had died, although there were no authentic statistics. That figure was far less than the actual speculation, however, which put it to be higher than the estimated one. The hunger and starvation had immense repercussions in memory of the people and on the history of the Northern Bahr el-Gazal region.

e) By 1989 an agreement had been reached between the SPLM, GoS and OLS to urgently extend rescue and relief services to the area. The Government of Sudan was finally obliged, under huge pressure from the International Community, and after many lives and much property had been lost, to give in and allow aid to be brought in.

- f) In 1996/1998, Karbino Kuanyien's insurgency in the area caused unprecedented devastation. The fighting between Karbino's forces and the SPLA did not spare the lives or property of the local population. It is worth noting that Karbino's forces were also sponsored by the Government. As a result of intensified and extensive fighting engendered by the renegade Karbino, the people were the 'grass' to suffer in the process.

Thus the narrative of the historical perspective indicates that war conditions had an immense effect on the people of Abiem. The Abiem population suffered as a result of the loss of lives incurred and many chiefs lost their lives during the duration of the war, at the hands of the government and its sponsored militias.



The following are the names of chiefs who became victims of the civil war, to mention but a few:

- a) Paramount Chief Aguer Geng, (Tou chief) killed in 1965 during A-2 by the Government army.
- b) Paramount Chief Aturjong Anyuon, killed in 1965 by the government army.
- c) Chief Kongdaire Dut Jok from Aweil South, killed by the Sudanese army in 1983.
- d) Chief Athian Mawien Athian who was a court president, killed in 1985 by the government army.
- e) Chief Aguer Diing Diing, a court president, was also killed in 1985 by the government army.
- f) Spiritual leader, Yol Athiil, killed in 1985 by the government army.

2.3 ESTABLISHMENT OF CIVIL ADMINISTRATION IN THE AREA

The South, since time immemorial, has never witnessed actual local government structures on the ground. Prior to the British Colonial administration, the South lived in a form of fragmented native communal structure where chiefs had absolute authority and power. The colonial

authorities did not change those structures, but relied heavily on the native establishments and used them for their own influence.

After conquering Sudan and after having consolidated its power and authority, the British adopted an Anglo-Saxon policy, which was based on flexibility and leniency, in order to avoid social friction with the indigenous people. Thereafter they established a system of indirect rule where they built and adopted what was known as 'Indigenous Local Authority' in 1920. This is stressed by Duncan (1920): "It is to give the local tribal heads and their tribal leaders judicial and executive powers" (Translation) (Yusif, 2003:61).

Since then the system of local government remained exclusively under the local authorities as part and parcel of the state administration and policy. The role of the British administrators at that time was more or less supervisory, in order to collect revenues and maintain security.

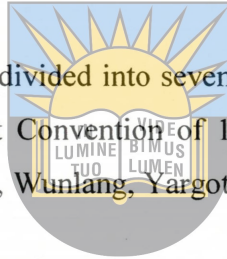
In 1927 the British drafted the law called "Sheikhs' Authorities Ordinance". This law was formulated specifically for the nomads who were highly mobile, but it was also adopted for the areas which were more or less socially and economically developed such as al Jazira in Central Sudan (Yusif, 2003:62). The law was based, however, on the transfer of judiciary and security powers to tribal chiefs in order to enhance local administration in their respective localities.

It was apparent that the SPLM/SPLA started as a Politico-Military Liberation Movement. Its main objectives were to destroy the successive minority governments that came and went in Sudan, and to install a democratic government, free of oppression and injustices, and with respect for human rights and development. This clearly explains the principal objective of the SPLM, which proclaimed the formation of 'a New Sudan, that shall be built on a free, just, democratic and secular system of governance based on the free will and popular participation of all the people of the New Sudan' (Vision and Programme, 1998).

Before the SPLM/SPLA brought effective control to some areas, the government had never been able to control the rural areas and for this reason the chiefs took over the reins of administrative management on the basis of native traditional leadership, in order to fill the vacuum. That

situation continued until the SPLM extended its influence to many areas, including Aweil East County (Abiem area).

Hence, with the expansion of SPLM/A, and the liberation of many territories and areas, it became obligatory for the Movement to have some sort of civil administration. To address the problem, a combined civil and military administration was formed in 1988, based entirely on native and provincial structures and Zonal areas of military command, as it was known. This reflected the fact that 'Old chieftaincies continued to be recognized. New ones were created and elections to chief's courts were regularly conducted' (Johnson, 2003:105).

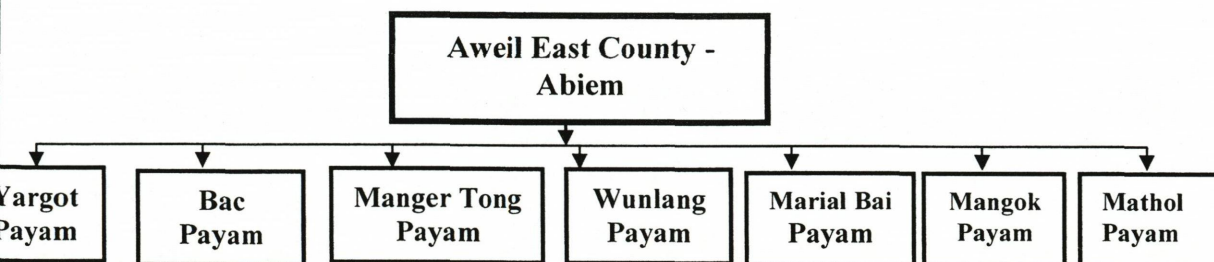


Administratively, the Abiem area was divided into seven Payams in accordance with the SPLM civil structures adopted after the First Convention of 1994 in Chukudum. These Payams are known as Madhol, Baac, Mangar Tong, Wunlang, Yargot, Malual-bai and Mangok.

Before the convention, the SPLM/A had established what was known as Civil Military Administration (CMA). Under that structure the CMA system became more rigid as there were no defined roles for the newly appointed military administrators. The roles of chiefs were almost scrapped and subjugated to the military authority.

Corruption appeared for the first time in the Movement and apparently it was rampant in many areas. That developed into a state of warlord-ism, which had started to breed in some areas in the Movement. With the advent and introduction of a new administrative structure based on the Chukudum resolutions, the situation became more flexible and essentially acceptable to the people all over the SPLM/A-controlled areas.

Figure 1: Structure of Civil Administration of Aweil East



The SPLM local government system was based essentially on the civil authority of the New Sudan established in 1994 by the Chukudum Conference. An appointed commissioner, deputized by an executive director, always heads the county or province. Under the County, there are some Payams or Districts. They range from 4 -7 payams, and under each payam there are several villages or councils known as bomas. It is worth noting that it has been difficult to differentiate between the SPLM structures as organizations and the structures of local administration. Up to this moment of the research, despite the establishment of the system of governance, the ambiguity remains in place in Southern Sudan's ten states under the government of Southern Sudan.

2.4 CLASSIFICATION AND FUNCTION OF ABIEM TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

Through the interviews it was revealed that the informants accepted the nature and culture of traditional leadership in Dinka society as hereditary and hierarchal within the domain of the community. This is represented in Abiem social communities as explained below:

2.4.1 Executive Chief (Alama Thiith)

Alama Thiith is simply a red strip of cloth wrapped around or worn by the chief in accordance with his status in the tribe. It was introduced by the British authorities. The Abiem tribal community currently has fourteen Alama Thiith. In many instances the chief with a red strip is

identified as Paramount Chief, and below him there is a range of five to ten (5-10) subsection chiefs. At this level of chieftainship, the chiefs have the following roles:

- Chief of the tribe, which is the central authority and is regarded as the symbol of the tribe in all aspects, including the life of the tribal community.
- Custodian of traditions, cultures and norms.
- Presides over all customary and traditional cases of capital nature.
- Liaises between the SPLM/A in terms of political mobilization, recruitment, food mobilization, intelligence and involvement of ‘Amac-weng’ in combat and security of the land.
- Is the sole decision maker and the last authority within the tribe or community.
- Presides over ritual powers.



2.4.2 Assistant Executive Chief (Mataem)

He is sometimes called Bany-wut or chief of the section. He is the deputy chief with lesser powers, and only acts in the absence of the chief. He always wears a white and black strip to identify his level of chieftainship, whose responsibilities and functions are to assist the chief and supervise the various subsection chiefs in carrying out the tasks given to them. During the liberation he was the registrar and the logistician, who was accountable for the management and any misappropriation of mobilized resources for the SPLM/A in its war efforts.

- **Chief or Bany-wut (Alama chol)**

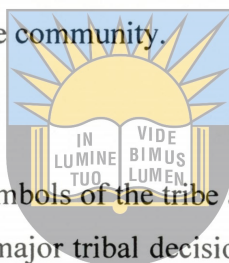
This is the 3rd category of chieftainship within the community. He is the subsection traditional chief. His functions always centre on the activities entrusted to him by the Paramount Chief, the ‘Alama thiith’, apart from the responsibilities of the clan. He does most of the work within the tribal community, because he is the one directly involved in the day-to-day activities within the community.

- **Sub-chief (Mareng) (white & black strip)**

This is the fourth category and the sub-clan leader. His role centres on the direct management and administration of the daily activities of clans and sub-clans up to the family level within

the community in villages. He is the one who knows the community well as he routinely interacts with them.

In terms of local administration, these levels of chieftaincies were recognized during the Anglo-Egyptian rule as administrative units under the paramount chief. The establishment went down to the chief of the section and subsection down to the head of the village. However, these traditional structures were the ones that coordinated all activities geared towards war efforts. These efforts were a form of manpower mobilization, the soldiers who melted into the civil population and the new recruits, food mobilization in all its categories, such as grain, cattle, goats and any other form of food items at the disposal of the community.



2.4.3 Elders

They are the traditional and cultural symbols of the tribe and communities. They always form an important group around chiefs during major tribal decision-making, as well as in handling cases in courts. They are more respected within the community, as the resource group.

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2.4.4 Spiritual leaders (Spear-masters/Religious leaders)

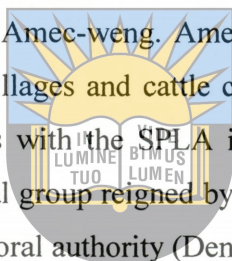
Spiritual Leaders: These leaders are a very influential group within the society. They inform the mystical and religious beliefs of the people. In Dinka, chiefs cannot do anything effectively without divine spiritual power. Through spears the chief or ‘Bany-de-ring’ conducts an oath in mysterious cases, in order to rule the case. During wartime they were at the forefront against anything that might befall the community. Their work was essentially to give early warning predictions to the people, protect them from diseases and conduct safety rituals for the army when they advanced towards the enemy. This was stated fairly and explicitly that ‘While the clan members lived in solidarity and prospered in the belief that their interests were being protected in mysterious ways by their divine relatives, the symbol of these “divinities” were also being protected by members of the clan from total destruction by those who do not hold them sacred’ (Akol, 2005:31).

Religious Leaders: It is worth mentioning that Southern Sudan is largely inhabited by rural pagan and town Christian dwellers, with a percentage of Muslims. As in the past, traditional

beliefs overshadow the rest of beliefs. Despite all that, the religious leaders always remain with the people in the churches and under trees where the bulk of the rural people say their Sunday prayers.

2.4.5 Riic or line-age leaders (the youth)

In Dinka society the age group (Riic), especially, the young line-age generation, is always taken as the vanguard and army of the tribe. During the war of liberation, their role became much more central to the society. This could be illustrated by how the SPLM/A drew their manpower from among them. Those who remained at home had the task to look after the homestead and cattle camps, which were later formed into Amec-weng. Amec-weng (cattle protectors) had as their principal role that of protecting the villages and cattle camps from the Arab intruders. During war these young groups joined hands with the SPLA in fighting the enemy and its militias. Traditionally leadership in Dinka social group reigned by persuasion and regulated the militancy of the youth warrior age-set through moral authority (Deng, 1995: 230).



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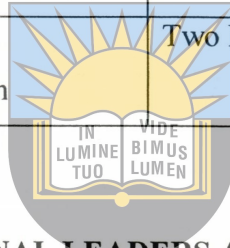
2.4.6 Women

This group was the major supporting group during the war. At the same time they were the most vulnerable and victims of all the disasters in the area. Women were the main basis in supporting the war. Firstly, women were the major force in terms of physical numbers and therefore, whatever resources were being mobilized for war efforts were their products. Secondly, they paid dearly during the war. They were killed in cold blood, raped, abducted as slaves by the al-maraheel and Arab militias. Thirdly, they were the servants of the proclaimed revolution army led by the SPLM/A. They cooked, they were porters (carriers) for the army, together with the young males and girls of food and munitions, and sometimes many young women were forced into marriages by the same revolutionary army. The table below explains the Abiem community structure.

Table 1: Aweil East County - Abiem Traditional Structure

Payam	Sections	Exec. Chiefs
Bacc	a. Makwac section b. Wun Anai section	Two Exec.Ch

Yargot	a. Akenjok	One Exec.chiefs
Mangartong	a. Ajongthii section b. Apoth section	Two Exec.Chiefs
Wunlang	a. Apoth section	One Exec. Chiefs
Malual bai	a. Wundeng section b. Lou section	Two Exec.Chiefs
Mangok	a. Wundiing section b. Dutlwit section	Two Exec.Chiefs
Madhol	a. Gurpiny section b. Ajongdiit section	Two Exec.Chiefs



2.5 THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS AND THEIR IMPACT ON THE LIBERATION

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Over the years of the liberation struggle both the people and the SPLM/A traditionally fought together in the area. It is a fact that the traditional authorities had all along been central to the civil wars. The famous Mou Test Tong rightly explains this by saying: ‘That a guerrilla force without people is like fish without water’. The SPLM/A depended entirely upon and survived because of the huge support it received from the people. In that respect, the following roles illustrate the degree and magnitude of the role of traditional leaders during the armed struggle in South Sudan:

a) Management and administration of the people

There are considerable differences between establishing management and administration of a Dinka social community and other societies that are administered or ruled by monarchs. In Dinka societies the management and administration of the people are more decentralized and disjointed, than that of the Shilluk and of Kingdoms. Historically and traditionally, Dinka societies are usually governed by a strongly entrenched traditional authority based on autonomous kinships or tribal communities, who depend strictly on cultures, norms and values. These cultures and values

regulate the interaction between the different communities. Deng illustrates this: 'that the Ngok Dinka like any other Nilotic societies is organized on the basis of territory, clan or linkages and operational or lineage-setting' (Deng, 1995:250).

During war times and under the umbrella of the SPLM civil structures, the status quo remained unchanged, but more importantly, they depended absolutely and effectively on the structures of the traditional authorities. Furthermore, in the whole war era the SPLM/A provided no services to the people, but the traditional authorities were the government of the day in disguise. They strictly administered and managed the people, financed and delivered all services to the liberation army and administration of the SPLM in all contexts. That was the pattern of the war situation and that is probably why the SPLM had the vision to recognize the role of traditional leadership, all along. Deng (1995:11) also illustrates that: 'The colonial regime aimed at reversing traditional trends without radically changing traditional values and institutions. It replaced segmental authority with power concentrated in the chief who continued to perform all governmental functions. The sub-tribal chiefs, the sectional chiefs and the decent authorities were left responsible only for the administrative function and were stripped of the judicial and executive functions now vested in the paramount chief, and his deputies'

b) Courts

The judiciary system was among the few institutions given special attention by the SPLM/A during the war. That may explain how important the court systems were in the management and administration of traditional societies. It is through the courts that the roles of traditional leadership had an immense impact on the people. At the same time it was the court revenues that financed and supported the war efforts and the functioning of traditional authorities as well as the civil structures which were in place by then. The table below indicates the New Sudan court system/structure in SPLM-controlled areas in the form of a bottom-up structure:

Table 2: New Sudan Court System

<u>Court of Appeal</u> : The higher court in the states/regions.
<u>County Judge</u> : The professional judge who presides over the referral cases from the payam judge.
<u>Payam Judge</u> : Composed of a three-man committee of elders.
<u>Regional Court</u> : Composed of a five-man committee, headed by the executive chief known as Akut-thiec (a group of five).
<u>Executive Chief</u> : Presides over lower courts with his sub-chieftaincy.

In the court system it was apparent that the traditional leaders played an essential role in the three levels of the court system, from the Executive Chief to the Regional and Payam Judge. Furthermore, the court revenues were divided up in the form of percentages, with the army taking the highest percentage:



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- a) SPLM county authority: **30%**
- b) Army (SPLA): **40%**
- c) Judge/Courts: **30%**

The same system of percentages was found in all the income-generating sectors such as market revenue collection and airstrip collection fees. Hence, from a simple mathematical calculation one could see how important the issue of supporting the war effort was during the liberation struggle. From the allocation of revenue it was also apparent that there was no allocation for public services, which confirmed that everything was spent on the war effort.

c) Mobilization of manpower and logistics

As mentioned earlier, there had always been pre-arranged mechanisms for effecting recruitment within the local population. That was done regularly through the following mechanism. The SPLM local administration, which was the intermediary between the army and the traditional authority, usually received directives for the mobilization of food and recruits. Even old soldiers who might have deserted and returned home or those who might have been given official leave or who were on medical vacation were sought out. In such circumstances, the local

administration sat with the traditional authority and designed a manner in which the needed forces or quantities of food would be collected. Whenever there was need of food for freedom fighters, the chiefs and other community leaders called a meeting and indicated to all levels of chieftaincies how much food was to be collected, depending on the size of each section and subsection under Abiem's fourteen executive chiefs. The food was always in the form of cereals, groundnuts, sem-sime and bulls. At every stage of mobilization, any conscripted manpower was taken straight to the mobilization centers under strict control of the SPLA area command. This command in turn would inform the military HQ of any further directives. The process continued until the new recruits reached the intended destination.

d) Political mobilization

The SPLM/A's war against the central government of Sudan was the result of many internal and external factors. Among these factors was the socio-economic and political history of the country since independence in 1956. Sudan's political history had witnessed unabated civil unrest since shortly before and after independence. Furthermore, the elite who took over the reins of power in Sudan ignored the basic social and ethnic diversity of the Sudanese. Such a beginning had an immense impact on the political setup in the country as it engineered spontaneous rebellion throughout the country. The masses and their traditional leaders were no exception, but more importantly, they became politically motivated to wage the traditional wars in the South and other marginalized areas of the Sudan, the Nuba Mountains and blue Niles, as well as Eastern Sudan, and currently in Darfur.

In every context, the war in the South and elsewhere in the Sudan is the result of the misrule of the sectarian and military juntas who took over power in Khartoum. During the first civil war the chiefs suffered heavily at the hands of both the government and the guerrilla forces. The same conditions existed even during SPLM/A war, though the SPLM/A leadership was very conscious of the TL position in the struggle, unlike in A-1 and A-2.

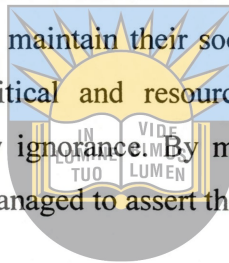
e) Tax collection

- Market Revenues: Market revenues were the main source of income of local administration, as well as financing the rebel forces.

- Liberation Tax: This tax was imposed annually on the civil population in addition to food collection, which was compulsory for every household, especially in the Bahr al Ghazal region.
- Occasional contributions: These contributions were sometimes compulsory, especially during emergency operations or urgent need for food or fuel for operational purposes.

f) Peace initiatives

One of the fundamental roles of traditional leaders was to foster peace, harmony and reconciliation among their respective social communities. This task was historically enrooted and through centuries they had managed to maintain their social cohesion. This stemmed from the realization that, apart from their political and resource-based causes, some of the inter-community conflicts were triggered by ignorance. By means of re-affirming their social and cultural values, the traditional leaders managed to assert their cultural cult.



Thus the Abiem tribal communities managed to preserve their social being and peace among themselves during the hard times of the armed struggle, through traditional peer mechanisms. They also maintained their relationships with other neighbouring communities, both peaceful and hostile, such as Baggara and Musiiriya Arabs on the Northern frontiers.

The roles which might have been played by the traditional leaders and their respective communities during the protracted SPLA war are listed as follows:

- a) Political and moral support
- b) Food in all categories
- c) Transportation, porters (older boys and girls)
- d) Financial support
- e) Purchase of arms and medicine
- f) Shelter
- g) Free marriages to be settled when the situation allowed. Until now some marriages are pending.
- h) Peace and reconciliation tasks

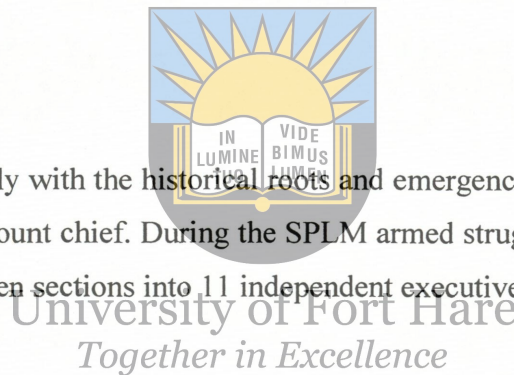
2.6 CHARACTERISTICS OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS

The following were the characteristics of traditional leaders:

- a) Clan background (heredity)
- b) Justice
- c) Spiritual power (sacred)
- d) Honesty
- e) Personality cult
- f) Authority

2.7 CONCLUSION

The chapter has dealt basically with the historical roots and emergence of the Abiem community as an entity under one paramount chief. During the SPLM armed struggle the Abiem community became fragmented from seven sections into 11 independent executive chieftaincies.



Historically the Abiem community experienced many events which ranged from manmade disasters, such as insecurities, massacres, abductions and burning down of villages to ashes by the Northern armed militias supported by the central government in Khartoum. The other disasters were the unabated droughts and famine, notably the 1988-89 famine which cost many lives in Northern Aweil and the whole Baher al Gazal area.

The study has also shown that the case study of the Abiem traditional societies was significant in every aspect, in terms of the roles played by their traditional leaders in supporting the armed struggle, politically, physically and logistically. Their contribution in terms of manpower was overwhelming, even in terms of loss of lives during the war of liberation. Therefore such an enormous support to the SPLM/A armed struggle upheld the banner of the liberation up to the time when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this context there have been specific references to patterns of leadership. The literature review will concentrate on theories of leadership in general and on traditional leadership in particular. The literature review will provide a theoretical framework as well as themes of analysis and interpretation of the subject under examination. It is imperative in this study to underline explicitly the importance of defining a theory. Although there are many definitions, the context remains the same. Mouton and Marais (1996:142) quote Kerlinger, who defines theory as:

‘a set of interrelated constructs (concepts), definitions, and propositions that presents a systematic view of phenomena by specifying relations between variables, with the purpose of explaining and predicting phenomena’ (Kerlinger, 1973:9).

Furthermore, Warrant Bennis asserts that leadership is ‘influencing, guiding in direction, course, action, and opinions’. Bennis is also known for his observation that, ‘Leaders are people who do the right things; managers are people who do things right.’ (in Thomas, 2006:42).

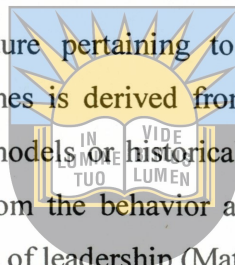
To complement the definition it would be necessary to consider different models of leadership and applicable approaches to a given style of leadership. The study on leadership is also defined as ‘a management function’ or as ‘a complex phenomenon involving the leaders, the followers and the organization’ (Smith & Cronje, 2002:276).

Basically, the literature review will further provide the empirical concept of the role of traditional leadership in its environmental space and time. This will also give the inside of the study which will eventually illuminate the overall objective, the research question, methodological orientation, the case study, the data analysis and interpretation, as well as the findings of the research study. The literature review will therefore focus mainly on the following:

- Overview of theories of leadership
- Contextualization of the concept of traditional leadership
- Comparative analysis of the roles of traditional leadership in general and in Southern Sudan in particular.
- Factors affecting the roles of traditional leadership.

3.2 OVERVIEW OF THEORIES OF LEADERSHIP

There is substantial body of literature pertaining to leadership theories. The theoretical foundation of the traditional approaches is derived from the bases of leadership behavior or traits, and more importantly, on the models or historical perspective of theories of leadership. These theories of leadership range from the behavior approaches of leadership to encompass traits theories and contingency theories of leadership (Matshaphala, 2007:243).



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However, the concept goes beyond the limitations of the traditional model which the research needs to address. It also encompasses many psychological schools of thought. This has been asserted by many leadership advocates. The examples below will give an overview of the stance of some of the gurus on the theoretical foundation of leadership.

Weber's 'classical view' of social classification and psychological perspective is the most relevant theoretical foundation for this literature review. This is explained by the roles and functions of traditional leadership and how traditional leaders develop leadership patterns within their respective communities. In this respect, and despite much academic research and many definitions of traditional leadership, it often remains problematic and diverse in nature and with many roles within the communities. Yet one distinguishing feature of this study is its unique flexibility and freedom, and the capacity of traditional leadership to incorporate detailed personal knowledge of local conditions and the complexities of the local environment.

Thus the classical view of the theory of leadership conforms and relates to the concept of traditional leadership. Furthermore the typology of traditional leadership should not necessarily

be separated from the concept of administration and management of the society or organization. This is because leadership and management are interchangeable concepts. Warrant Bennis, one of the leadership gurus, stresses that:

‘I intend to think of the differences between leaders and managers as the differences between those who master the context and those who surrender to it’ (Thomas, 2006:41).

Therefore, the theoretical framework of this study is uniquely informed by the characteristics and functions of traditional leaders in their communities, as described earlier. At the same time leadership has its foundation in its source of authority reflected by the roles of traditional leaders. In similar vein Warrant Bennis has shed light on ‘the heroic traditions associated with traditional leadership’s thinking and concepts of traits’ (Thomas, 2006:42).

James D. Mooney and Alan C. Reilly, unlike Weber, delineate three types of leadership: ‘Titular, Controllers and Organizers’. Mooney’s theory is physically and practically found in the traditional leaders’ exercise of their profound mandates and authority in their traditional societies, based on culture, values and norms, which are basically fundamental principles in a society. An example is the composition of the Abiem tribal community and how the various levels of chieftaincy and leaders uniquely portray their roles and functions. For example, the executive chief is the figurehead and symbol of the tribal community, while the chiefs and subchiefs fulfil roles and functions at varying levels of the community.

Furthermore, the pragmatic nature of the traditional community makes the roles of TL more controlling in order to maintain the cohesion of the society, especially during crises such as war conditions. Philip Selznick’s view strongly supports the traditional leadership theory by conceptualizing the leader and typing it according to ‘personal position’. He further relates ‘leadership’ to levels of political and social interaction (Henry, 1995:136).

Based on the overview of theories of leadership, Fred Fielders has furthered his arguments and emphasis on 'leadership traits and personal qualities of leaders to leadership styles and behaviour' (Thomas, 2006:62).

Of course Fred Fiedler, as one of leading gurus on leadership, lately shifted his concept of traits into a contingency model which combines situational contingency and styles of leadership that does not give a definite concept or conclusive orientation which suits the situation. It asserts the notion that there has not been a unified one best style of leadership. Apparently the search for an appropriate style of leadership makes this study a necessity. But Peter Drucker states that:

'There is no substitute for leadership. Management cannot create leaders. It can only create the conditions under which potential leadership qualities become effective; or it can stifle potential leadership' (Thomas, 2006:56).

Social scientists identify five basic sources of power, which are coercive power, legitimate power, reference power, expert power and reward power. These sources of power are very important factors for any leader, in the exercise of his/her authority and mandate, depending on the environmental situation. In the context of TL these sources of power are the basis of the traditional authority framework, even in the modern socio-political and economic context of their respective communities. Hence, this study has basically relied on the essence of leadership in general, taking into cognition the examination of the three theoretical models or approaches as the basis of the theoretical foundation.

Leadership traits (1910-1940)

This model generally implies certain basic characteristics of a leader which may involve identification of personal qualities. The leadership traits obviously inform the research study as it focuses on the traditional trends according to which a leader has the obligation to lead in accordance with social formations and customary laws. Such commitment differentiates from the basic principle of effective or non-effective sort of leaders. This has been explicitly explained by Smith and Cronje (2002:285):

‘In analyzing the concept of leadership and searching for the traits or behavior that make good leaders, various leadership models have been researched, developed, and tested in an effort to pinpoint the most important models of behavior manifested in good leaders’.

Thus, in this context, the underlying idea is that the basic traits of this typology of leadership are fundamentally reflected in the characteristics of traditional leadership such as heredity, divine wisdom, culture, custom, authority and traditional legitimacy. Local knowledge here is fundamental as it equips the leader to exercise his/her role efficiently and effectively within the society. But the question that poses itself, is what makes leaders effective or non effective? It would be difficult to give a definite answer to such a question. Even those who are presumed to be effective don’t judge themselves. The judgment of others also varies, and usually there is no agreement, but each side would give a simple demand for effective leaders. From this perspective it is important to look into the following reflective leadership approaches.

Behavioral approach (1940-1965)

The behavioral approach in this context stemmed from the perspective that the researchers of leadership theories wanted to establish and hoped to identify some unique characteristics in leaders and this was stressed by Smith and Cronje (2002:286):

‘That behavioral based theory of leadership would provide answers that would have practical implications quite different from those of the trait approach in providing a basis for the selection of leaders in an organization’.

It implies that, ‘task-oriented’ behavior in leaders is more autocratic in nature. This also reflects how traditional leaders derive their behavior from a hereditary point of view and they ultimately behave in accordance with the sets of social norms guided by cults and traditions. It is also apparent that this leadership typology is obliged by the same norms to adhere to the principle of participatory democracy which is common to many traditional African societies. Indeed, the system of traditional leadership is autocratic in nature, but with participatory democracy. This has been implicitly illustrated by George Ayittey (1998:31):

‘Once again the African “village meeting under a big tree” and the European “parliament” were simply different forms of the same institutions of democracy. What Africans had was participatory democracy’.

Contingency or situational approaches

Various theoretical models were developed, but there had never been an agreement on a single model. Thus under the contingency approach and for the purpose of this particular study it is vital to look into Fiedler’s contingency theory of leadership and the Path-goal theory. According to Fiedler’s approach, leadership here is based on the assumption that lack of a single best style, successful leadership depends on the understanding between leader and subordinate as well as the situation (Henry, 1999:141).

In many ways the style of leadership may depend on the characteristics of the leader him/herself and how he/she adapts to the situation. Furthermore, and as mentioned earlier, the Path-goal theory to leadership, developed by Robert House, stresses ‘that it is the leader’s job to assist his or her followers in attaining their goals and to provide the necessary direction and support to ensure that their goals are compatible with the overall goals of the organization’ (Smith & Cronje, 2002:291).

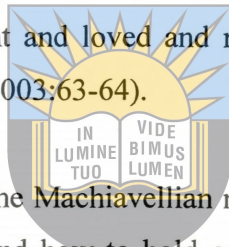
In fact, the context of the contingency approach to leadership in this study rests on the peculiarity of traditional leaders’ environmental perspective based on hereditary factors, culture, and socio-political conditions of the society. It has nevertheless been said that ‘Leadership never happens in isolation. There can be no leaders without followers, and all leadership activities take place in context’ (De Vries, 2006:165).

3.3 CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE CONCEPT OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

The term ‘traditional leadership’ is used in this study to describe those forms of leadership which are perceived and understood as such within Abiem local communities. The cardinal issue is the understanding of the roles and functional linkages between those local structures and the

structures of the liberation struggle. Kanyane (2006) correctly asserts his view that ‘leadership is also best understood in the context by way of looking at its functions’.

Furthermore, the term ‘tradition’ should not be negatively construed as something rigid or static, but a significant phenomenon and an integral aspect of social identity, culture and self-governing in a changing environment, where the absence of effective state instruments of governance was a reality during those terrible war conditions in the beleaguered region of Southern Sudan. The tribal chief (leader) is the fundamental element in this research study. This is because the tribal chief follows the government’s orders and executes them, honestly, and efficiently. ‘Since he is trusted and respected by the government and loved and respected by his tribe, then we must accord him respect and support’ (Yusif, 2003:63-64).



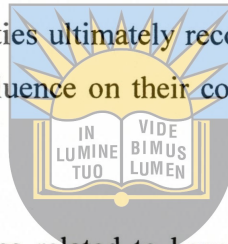
In this respect it is crucial to highlight the Machiavellian notion of leadership which centres on ‘power exploration; how to achieve it and how to hold on’. Machiavelli’s view was probably based on the nature of leadership, whether it was of the government, monarchy or republic. In that context, it would always be vital when viewing leadership attributes, that it should not be based on effectiveness or on the effectiveness of a leader. More importantly, the view should recognize the behavior of the leadership and the contextual situation. Similarly Abraham Maslow’s Theory of Human Motivation (1943) states that:

‘Certain needs are a fundamental part of human nature. Values, beliefs and customs might differ from country to country and group to group, but all people have similar needs’ (Thomas, 2006:97).

In the 1930s the British accepted the hereditary system of chieftainship as its local government rule, believing it to be an African phenomenon and therefore they depended entirely on the traditional chiefs. Because of that belief they took the sons of the chiefs to school and they became more educated than the rest of the society. In Southern Sudan it was the same. The first educated elite in the South was the sons of chiefs. The same was apparent with the sectarian rulers in the North and the central government in Khartoum.

3.4 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CONTEMPORARY ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERS

It is a fact that traditional leadership still has an immense influence in many developing societies. It has also been the basis of local government in almost all African countries in general and more importantly in Sudan and Southern Sudan in particular. This is because the role of traditional leadership encompasses socio-political, spiritual and cultural traditions as well as conflict resolution. Apparently most African conflicts are basically centered on the inter and intra conflicts caused by the colonial segmentation of Africa in the late 1950s and 1960s. During the colonial era, the British colonial authorities ultimately recognized the role of traditional leaders because of their resistance and their influence on their communities during the era of colonial power.



The context of this study is more or less related to how the traditional leaders influence and manage their respective communities during times of crisis and peace. Hence, the general theory, the classical view and social view, based on leadership behaviour and organizational leadership respectively, are relevant to the classical view reflected by Weber, who delineates three kinds of leadership: 'a leader must be charismatic, traditional and legal/rational'. These distinctions as stipulated are represented by how the traditional leaders take position by 'dint of heredity' (Henry, 1999:136).

The nature of traditional leadership in relation to local government structures remains ambiguous, especially in the modern institutional development of many governments in Africa. This is one of the questions this research would like to address. Thus, in order to have a clear understanding of the roles of traditional leadership it would be necessary to incorporate different outlooks or experiences. A comparative examination of the role of traditional leaders includes the following experiences of other countries:

- **South Africa**

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa recognizes traditional leaders and incorporates their roles into local government structures. This has been addressed in section 211 of the Constitution which states:

‘The Constitution, status and role of traditional leadership according to customary law, are recognized, subject to the Constitution. A traditional authority that observes a system of customary law may function subject to any applicable legislation and custom which includes amendments to or repeal of, that legislation or those customs’.

So, despite Constitutional provision, there is still ambiguity regarding the actual role of traditional leaders pertaining to the legitimacy and authority of traditional leaders over their subjects. In other words, the role of traditional leaders in that sense has been limited to the extent that they only exercise their function on the already applicable legislation at local level of government. During the Apartheid era, the powers of traditional leaders were taken over by the colonial authorities. They were absolutely marginalized yet they remained influential in their communities. This implies that under any form of government the role of traditional leaders remains influential and acknowledgeable.

- **Zimbabwe**

In the Zimbabwe context, as in South Africa, the function of traditional leaders is recognized by the Constitution. The Constitution provides for the recognition and appointment of traditional leaders by the State President. Furthermore, the Zimbabwean Constitution also provides for the formation and election of the Council of Traditional Chiefs, similar to South Africa’s National House of Traditional Leaders.

Apparently there is a slight difference between the states of affairs during the colonial era in southern Sudan and of that in Namibia and in Zimbabwe. For instance traditional leaders were generally marginalized in the wake of independence in Namibia and Zimbabwe, as they were regarded as tools to be used by the colonial powers. This is contrary to the situation in Southern Sudan where most of the traditional leaders were at the forefront against their enemies during the

colonial era and during the liberation struggle; many of them perished and were stripped of their powers by the central government in Khartoum.

The most important elements in the role of traditional leaders are their profound influence, functions and the duties they exercise in their respective societies. This indeed has something to do with performance, jurisdiction as well as customary law and culture. All that is basically required of the government is to regulate and provide the Constitutional acts to ensure accountability, good governance and stability as well as service delivery.

Uganda experience

In Uganda the situation is similar to that in Sudan, South Africa and other African countries with multi-traditional, ethnic communities, with powerful traditional institutions. Despite many difficulties encountered by traditional monarchs during preceding governments in Uganda, the Museveni government tried to restore the monarch's authority in different parts of Uganda. An example is the restoration of Prince Ronald Mutebi as the new Kabaka in 1993, thereby reinstating one of the Ugandan kingdoms. Similar situations existed in different parts of Uganda, hence the restoration of Kabaka as king many years after the monarchy was abolished by Milton Obote in 1966, yet there are dilemmas regarding the role of traditional monarchs. The restoration did not resolve differences among traditional authorities and formal government structures, especially at local government levels. This is clear from the current uneasy state of affairs between the Museveni government and the Buganda Kingdom. Siendou Konate says:

‘The relationship between the Buganda kingdom and the Museveni Government is uneasy because of the failure of the latter to allow the political privileges and autonomy, the king has been expecting’ (West Africa Review. Vol. 3, no. 2, 2002).

Thus, the Sudan, like any other African region, was faced and still being faced with the lack of local institutional development, backwardness, and unabated local traditional wars, as well as the issues of traditional leadership building. However, during the British rule, direct administrative policies in the Sudan were based on developing local institutions, as the only viable system of

governance for the country in those days. This is reflected in the memoirs of Sir Lee Stack (1922), the erstwhile Governor of Sudan:

‘Thus the nature of traditional leadership shall remain playing an unprecedented role in local communities and in handling social, cultural and customary activities. And therefore any administrative establishment such as local government would probably depend on the structure of local authority under traditional leadership’.

The roles and functions of traditional leadership during upsurge of war in Southern Sudan could however be summarized as follows:



- custodian of traditions, cultures, norms and customs;
- mobilization of resources (manpower and food for the revolutionary army);
- political and social mobilization for the war effort;
- conflict resolution management; and
- Defensive combat role when necessary.

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Over the years of the armed struggle, the dual role of traditional leadership in managing their own societies on the one hand, and trying to assume the role of local government on the other, without proper local institutional development had a major impact on the people of South Sudan. In the meantime the SPLM/A’s indulgence regarding the role of local civil administration was another episode. All this engendered an overlap of responsibilities until the First SPLM/A National Convention put an end to the army’s hegemony and separated local traditional authority from the civil administration, or local government for that matter.

During the years of difficulty, it was an immense task for the people of Southern Sudan to cope with the administrative structures established under the rapidly- expanding SPLM/A-controlled areas. In those circumstances the SPLM leadership decided to form many clusters of governance, among them a cluster for local government. In that respect, the committee on local government held a workshop in Rumbek in 2003 as stipulated in article 12 which recommended the following system of local governance:

- Recommend that County Commissioners be elected, and competent local government officials be appointed in order to ensure efficient and smooth running of local administration.
- Proactively promote and ensure continuous adherence to equal opportunities policy in local government and public services generally.
- Ensure the efficient management of collecting and dispensing of local resources with the express consent of the local communities.
- Define and determine the powers of Traditional Leaders and Chiefs within the framework of local government.
- Carry out training and educational programmes designed for enhancing and improving the role of Traditional Leaders and Chiefs.

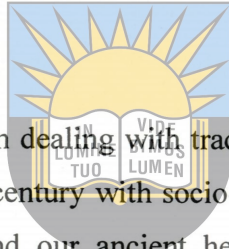


The preceding state of affairs is unlike the situation in Micronesian Islands where the ‘authority and roles of traditional leaders differ according to respective Island groups’ (South Pacific Forum, 1999). But despite differences in functional relationship between different Island groups, the recognition of the roles of traditional leaders or chiefs remains the same throughout traditional societies.

This is comparable with the characteristics of Traditional Leaders whose functions and roles do not depend entirely on their effectiveness, but on how they adapt themselves to their environment. The effectiveness of leaders here depends on their flexibility and charisma in the situation. Basically, the characteristics of the roles of traditional leadership are more or less compatible with the preceding three theoretical approaches: traits, behavioral approach and contingency leadership theories as they form the theoretical body of knowledge.

The liberation struggle, such as that of the SPLM/A in Sudan, has however formulated two sets of leadership patterns: traditional leadership on the one hand and the Liberation Movement’s (SPLM/A) revolutionary leadership on the other. These two sets of leadership have ultimately been governed all along by the spirit of revolutionary leadership, that is to say, without convincing revolutionary conditions, where all sectors of the Southern communities, represented

by their traditional leaders, and the revolutionary vanguards, it would have not been easy for the struggle to continue for more than two decades without the unwavering support of the masses. This element of combined aims and objectives has fundamentally reconciled all the antagonism and differences of the various classes in order to wage a protracted struggle, against all odds and the suffering of the people. This is precisely and generally proclaimed by the historical overview of the role of traditional leaders wherever they are asked about the motivating factors in their role in the war against the North (government). During the upsurge of civil war these traditional leaders might have served as political, spiritual and cultural leaders, and that might have been the reason why they were regarded as custodians of tribal cohesion and traditional values by both the liberators and the people.



However, there are many questions when dealing with traditional leaders, and particularly with traditional chiefs, especially in the 21st century with socio-political change taking place. In this context one wonders how traditions and our ancient heritage can merge together with the complex changes of modernity. How can we incorporate the role of traditional leaders into the modern process of good governance? These questions are the main challenges facing traditional leaders, as will be illustrated below.

3.5 FACTORS AND CHALLENGES AFFECTING THE ROLE OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

General recognition of the role of traditional leadership in Southern Sudan does not unequivocally suggest absolute power over the stakeholders as it used to some years back. There have been many challenges and factors that have, in one way or another, hindered or enhanced their roles, especially during the liberation struggle. For this study it is crucial to understand the factors that hindered the role of traditional leadership.

3.5.1 Laws governing the functional role of traditional authority

In this context it is necessary to ascertain whether traditional leaders have any legal framework pertaining to their rule over their subjects. The structures of traditional leadership differ in essence from community to community and from area to area. Despite disparities in the

structures among communities, there is always common ground among different societies, especially when it comes to the customary and traditional laws of a given society.

There was a great deal of controversy in Sudan around providing a legal framework for the functions of traditional leadership and traditional authority. This was because traditional issues in a proclaimed Islamic state such as Sudan contradict any recognition of traditional values which are common practice in Southern Sudan where Christianity and Animistic practices prevail. It was therefore difficult to incorporate traditional values which were rejected by Islamic Sharia laws in Sudan. Such variation prompted people of Southern Sudan to demand secular laws with which customary law could identify. These customary laws were the main products of the culture and traditions of society, which culminated in cohesion among the people. Manfred Keith (2007:175) reiterates that:

‘Cultural values can be seen as the building blocks for behavior and action. As such, they have an influence on leadership practices and institutional arrangements’.

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However, under the secular system which recognizes the traditional justice system, Southern Sudan became a reality mainly after the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The CPA provided at least autonomous authority for the people of Southern Sudan. The traditional justice system was however based on customary law, in the form of court tiers known as County Courts, payam courts, regional courts (Akut thiec); and executive chiefs’ court levels. The first two courts (county and payam) were run by paralegals and applied statutory laws, while the other two lower courts (regional and executive chiefs) were traditional courts run by traditional chiefs and applied customary law. It is believed that most African traditional laws were not ‘punitive, but restitutive law’, which is separate from the constitutional provisions and legal acts pertaining to the judiciary system.

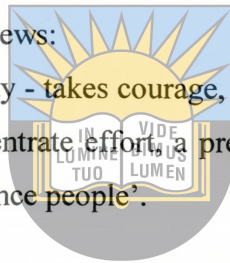
In Sudan, for instance, especially in Southern Sudan and particularly among the Dinka of Baher el Gazal, were the famous Wanth Alel laws. They were the local traditional laws which were formulated in the 1980s by all Dinka tribal sections in the region. Those laws were ultimately recognized as an essential part of traditional and customary law. Since then they have been the main frame of reference in settling customary cases and disputes among various communities

across Baher el Gazal. The status quo continued even during the war, and till now the law is still respected. Hence, the issues of laws and constitutional provisions and lawful acts that can operationalise the functions of traditional authorities have been the main impediment in the history of Southern Sudan and will continue to be so as the situation remains fragile in the country.

3.5.2 Traditional authority

It is important in this study to elucidate on how traditional leadership exercised its power over the people of Abiem area and in Southern Sudan in general during the war. Middleton (2007:41) quotes John Rose who summarizes his views:

‘Leadership - in and out of authority - takes courage, a broad view, common sense, a small ego, the ability to focus and concentrate effort, a preparedness to change publicly for the right response to engage and influence people’.



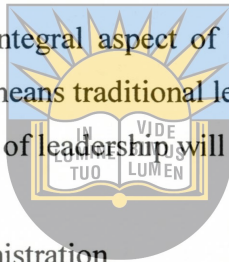
The traditional authority in any traditional system such as a monarchy or patriarchal system usually plays a similar role in every society under any traditional leadership. The only difference could be the capacity of the leaders and the environment in which they exercise their authority.

Furthermore, in understanding the inter-relation between traditional authority and traditional leadership, it would be vital to understand the value of traditional power and its sources of influence in the society or any organization for that matter. Hence, the term ‘traditional leadership’ as defined earlier I here intend to describe to encompass those leaders whose responsibilities and authority are within the domain of traditional societies. In the mean time, traditional authority is consciously characterized in this research study to indicate the notion of authority believed to be within the local communities. These forms of authority are therefore represented by social traditions, customs, culture and the history of a given society. Anything outside the bounds of these forms are usually considered as alien, taboo and unwanted in the society.

The preceding explanations reveal the nature of the functional relationship between traditional leadership and traditional authority which represent an inseparable system. Hence I describe such

complex components of leadership as a challenge to psychological thinkers and that makes it a field of study.

In order to understand this phenomenon I tried to weigh the powers of traditional leadership against the powers of traditional authority to engender what I call Traditional Systems Theory (TST). In cognizance of the concept of Traditional System Theory, the concept entails a change model of transforming the TL+TA into an accountable local system which should be under a vibrant local leadership, supervised by local government officials. The authority and roles of traditional leaders though different in method remains unified in content. This necessitates the reciprocal relationship inherited as an integral aspect of the nature of community identity or kinship, culture and self-government. It means traditional leaders need people, and the people, on the other hand, need them. This typology of leadership will categorically provide:



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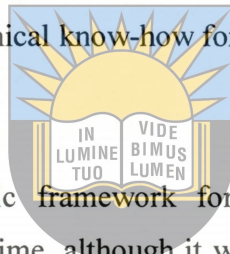
- People at grass-roots-based administration
- Service delivery
- Accountable local government
- Democracy

Furthermore, the system of civil administration which was established under the SPLM/A was meant to serve the conditions of war rather than the systems of local government. In addition to that, the systems operated under a militarized Liberation Movement structure, with meager resources and little capacity. The following were the main functions and the roles of the traditional authority in the so-called liberated areas:

- Represent the community;
- Represent local government;
- Conflict resolution/Maintenance of law and peace;
- Mobilization of both manpower and resources for the war effort;
- Tax collection;
- Ritual functions.

In terms of local administration in the liberated areas of New Sudan, the entire administration was totally under the authority of traditional leaders, and supervised by the appointed military officers of the SPLM/A. The SPLM/A have tried to run a de facto government in liberated areas through administrative units such as county, payam, Buma and village level units.

The SPLM/A administrative establishments made desperate attempts to adapt to the old system of peoples' local authority. A replica of the famous Marshal Report of 1948 produced two facts at the poll: 'That the traditional leaders were well positioned and stable in their respective communities; these traditional leaders formed unsuitable elements in informing the local government services, due to lack of technical know-how for giving services to the people (Yusif, 2003:82).



Indeed, the reports provided the basic framework for establishing and running a local government in the country for the first time, although it was intended to remain an experiment for some time. However, that resulted in creating a ministry for local government in 1954 before independence. Thereafter the situation remained precarious and it was difficult to have an organic local government without involvement of local leaders at the grass roots level.

The SPLM/A was faced with difficulties to establish a civil administration based on the old Sudan type of administration, inherited from the Anglo-Egyptian rule. The attempt was thwarted by lack of cohesive institutional development and people capacity. But the most important question was how the SPLM/A managed to combine both civil and military administration during the upsurge of turbulence in the civil war. But all in all, the first National Convention of the SPLM/A at Chukudum in 1994 which committed the Movement to grass-roots participation in managing the affairs of the people, sparked off the beginning of real thinking on how fair administration could be put in place. But in most cases, the day-to-day activities and management of the people's affairs were left to traditional chiefs or leaders in their different hierarchies and categories.

The National Convention Civil structures were to complement and regulate the functions of traditional leadership under the patronage of the appointed civil military administrators (CMAs).

But it was an episodic period as some commanding officers became oppressive and subordinated the roles and functions of traditional leaders. That culminated in the SPLM/A leadership's appointing and training chiefs as officers. Some chiefs were commissioned as senior officers, so that they could play their roles efficiently and effectively without any interference from the SPLA-appointed civil administrators, but in actual fact the issue of the establishment of a viable local government compatible with the needs of traditional leadership is an up-hill task that needs to be reckoned with now and not later.

3.5.3 Resources

Resources were the main hindrance to the functioning of traditional authority and traditional leadership. All along it had been the impediment to successive government establishments and it became worse during the war. The liberation army was in partial if not full control. The Southern regions depended very much on the local resources under the control of the local people. The meager resources which were available were in the form of taxes, food mobilization such as grain, meat bulls and goats and any other resources that could be collected from the households.



In that respect the SPLM local government framework, especially the 5th draft, made an issue of resources as one of the objectives that needed immediate resolve. Among these objectives was the self-reliance policy for the people of Southern Sudan. However, up to the time of the research for this paper, there had not been clear policies or definite resource allocation for the traditional leaders and traditional authorities. This was very clear during my interview with the Abiem chiefs who complained a great deal about the matter. One of the chiefs stated that:

‘Since the signing of the CPA and establishment of civil administration in our county, we have seen salaries being given to local administrators and the army. Yet, we are just as we were. Not only are those but even the court remittances not spare for courts members and chiefs’ (Chief Makwac Makwac, Mathol 2007). N.B the name connotes first and second Dinka names.

3.6 CONCLUSION

The literature review process concentrated on the theories of leadership on the one hand, and on traditional leadership patterns on the other. This theoretical review has provided a theoretical framework, analysis and interpretation of the subject matter under examination, specifically the role of traditional leaders during the war of liberation in Southern Sudan.

The theoretical foundation has generally focused on behavioural approaches to leadership to include traits theories and contingency theories of leadership. Weber's classical view of social classification was the most relevant theory of the literature review.

The contextualization of the concept of traditional leadership was an essential comparative study for evaluation and analysis of the concept of traditional leadership. The contextual evidence has indeed confirmed how effective the traditional leaders were in influencing and managing their social groups during the most difficult times of the war of liberation.

Furthermore the chapter reviewed the factors and challenges encountered by traditional leaders during the war of attrition between the SPLM/A and the Sudan Armed Forces (SAF) on the one hand and between the SPLM/A and the Government- sponsored armed Islamic Mujahedeen and local Arab militias on the other. The other challenges were the legal framework for the functions of traditional leaders, as well as the resources for supporting the war effort.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The literature review in the previous chapter provided elaborate content and a basic framework which helped to inform the selection of the methodology used in this research study. Hence, the research methodology deals with how this research should be planned and executed (Mouton & Marais, 1996:15). It refers to the implementation of scientific methods in studying social sciences. There are also several methods used in research. This implies that research is generally a process undertaken for the purpose of establishing a valid understanding of a phenomenon. In order to undertake this activity it must have a means to achieve it. This means is vital to arrive at a logical conclusion. This research study has adopted a qualitative approach because of the epistemological nature of the matter under examination. This type of research approach gives a comparative content analysis of the social phenomenon which is the theme of the research. Mouton and Marais (1996:160) assert that: 'qualitative research concepts and constructs are meaningful words that can be analyzed in their own right to gain a greater depth of understanding of a given concept.' The literature review has so far helped in forming and identifying research tools.

Furthermore, the literature review has reflected on Weber's (1949) *verstehende* approach which uses empirical investigation which suits the examination of the roles, and the impact of traditional leadership in the liberation struggle waged by the SPLM/A. Therefore the methods of the *verstehende* approach were more applicable to investigate a social phenomenon, as in the case of the Abiem traditional society. In doing that, descriptive methods, examination, and group discussion were used.

The qualitative approach is the basis of the research methodology which incorporates all the participants and respondents concerned in the field of research. Hence the methodology chosen and used in this research study has informed the following research questions:

- What was the impact of the roles of TLs during the liberation struggle from 1983-2004?
- What were the major roles played by the traditional leadership?
- What were the factors that enhanced or hindered the functions of TL?

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

It explains the process and how the research was carried out, outlining the methods and approaches, as well as the strategy, data analysis and interpretation.



4.2.1 Research approach

This implies that the research methodology is informed by the inductive paradigms approach based on the context of social structures and values and their roles over their subjects. G.K. Huysamen (2001:31) says, 'that the chosen design should be able to answer the researcher's question and thus serve the purpose for which the research was undertaken in the first place.' The research approach is necessary to answer research questions, and provide an interpretive analysis of the historical perspective of the roles played by the Abiem traditional leadership.

The research methodology chosen here is undertaken with a view to examining the major roles of traditional leaders and their impact that might have enhanced or impacted on the trends of the civil war waged by the SPLM/A. This highlights the necessity of applying content analysis to the participants in the research. On the other hand the content analysis helps to recognize the interpretive analysis of the data collected. This means that there must be a methodology in place in order to pave the way for achieving the final objective of the research.

4.2.2 Research design

G.K. Huysamen (2001:10) explains research design as 'the plan or blueprint according to which data are to be collected to investigate the research hypothesis or question in the most economical

manner'. This basically relates to the actual and practical aspects of how the study is conducted in order to answer the questions this research seeks to address. As stated earlier, this research study uses the qualitative approach to make use of *verstehende* procedure by conducting inductive analysis in order to understand the actual situation in the field of research. This implies that close observation and correct reading of the situation in hand play an unprecedented role. In this context, the roles and impact of traditional leadership and how they contribute to local government and development represent empirical questions to be answered. Loaf land (1971:3-4 &7) outlines four elements which are necessary in undertaking a qualitative study:

- Intensive immersion in a sector of social life to gain 'intimate familiarity' with the study;
- Focusing on and depicting the situation that scrutinizes actors whom you are dealing with;
- Focusing on international tactics and strategies employed by the participants;
- Assembling and analyzing rich qualitative data of the situation ... actions and people in order to convey the reality of the events represented in its mundane aspects.

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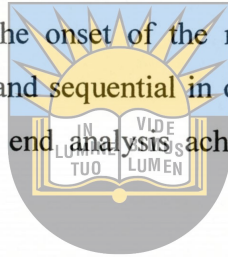
The qualitative research approach employs clear-cut means and methodological tools of study for the research. It presents aims and objective to gather data for the peculiar situation under examination, in this case, the impact and the role of traditional leadership which represents an actual situation in a particular space and time. This aspect of the examination is stressed categorically by Weis (2004), that, 'Qualitative research is not only adequate for evaluation and examination of the event, through various stages and actors, but gives a good account of the main variables interacting at each stage'. Mouton and Marais (1996:205) state that the qualitative method is implemented as follows: 'To understand the complex processes that precipitate human interaction, it is necessary to obtain information that is relevant to various attitudinal, situational, and environmental factors in the world of those being investigated.'

As already mentioned, the qualitative approach has provided a fruitful paradigm and serves as a collective function concerning the empirical problem under examination. Furthermore it helps to identify facts for answering research questions and articulation of the concepts of the research

study based on the inductive paradigm approach. It has also provided an interpretive analysis and allowed the study of the Abiem social formation from a historical perspective.

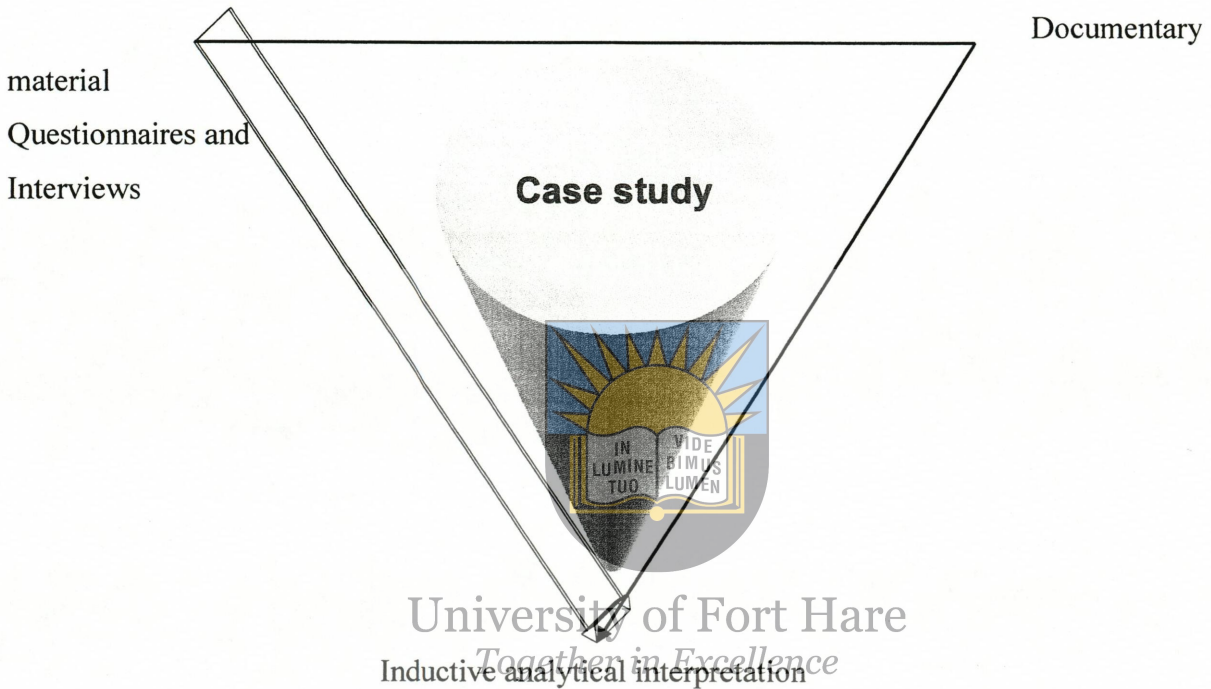
4.2.3 Research strategy

The strategy of the research intends to explain the manner in which the research methodology was planned and executed, in other words, a plan to guide the methodology adopted. The use of the research strategy is therefore very important in order to serve the purpose for which the research was undertaken in the first place. This implies assurances for the validation of findings as well as identifying the weaknesses of one method and alternative use of the other method. It means that the research strategy from the onset of the research design, approach and data collection procedure must be systematic and sequential in order to arrive at a constructive data interpretation and analysis which at the end analysis achieves the intended objective of the research study.



However, to take advantage of the use of a strategy in research of this study, the triangulation of Denzin (1978:101-103) is seen as an appropriate methodology. This strategy allows the research to have a wider scope and maneuverability to use multiple methods that could incorporate alternatives. The diagram below illustrates the strategy adopted in this research study.

Figure 2. Triangulation case study



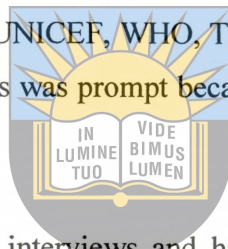
4.3 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURE

The data collection procedure followed in this research is based on the qualitative theoretical framework. This indicates that the collection tool which has been used must be compatible with the methods and strategy in this study. Denzin (1978:87-94) provides procedural directives for collecting 'behavior specimens', which he suggests constitutes the logic of 'naturalistic inquiry'.

Thus the data collection procedure has considered the general context and the atmosphere in which traditional leadership has been. This characterizes the war condition and the haphazardness of local administration. This procedure put the researcher in the midst of the actual environment under examination (Huysamen, 2001:140):

‘An advantage of this data-collection procedure is that the behavior which is to be studied must be recorded first hand as compared to interviews and questionnaires..... , that the researchers do not have to depend on participants..., but observe it directly’.

In order to embark on data collection in the field, as a matter of procedure, permission to conduct research in Abiem area was obtained from the civil authorities and the military commanding officers in the area. The researcher started with the overall military commander who was the sole authority in the area and who also hailed from the area. The other procedures were coordinated with the local county authorities, as well as with operating UN humanitarian agencies which were in the area during war time such as UNICEF, WHO, TER FAN, WFP, etc. Permission from the executive chiefs, sub-chiefs and elders was prompt because it was done while the researcher was present in the area.



The process of conducting the research interviews and handling of questionnaires was more delicate and intricate, because the participants were illiterate and they found it difficult to understand the nature of the interviews and the purpose of the exercise. Thus in each process there was a sitting between the researcher and the executive chief and his subsection chiefs as well as the elders. This process was very welcome as it enabled the chiefs with their aides to digest the argument among themselves. Furthermore the process helped to sort out the questionnaires and sampling ideas from different perspectives in different areas of the Abiem communities and their respective chiefs. Other interview schedules were similarly organized as the information was sent ahead to different areas of the Abiem County.

The objective was to elicit information on the role played by the traditional leadership in the Abiem area during the upsurge of the war of liberation. The data collected from the local authorities was to complement the data collected from the Abiem traditional leaders, elders, women and youth who were the actual role players in support of the revolutionary army.

As to the distribution of questionnaires, it was only done for the intellectuals who were in different parts of the South and in various government institutions. That process took some time, for the responses to be collected and some did not even reach the intended participants. This

process was therefore not very reliable, though the contributors gave similar information because many of them were involved in the war in one way or another. As mentioned earlier, the data collection procedure employed the following tools:

4.3.1 Questionnaires

Questions were generally of two types: written questionnaires and direct questionnaires. The latter was, however, perceived to be more practical by the traditional leaders who were illiterate but well versed in the social conditions and conflict in which they were involved. In order to avoid unreliability, the written questionnaires were minimized and direct questions maximized to obtain accurate and correct responses from the participants. Direct interviews were more appropriate, especially with the TL and army officers for transparency and for their objectivity to elicit reliable information. Furthermore, written questionnaires were mostly directed to civil administrators and intellectuals, whose responses were based more or else on personal perceptions and knowledge. In all the areas where the research was conducted, the respondents showed great enthusiasm during direct interviews and recordings were made of the interviews and conversations. This procedure complemented the principle of multiple sources of collection and increased the reliability of results. Thus the structured method of interviewing engendered an open questionnaire that helped to minimize the risk of inaccuracy of respondents who needed more clarification. Bryman and Bell (2007:258) say that, 'in an open question respondents are asked questions and can reply however they wish.'

The management of questionnaires in the field was organized in accordance with the means which were used such as observation, content analysis and comparative evaluation of different respondents. Furthermore it was not possible to use a research assistant to carry out gathering of information, because there was not an efficient research assistant available. The whole research process was done by the researcher himself.

4.3.2 Interviews

Some problems were experienced with interview schedules. This was because the interviews were done during the rainy season when transport was difficult and the areas to be covered were

far distant and in different locations. Hence the research schedules were coordinated by the researcher by addressing the various locations with the timetable and dates for their interviews.

The mode of interview was based on the structured pre-arranged questionnaires, but in refined form to provoke discussion and openness from a group of illiterate chiefs and traditional leaders seated under a big tree usually use as a local court site. The method was a typical African way of discussing an important topic. The process was also in line with what was proposed by Bryand (1997:32) 'that interviews allow the researcher to explain his/her questions if the respondents requires clarification'. Mouton and Marais (1996:212) say that the aim of the qualitative interview is to provide a framework for the subject to speak freely and in his/her own terms about a set of concerns which the research brings to the interaction and what else the subject may introduce'.



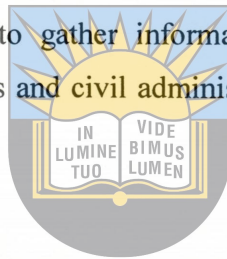
The interviews were done in the form of group discussions and by posing questions and eliciting counter arguments from the participants in each instance. For the purpose of ensuring that nothing was lost, a tape recorder was used as a back-up system because the whole exercise was carried out in the Dinka language which was later to be translated. The procedure followed to arrange the interviews was to make an appointment with different groups, the executive chiefs and their respective participants, the county civil authorities and the army officers.

Participants in the study:

The following participants from the area of research were involved:

- a) Three executive chiefs and elders from Aweil East County (Abiem area);
- b) Sub-chiefs' involvement in the interviews was vital as they were people who ran and supervised the day-to-day activities of the community;
- c) The SPLM civil and military administrators also formed another important group for investigation;
- d) The SPLA commanding officers under whose command all the administrative and operations were conducted were also vital in the research exercise;
- e) The nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the area of research were part of the data collection for their observations during the war era.

The reliability of the instrument reflects the consistency of the results. Babbie (1995:) states that 'reliability is a matter of whether a particular technique, applied repeatedly to the same object'. In testing the reliability of the instrument that was used, three sittings were held with the various levels of Abiem traditional chieftaincy, three civil administrators in the county HQs, as well as with SPLA commanding officers who were in the area. At each sitting, individual and group interviews were conducted. The results almost all agreed with the responses of all the participants, and that reflected similarity in experiences and information of various groups and participants. Therefore, this categorically established the reliability of the questionnaires and interview schedules which were used to gather information from all the participants, the traditional leaders, chiefs, the combatants and civil administrators, women and youth in Abiem area.



4.3.3 Case study

A case study of the Abiem traditional leadership and their roles in the liberation struggle was done. It is commonly believed that a case study is associated with an intensive study of a particular location. Stake (1995) observes that case study research is concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question (Bryman & Bell, 2007:62). This complements the understanding that the qualitative research approach based on case study tends to take an inductive approach which is the main theme of analysis in this research study. Furthermore, as far as the research study is concerned, this case study emphasized the roles and impact of traditional leaders during the war. The main concern of this research is the intensive examination of the impact and roles of traditional leadership as a process rather than the outcome of the context. In the final analysis the examination has to generate the findings or objectives of the research. Thus the case study is basically an approach that allows the study of a particular subject to be examined in depth. This would definitely be used to determine whether the research questions are to be validated through an applied research method. The approach is also suitable for examining the role of traditional leaders which are centered on tradition and culture and which are the major variables that influence the interaction between TLs and their respective societies.

It has been used to investigate the in-depth roles played by traditional leadership. It also provides concentration on a single unit of the selection of the samples within analysis. However, the advantage of a case study is in line with Knights and McCabe (1997) who suggest that: 'Case study provides a vehicle through which several qualitative methods can be combined, thereby avoiding too great a reliance on one single approach' (Bryman & Bell, 2007:62).

In this regard the case study approach provides exploration and examination of the role of traditional leadership to generate the intended objective of the research study. In conclusion, the case study approach has saved a great deal of time and supported the methodological instruments applied in the field.



4.3.4 Documentary analysis

It is important in this process that reviewing the collected documents has been one of the important means of data collection and the interpretation process. It is one of the vital sources upon which content analysis is carried out. Documentary analysis provides what one could say is a useful collection of relevant documents to support research conducted from the start to its logical conclusion.

Hence, critical, vital and relevant documents related to traditional leadership theories and management principles were reviewed. Compilations of documents, questionnaires and interviews were the basis for content analysis. Blear (2002) comments that importance of documents lies in the fact that they describe events from the partisan standpoint of lived experience. They are thus a record of a local culture and of a situated communal understanding of events. The documentary materials used are as follows:

- SPLM/A documents
- Southern Sudan regional maps
- NGOs' reports
- Interim National Constitution of Sudan
- Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan
- Books about Sudan
- Relevant books in the field of social sciences
- Relevant books

- Relevant books on research methodology

The documentary analysis has provided information concerning theories of traditional leadership and relevant books in the field of public administration and management. It has given an unprecedented body of knowledge and made use of documentary analysis as a supplementary source of data. However, the most important aspect of this process is the tedious process of interpretive experience in making use of the documentary analysis for a credible outcome. Furthermore, documents are usefully distinguished between personal documents and official documents and have further classified the latter in terms of private as opposed to state documents (Bryman & Bell, 2007:555). This explains that while various documents have been collected, the researcher has made use of relevant documents that address the research under study.



4.4 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.4.1 Data analysis and processing

Data analysis in qualitative research is purposely done on the basis of the selected analytical unit of analysis of Lofland (1971:13) namely acts, activities, relationship and setting. After interviews and collection of questionnaires, the researcher embarked on scrutinizing and editing the documents for accuracy and authenticity of the information collected. The other questionnaires which were to follow were also quantified. The quantification helped with the data processing and analysis of the various sources of information collected. This process consisted of two sets of analysis based on analytic induction and grounded theory (William, 1976; Hycner, 1985).

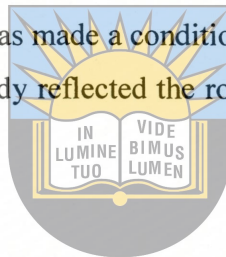
4.4.2 Data interpretation

The interpretation of data was essential and therefore it was done through analysis and evaluation of sources of information from different categories of Abiem social groups, the local county authorities and the military personnel. Thus the interpretation of the data of this research work was based on systematic analysis which helped the researcher to combine the collection and analysis of data (Bryman & Bell, 2007:583). The intention of this process was to conform to the set objectives of the research. Detailed interpretation and analysis shall follow in the next chapter.

4.4.3 Methods of sampling

In the sampling procedure of subjects for investigation, the researcher used random sampling for the selection of three executive chiefs out of 11, three SPLA officers and three SPLM area administrators. In each group, random sampling was used. 'With random sampling, each unit of the population has an equal probability of inclusion in the sample' (Bryman & Bell, 2007:185-186).

However, convenient sampling was also used in the situation where inclusion of all traditional leaders in the area was paramount, as it was made a condition by the executive chief that all their sub chiefs should be invited since the study reflected the role of TL which was the backbone of this case study.



4.4.4 Validity

Validity of the instrument is the degree to which the instrument measures what it expected to measure. This is explained by Babbie (1995:), who defines validity as the 'extent to which a specific measurement provides data that relates to commonly accepted meanings of a particular concept'. The instruments which were used in this research were crosschecked by comparative analysis and assessment. Crosschecking determined the validity of the methods and instruments used in the questionnaires and during interviews.

4.5 CONCLUSION

Research methodology is an important vehicle through which research is carried out. As stated earlier, qualitative research methodology is a more influential approach in conducting epistemological research. This entails the selection of research design, research approach, data collection procedures, data analysis and interpretation.

The research methodology helped the researcher to follow systematic research processes through to their logical conclusion. This means that the final presentation will embody the findings that will satisfy the research questions and objectives. This shall be illustrated in the next chapter.



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CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of this study was to explore and examine the roles of traditional leadership during the upsurge of civil war in the beleaguered Southern Sudan. This entailed taking into consideration the historical perspective of the nature of traditional leadership, and the comparative evaluation of the study. Hence, the presentations of the findings are analyzed in this chapter. The analysis of the data was done on the basis of data collected from various segments of Abiem traditional leadership, the SPLM/A leadership in the area of research and the NGOs that worked in the area during wartime. Further analysis was done on the relevant documents in the field of research for comparative reasons. In this chapter, quantitative and qualitative analyses were done, informed by the findings of the study.

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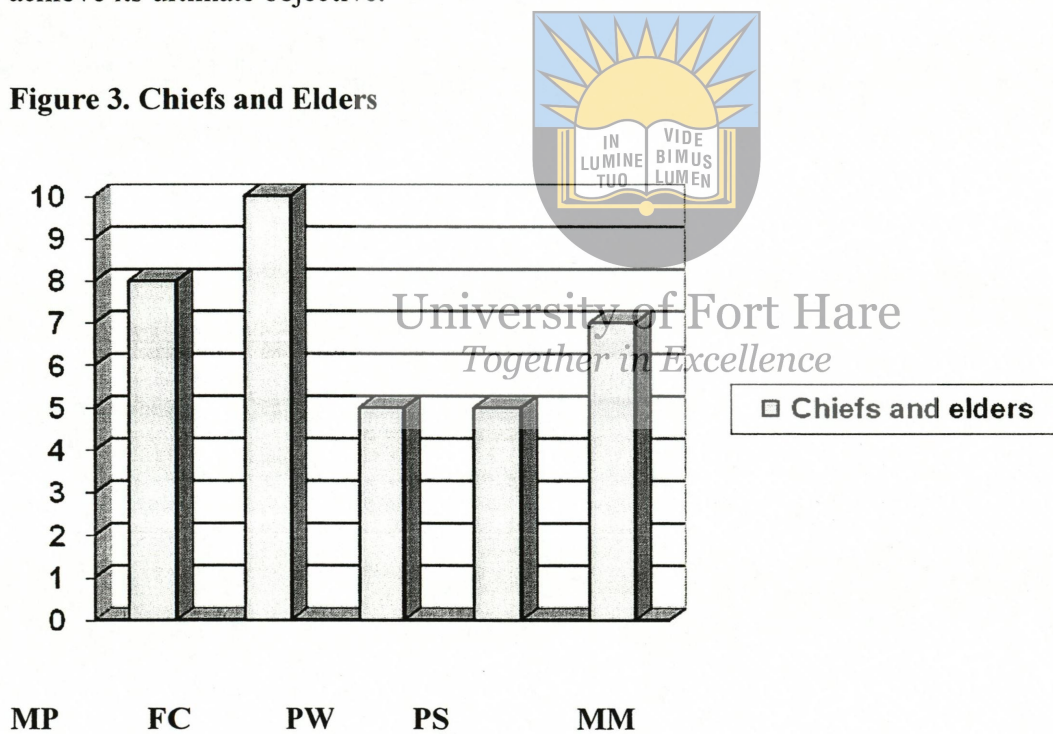
5.2 QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

The descriptive analysis of the responses per category of items revealed that the majority of the respondents were in agreement regarding the roles played by each group. This is in line with questions which were answered during the survey. According to these responses 70% were of the opinion that the traditional leaders had played an unprecedented role to enhance the war effort including management of people, collection of food contributions from every household, political mobilization and sensitization of the people, preservation of peace and security among the people and the liberating armies, and the mobilization of the manpower upon which the liberation movement depended greatly over two decades.

The data suggests that the roles played by traditional leaders were fairly positive and thus answered the fundamental questions posed by the study in chapter one. Furthermore and as shown below, the percentages are self-explanatory. However, this should not undermine the roles played by the revolutionary army in terms of the sacrifices they incurred during the protracted

war of liberation. The chart and the responses explain the general patterns of the impact of each category that shaped and influenced the trends of the liberation struggle. This again illustrates the objectives of the research study that centered on how and to what extent the traditional leadership played a pivotal role in the liberation struggle and to examine how the Abiem traditional leaders supported the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement during two decades of the civil war. The responses were therefore crucial for clear understanding of the nature of war and the efforts exerted by each group which culminated in sustainability of the protracted war of liberation in terms of the material, manpower and moral support rendered to the SPLM/A to achieve its ultimate objective.

Figure 3. Chiefs and Elders



MP - Management of people

FC - Food collection

PW - Political work

PS - Peace and security

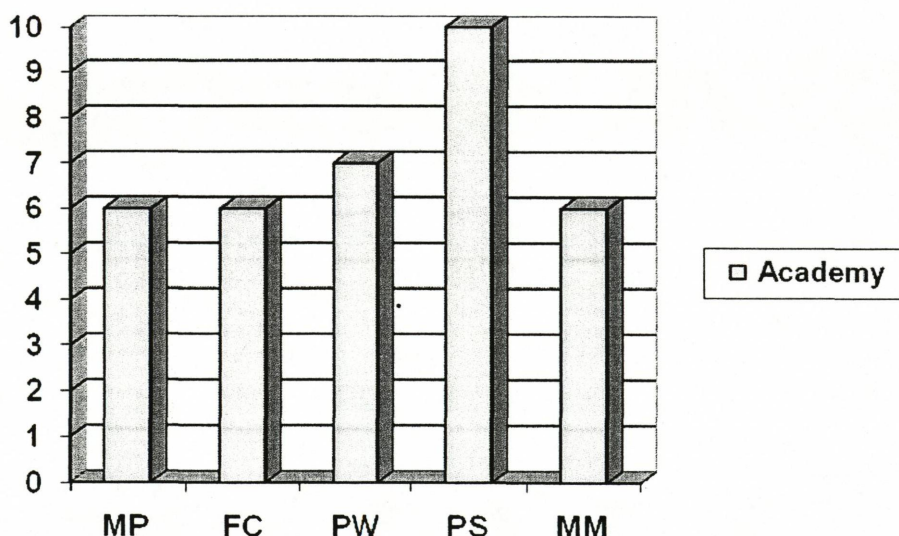
MM- Manpower mobilization

There was also general consensus by most participants that the role of the traditional leadership was profound, strong and cohesive. This was observed across various levels of participants and

from various respondents. The chart illustrates the magnitude and percentages of the average roles of the category of each group which were reflected during various meetings, focus groups and interviews. As mentioned earlier the interview schedules were methodically prepared by using fairly standard sets of questions. The chart presents the results and outcomes of the multiple interviews and questionnaire responses. From the figures and the percentages indicated it is apparent that the roles of traditional leaders were significant. The results illustrate the concrete position of the traditional leaders and the massive support they rendered to the liberation movement. The fighting force which carried the burden of fighting during the war of liberation was almost equal at 70%. This does not mean less recognition, but underlies the assumption and probability of the workload displayed by each category in terms of their contribution. It also supports Mao Zedong's saying that 'no guerrilla movement can survive without the people's support'. The roles may overlap, but the means of execution are often divergent. The traditional leaders represented the people or communities who were the backbone of the fighting forces for food mobilization, recruitment, and even sensitization and awareness of the people.

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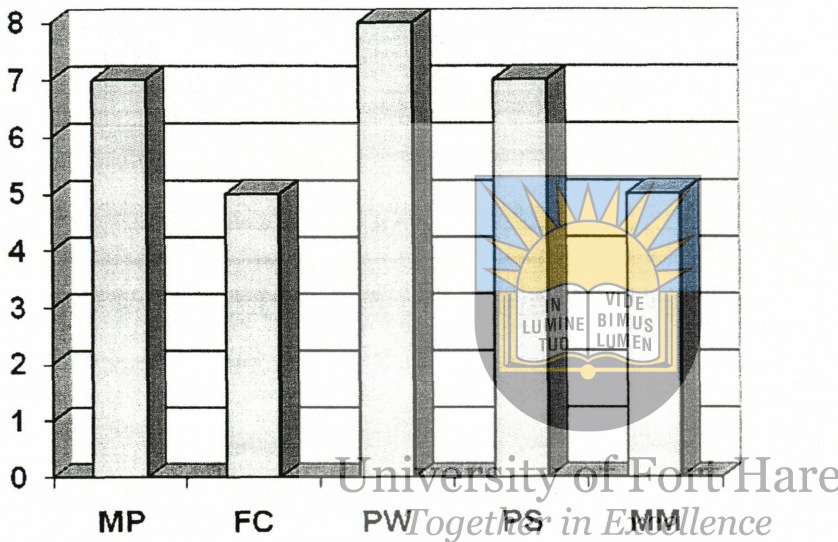
Figure 4. Role of the army



The SPLM/A was the vanguard which derived its resources from the people through their traditional leaders who were the custodians of society. Basically, the SPLM/A as the civil and the military wing of the movement relied wholly on the people and their traditional leadership on

all counts in effecting the most protracted war on the entire continent. Hence their role remained a determining factor in terms of their vision and sacrifices towards winning the liberation struggle.

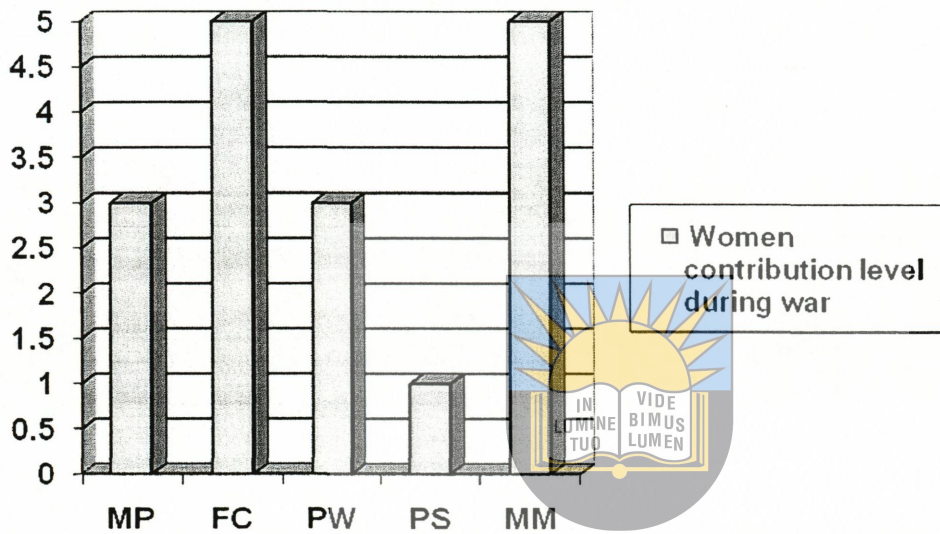
Figure 5. Role of the civil administration



Civil and military administrators stood at the centre between the army and the people through their traditional leaders and traditional authority. Their contribution was rated at an average of 64%. They would often be informed of any political, administrative and military decision so that they could know where their role would be necessary. The table clearly outlines how the SPLM/A used to mobilize manpower and food resources from the people through the civil administration and traditional leadership.

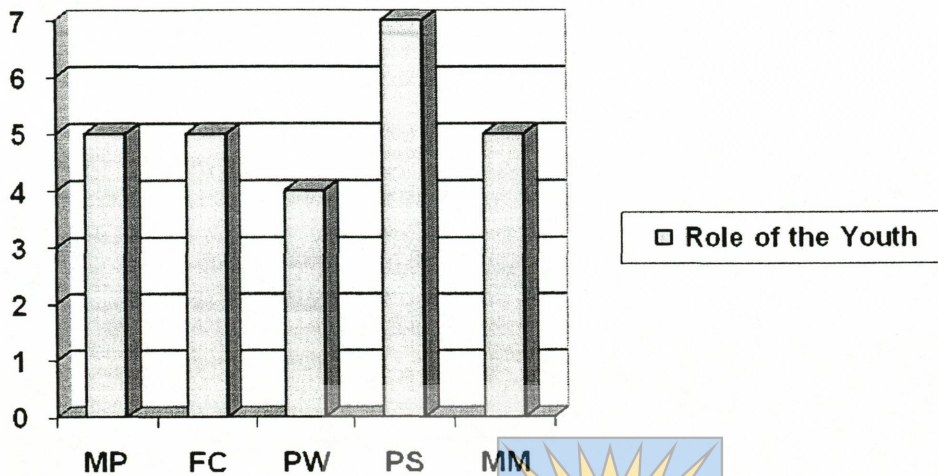
The women's contribution to the war effort is reported to have been tangible in all aspects of the liberation. The feeding of the liberation army is however attributed to them. They used to provide ready-made food, raw food ingredients and took care of the wounded and sick among the soldiers. The chart below is a clear illustration of their levels of contribution which stand at 32%.

Figure 6. Women's contribution during the war



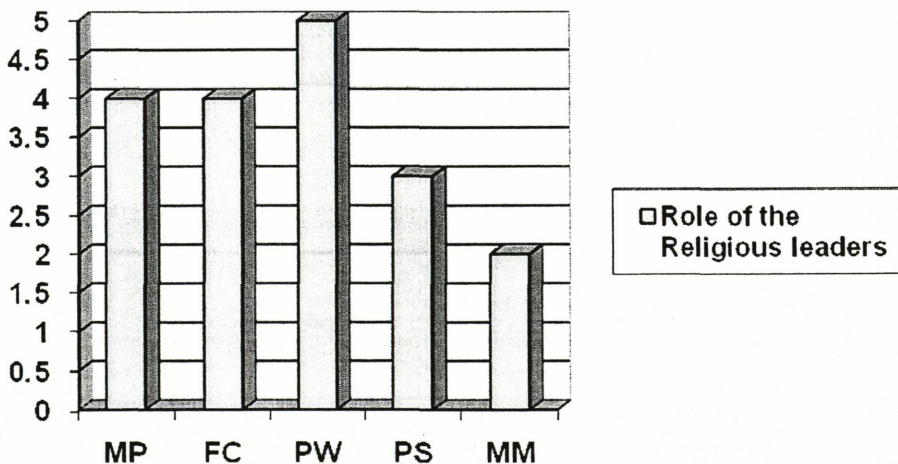
According to the graph below the role of the youth is rated as 52% and local administrators are ranked at an average of 64%. This also has its logical conclusion: the youth were in the forefront of the struggle. They were entrusted with the protection of the entire community from all the security hazards posed by the Arab al Marahileen intruders (militia); and to oversee the inner tribal feuds, as well as the baseline for the SPLA recruitment. In many instances they fought alongside of the guerrilla combatants against the main foe known as the government forces and their pro-Arab militias.

Figure 7. Role of the youth



The church and business institutions were other essential sources of support. The churches for instance were part and parcel of the political and moral boosting for the SPLM/A during the armed struggle and are estimated at 30%. That made the churches indispensable and significant in all phases of the war. Similar recognition is apparent of the business institutions that gave a lot of material support. Up to this moment some traders are still demanding that the army and the government of Southern Sudan repay their debts which were incurred during the war. Their contribution is estimated at an average of 6%, which though small, was crucial because it was there when needed at critical times.

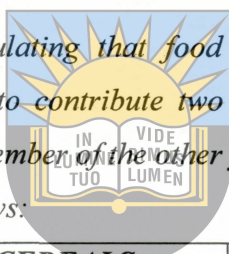
Figure 8. The role of the religious leaders



Furthermore, it is crucial to clarify the methods used by the SPLM/A to collect both human and material resources to sustain the war effort. The illustration below gives the historical role of the civil and military in the field. For instance, the Rubeke conference held in 2001 between the Western Equatoria Civil Authority and the SPLA Western Equatoria Command resolved that given the looming enemy offensive and the time pressures that bore on the region, it was necessary to convene this regional meeting to examine the future move of the region to counter the enemy threat. After lengthy and elaborate discussion the meeting resolved the following:

A - Food Mobilization:

- a) Affirm Rubeke resolutions stipulating that food contribution is obligatory on each household in Equatoria region to contribute two tins of cereal and one tin of pulses annually from September to September of the other year or its equivalent value.
- b) Each county contributes as follows:



S/N	COUNTY	BAGS OF CEREALS	BAGS OF PULSES
1	KAJOKEJI	3,333	1,667
2	MARIDI	20,000	6,667
3	TOMBURA	20,000	6,667
4	YAMBIO	23,333	6,667
5	YEI	10,676	5,333
6	MUNDIRI	23,333	11,667
7	EZO	6,667	3,333
8	TEREKEKA	3,333	1,667
9	JUBA	3,333	1,667
10	TOTAL	114,000	50,335

Source: Rubeke Conference, 2001

Table 3

- a) This food must be collected before the 10th Feb 2001.
- b) This food is to be assembled in Payam headquarters for collection by logistics.

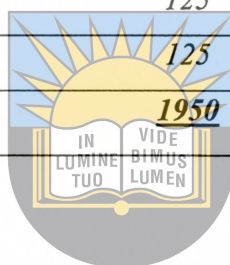
B - Manpower Mobilization

- a) The county raises the following figures against each:

<i>S/N</i>	<i>COUNTY</i>	<i>FRESH RECRUITS</i>
1	KAJOKEJI	150
2	MARIDI	300
3	TOMBURA	300
4	YAMBIO	300
5	YEI	200
6	MUNDIRI	300
7	EZO	150
8	TEREKEKA	125
9	JUBA	125
10	<u>TOTAL</u>	1950

Table 4

Source: Rubeke Conference, 2001



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- b) *The above recruits report to the training centre not later than 20th Feb 2001.*
 - c) *All illegal practices during mobilization shall be severely punished.*
 - d) *The county secretary, brigade and brigade commanders are authorized to mobilize all loitering officers and soldiers in their counties.*

1. FINANCE IN THE REGION

- a) *Affirms the allocation of revenue in accordance with Rubeke resolutions to same effect.*
- b) *The personal income tax (PIT) for those indigenous Sudanese working with NGOs is to be collected by the county authorities.*

5.3 QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

In the interview with Chief Makwac Makwac it became clear that the role was a historical one: 'since time immemorial the people of Southern Sudan through their chiefs and community leaders have ever played a pivotal role in the wars of liberation. The Abiem people have continuously demonstrated their yearning for freedom, justice and equality by joining mass struggles, providing shelter as well as keeping the flames of the spirit of the revolution alive.

Hence at the inception of Anyanya 2 (the 2nd Southern Sudan Armed struggle) and the subsequent formation of the SPLM/A, in 1983, the chiefs and traditional leaders relentlessly mobilized and encouraged the youth to join in the struggle for self-emancipation and restoration of inalienable rights denied to them before and after the establishment of independent Sudan. Although the recruitment or conscription in the earlier stages was done as a voluntary exercise, a balanced strategy was adopted thereafter by community executive chiefs. This strategy was the mobilization of proportional numbers of recruits enlisted from chiefs, sub chiefs and heads of a family (a gole leader). Nobody was forced to join the army in the early stages, but it was spontaneous. Then it became obligatory to the youth when the marauding Arab al Marahileen became a major threat. Everybody was, however, expected to prepare for any unforeseen situation throughout the war.




Chief Aleu Wol said that, ‘before the establishment of SPLM/A in the area we used to mobilize resources such as guns in order to defend ourselves from the Arab al Marahileen. The repeated attacks and killing of people and destruction of our livelihood engendered the spirit for the struggle and joined our hands with the SPLM/A.’

On the other hand, Chief Malong Yor, one of the oldest Abiem chiefs and the only living chief since the era of the British rule, clearly stated that: ‘As the paramount chief of Abiem in the early 1990s, I personally led my people to Bilpam, along the south-west Ethiopian borders where the SPLM/A military bases were located. That was because the Abiem people were severely oppressed, killed, looted; many children and women were abducted by the government-sponsored militia forces. Therefore the only salvation was to join the SPLM/A, with its objective which was far beyond what we thought’. However the chief’s narrative stemmed from the severity of the situation the tribal communities experienced in the face of the Marahileen onslaught in the area. It was imperative for the chief to spearhead the long march merely to obtain guns, which meant a lot to the people and to the southern struggle. It indeed reflected the magnitude of the situation in the country at large.

Chief Dut Akec stressed that, ‘the war which was fought by the SPLM/A was the popular people’s war because all of us shared the sweat and blood. It was with the people’s backing that the liberators pursued a well-perceived war of liberation’.

Through unstructured interviews and discussions, the respondents expressed their views on the roles of traditional leadership and their relationship with the fighting forces during the upsurge of war; that the army was so concerned about security and therefore they were considered as the protective force for the entire population. However, the authority of the traditional leaders was the functioning local administration that had maintained traditional structures for conflict management. Not only that, but they had a good reputation and enjoyed popularity among the international NGOs, and UN personnel who were operating in the area. As such the traditional leadership in Dinka society and Abiem in particular had a great influence on the people and this could be summarized as follows:

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- a) It kept the Dinka and particularly Abiem community coherent and integral;
 - b) It protected human rights through traditional Dinka customary laws like Wanth-Alel;
 - c) People avoided major crimes like rape, adultery and fighting among themselves.

According to the researcher’s observation, the traditional leadership level of authority in the community had been and will remain the centre of power in the community and indeed the intermediary body between the community and the local administration. They operate at the level of counties (provinces), payams (Districts) and Bumans (local Councils) and villages which are the smallest administrative units. Their relationship was very good particularly in the Abiem area. This was because everyone felt that the SPLM/A belonged to them and vice versa. Moreover, people felt secure and protected during the wartime because, they were confident that the SPLM/A was the right liberation movement to release them from the yoke of the Northern Central government. Such sentiments among the people were probably the reason behind the huge support rendered to the liberation struggle in terms of logistics and human resource mobilization for the execution of the war.

As to the question of what the factors were that enhanced and hindered the roles of traditional leaders during the war of liberation from 1983-2004, it has been asserted that there were numerous factors that hindered or enhanced the role of traditional leadership summarized as follows:

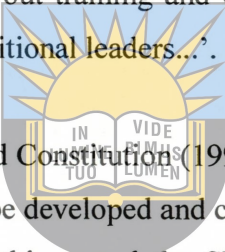
a) Factors that might have enhanced the impact of traditional leadership on the trends of the liberation struggle:

- Collection of food from the local people to feed the freedom fighters
- Recruitment of fresh recruits and arrest of deserters
- Peace-building through peace committees among the various communities and preservation of peace
- Coordination with NGOs for humanitarian services
- Liaison between the SPLM/A and the people
- Political and moral boosting of the army
- Preservation of cultures, traditions and values of the society

b). the factors that hindered the function of traditional leaders were:

- The insecurity that caused mass displacement
- Unabated harassment by Sudan's military and the SPLA soldiers
- Replacement of chiefs by force without concern for their respective communities
- Lack of proper facilities for and services to the people
- Natural disasters and starvation of local populations

The local institutional developments had been a problem area since the colonial area and became worse in post-independence Sudan. All the successive governments in Sudan failed to deliver a sound local government that addressed the interests of the people. However, during the last protracted civil war from 1983-2005 it was a period that can be characterized as the era of the traditional leaders. This is because it was the only local institutional system that managed to deliver services to both the warring parties and the people themselves. Hence, relations between traditional authorities and local government should be carefully defined so that a corresponding desire was reciprocally achieved.

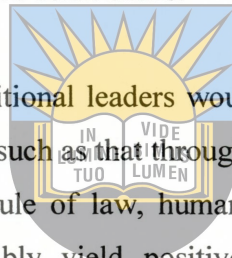
The first SPLM National Convention at Chukudum in 1994 reaffirmed the SPLM/A commitment to the people at grassroots' participation in managing their own local system of governance. Similar commitment was apparently stipulated by a local government cluster workshop sponsored by UNDP held in Rumbek in 2003. This resolution recommended a number of resolutions, but significantly reiterated that, 'the government of Southern Sudan must ensure the efficient management of collecting and dispensing of local resources with the express consent of the local communities; define and determine the powers of traditional leaders and chiefs within the framework local government; carry out training and educational programmes designed for enhancing and improving the role of traditional leaders...?'.


The SPLM/A Vision and Programme and Constitution (1998:10) commits the 'civil authority' of the new Sudan which states that it will 'be developed and consolidated over time until it becomes the government of the new Sudan'. In this regard the SPLM sort of civil administration was projected as a decentralized system of governance that would ensure the full realization of democratic governance through popular participation and democratic control in decision making. But the main constraint of the SPLM by then was that the vision remained with the leadership pattern, and with its organizational levels, because the conditions of the protracted armed struggle could not allow full implementation of the vision and programme as stipulated in the constitution. Secondly the concept of Civil Administration of New Sudan (CANS) and its structures remained confusing because the people were unable to differentiate between the SPLM structures and the CANS structures. For instance the status of the 'Civil Authority of New Sudan' (CANS) is not clear.

It was said that 'the Civil Authority of the New Sudan was the highest political and administrative authority in the new Sudan'. Again it took the example of Boma, the smallest administrative unit within the said structures, which 'shall be the basic political and administrative unit and the cornerstone of SPLM administration' (SPLM/A Interim Constitution, 1998:12).

Hence, all those ambiguities remain elusive and must be revised. Although the local government clusters workshop indeed enhanced the concepts of local government, yet its realization remains a challenging process for the future institutional development of the local government. Furthermore, it has been obvious that the role of traditional leaders is clearer than that of local government. This is because the local government structures have not yet been institutionalized to incorporate the role of the traditional authority system. Therefore, the local government or the so-called civil administration of the New Sudan (CANS) depended very much on the role of traditional leaders in terms of material resource mobilization, human resources and management of the local population and their respective combatants.

The survey and discussion of how traditional leaders would promote good governance elicited significant response on various aspects, such as that through the establishment of a strong system within the local government like the rule of law, human rights, democracy and an effective system of accountability would possibly yield positive results. In addition to that, such establishment would also give impetus to development through human resource development, capacity building, community awareness and primary health care.



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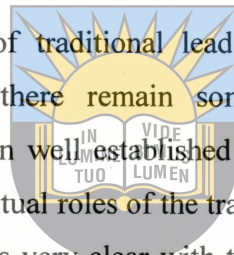
The role of traditional leaders during the war of liberation did not, however, go smoothly, but encountered ups and downs and enormous challenges. These challenges could be summarized as follows:

- a) Unabated insecurity and continued displacements
- b) Traditional leaders encountered a great deal of encroachment on their recognized authority over their subjects from the combatants
- c) Constant intrusion from the so-called civil and military administrators
- d) Overlapping of SPLM/A structures and of the authority of the traditional leaders
- e) Traditional leaders were the victims of the policies of the government and the SPLM/A.

The researcher observed that despite differences and skepticism over the capacity of traditional leaders, they remained serving as cultural, political and spiritual leaders of their societies in charge of their wellbeing and management in all aspects. The SPLM First National Convention

of 1994, the watershed Chukudum 1994 resolutions 18.3.3 and 19.7, the SPLM Vision and Programme and Constitution of 1998, the technical team of the SPLM Local Government Secretariat, the Local Government Framework for Southern Sudan, Rumbek 2004, all recognized the ideal roles of traditional leadership and their indispensable right and place in the local government structure. Most importantly, the All Chiefs' Conference, 2004, at Kamutu; (New Site) reaffirmed the future roles of traditional leaders in good governance and also in the local government of the New Sudan. This was asserted by the current Sudan's Interim Constitution and Interim Constitution of the Government of South Sudan respectively.

Despite the recognition of the role of traditional leaders and their capacities as the sole custodians of indigenous societies, there remain some duplication and overlapping of responsibilities. This is obvious even in well-established countries like the Republic of South Africa, where some ambiguity on the actual roles of the traditional leaders in relation to the local government remain problematic. This is very clear with the lower administrative units of local governments in Southern Sudan where the traditional leaders are more active and entrenched within the community.



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In the contemporary African countries many have pledged to recognize the role of traditional leaders, yet their position is still regarded as being merely ceremonial in local government structures. Sometimes their role is attached to the local courts which are basically customary laws. In actual fact they continuously oversee the day-to-day activities of their communities, handling peace and security among their social communities as well as their general wellbeing and cohesion. It is therefore necessary for the government of Southern Sudan to review their local government structures and formulate a very clear vision of the role of traditional leadership and traditional authority.

The traditional institutions could be a formidable base for real local institutional development and transformation into effective local base structures that can meet the people's expectations for their actual participation. Similar studies could be done in the other African countries, regarding how they have institutionalized the role of traditional leaders and traditional authority in their respective constitutions. There is much to be borrowed from various African contexts, and from

their forms of handling the roles of traditional leaders. An example could be cited on the statutory powers, duties and functions of traditional leaders under South Africa's customary laws, section 211 of the Constitution.

The role of traditional leaders in Southern Sudan cannot be compared to Namibia and Zimbabwe where the traditional leaders were marginalized immediately after independence as they were alleged to have cooperated with the colonial powers. Since time immemorial the traditional leaders in Southern Sudan have been part and parcel of the people's struggle. That could be dated back to the resistance against the Turkish invasion to colonized Sudan, the Anglo-Egyptian rule and Southern Sudan's history of resistance against the successive regimes in Khartoum.



5.4 CONCLUSION

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The presentation and descriptive analysis of the results in the light of the research objective, and the research questions, have revealed the pivotal roles played by the traditional leaders in enhancing the war of liberation. The analysis of the roles of various participants also provided identification of various role players at each level of contribution offered to the liberation struggle.

The involvement of many elements in the study has provided support for the role and the nature of the traditional leaders and the trend of the liberation struggle. The discussion of the findings has revealed the factors that have enhanced and hindered the function of traditional leaders during the difficult years of the liberation movement.

The evaluation of the roles of the traditional leaders compared to that of the liberation army has shown how formidable their contribution was. Such significant involvement had an enormous impact on the progression of the war of liberation in Southern Sudan.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

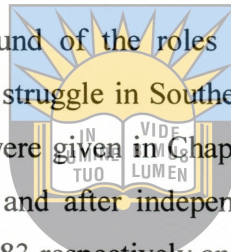
The results of this research study have shown the general pattern of how all the categories involved in the civil war played an essential role in the liberation struggle in Southern Sudan against Sudan's central government. The traditional leaders, that is the chiefs, represented a remarkable percentage, almost equivalent to the role of the liberating army (SPLA). The tremendous role of the traditional leaders showed the undoubted position of the traditional leaders during the armed struggle which portrayed them as the main sponsors of the liberation. Without their commitment the sustainability of the protracted war would have not been feasible. In this context the liberation army represents the entire Sudan People's Liberation Army and Liberation Movement as the Movement and the vanguard of the liberation struggle. Yet the recognition of the traditional leaders by the SPLM/A from the start was a realistic strategic choice in the 21 years of the protracted war.

The main objective of the research study was to establish how and to what extent traditional leadership played a role in the liberation struggle in Southern Sudan from 1983-2004. It also sought to determine and examine the role played by the traditional leadership in Abiem area and their contribution to and moral support of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and the Sudan People's Liberation Army, in its liberation struggle, and to identify and analyze the factors that affected the functions of traditional leadership in Southern Sudan. All these have been illustrated and achieved as reflected by the assessment and evaluation of the roles of traditional leadership embedded in chapter five.

Chapter one gave a concise statement of the problem of the research study which was empirically examined, and established whether the roles played by the traditional leadership during the SPLM/A's protracted war had a real impact on the progress of the war effort and its final accomplishment. In all phases of the history of the liberation struggle in Southern Sudan, it was the traditional leaders and their respective social communities that supported the liberation

movement in terms of political support and physically backing, feeding and sheltering them and at times joining the liberators in their combat against the government forces and militias. The chapter also examined how traditional leaders managed to maintain viable local institutional organizations in supporting the SPLM/A in its armed struggle, policies and objectives throughout. The chapter established how and to what extent the traditional leaders played a role in supporting the protracted armed struggle in South Sudan. The roles played by traditional leaders in Abiem area were examined. The factors that affected the functions of TL were identified and analyzed.

The historiography and brief background of the roles of traditional leaders and traditional authority in all phases of the liberation struggle in Southern Sudan against the yoke of Sudan's successive governments in Khartoum were given in Chapter two. The history of the role of TL goes back to the Colonial era, before and after independence, during Anyanya one and two armed struggles from 1955-1972, 1976-83 respectively and the SPLM/A from 1983-2005 when the peace deal was finally struck with the government of Khartoum under the then National Congress Party (NCP).



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The literature was reviewed in Chapter three. In this study, the traditional approach to the sociology of the traditional theory of leadership perspectives and perceptions was reviewed. These perceptions were examined to understand the nature of TL in terms of traditions, culture and social being. In this chapter, traditional leadership was valued as important to understand the dynamics of the liberation struggle. The issue of traditional leadership was examined in the light of the theoretical underpinnings of public administration.

Chapter four dealt with research design and methodological issues. Qualitative research methodology was employed as an appropriate approach in conducting epistemological research. However, due to unabated war conditions and backwardness in the area of research, data collection was difficult. In the main, the research methodology assisted in conducting a systematic research process to its logical conclusion.

Chapter five of the study centered on the presentation and descriptive analysis of the results in the light of the research objective, and the research questions posed. The chapter revealed the pivotal roles played by the traditional leaders in enhancing the war of liberation. The use of many elements in the study provided arguments in support of the roles and the nature of the traditional leaders and the trends of the liberation struggle. The discussion has therefore revealed the factors that enhanced or hindered the function of traditional leaders during the difficult years of the liberation struggle. The evaluation of the roles of the traditional leaders compared to that of the liberation army showed how formidable their contribution was. Such significant involvement had an enormous impact on the trend of the war of liberation.



Based on the critical issues raised, the following hindrances are outlined below as follows:

- a) This research is limited to the views of traditional leaders as well as those who might have been involved in one way or another during the upsurge of war in Southern Sudan. The study has generally depended on experiences and perspectives in the field of research. Its findings may therefore not necessarily be generalized to represent the views of leadership gurus, but the research study has made use of various principles of leadership theories.
- b) The research study was done in an area where there has never been any historical documentation and therefore most of the work was based on oral narratives, interviews and other general references. This aspect of limited references would therefore entail the need for future research.

Recommendations:

The following recommendations are drawn from the content analysis and conclusions:

- a. The issue of transforming local government is challenging in many developing countries, and especially contemporary Africa. Therefore, any local institutional development must recognize and fully involve traditional authority and traditional leaders in any local administrative establishment. The powers of local government should focus on the

institutional development of traditional authorities and traditional leaders at the local tier of government. Such inclusion and attention would enhance the function of rural local government, the democratic transformation of local communities, and inc effectively defend the local communities' interests against the hegemony of upper tier of government

- b. The South African, Botswana and Ghana experiences in forming Houses of Chiefs provided a useful model in recognizing the role of traditional leadership in the Africa context. Southern Sudan could replicate the models, with the local communities having gone through experiences of self-rule and independence during the war. That basically responds to the needs of traditional leaders who had been under immense political, social and economic upheaval and survived to a greater extent, maintaining their cohesion and support for the liberation army. Hence, the recognition is a forward step towards ultimate recognition of the role of traditional leaders by the states which can be made use of by the autonomous government of Southern Sudan.

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To involve traditional leaders in local government establishment, they must be educated at least. The challenge is that 90% of traditional leaders in Southern Sudan are illiterate. Therefore, in order to cope with administrative and management principles, they ought to undergo orientation and awareness such as the modern process of social change, adhering to democratic principles, the rule of law, as well as co-existence between good governance and African traditional systems. The orientation must also raise public awareness of the risks and dangers of tribal discrimination and injustices among the communities.

- d. For better effectiveness and efficiency of traditional authority and traditional leaders in their respective communities, the position of chiefs and subchiefs should be elected within their respective communities. The authority of the chiefdom based on hereditary practices, should be transformed into a democratic system within a given social phenomenon. For those within a plural society, a direct process of democracy should replace the rigid traditional systems. Only the spiritual beliefs that cannot be delegated,

and which are a social necessity within traditional societies should remain with their respective holders. The transformation will promote social equality, democracy and transparency.

- e. The government of the Southern Sudan should start making policies and putting legal frameworks in place for the powers of traditional leaders and chiefs. This should be done in line with the provisions of the Interim Constitution of Southern Sudan, article 175 (1 & 2) which calls for the State to provide ‘policies for the role of traditional authority as an institution at local level, and for the establishment, composition, function and duties of the council of Traditional Authority Leaders’ respectively.
- f. This study strongly recommends to the government of Southern Sudan to seek ways and means of compensating the traditional leaders and people who sacrificed their lives and personal property during the armed struggle. The only viable means of paying back the people of Southern Sudan is through prompt legalization and institutionalization of the roles of traditional leaders, involvement of the people in popular decision making in all the affairs that affect their immediate interests, and adequate service delivery in terms of education, health care and employment opportunities, among others.
- g. It has been witnessed by the historical perspective that traditional leaders have been successful in issues of management and local conflict resolution. Thus the traditional leaders as local actors are to be strengthened and empowered to resolve conflict within their diverse communities through their local mechanisms based on shared beliefs and customary law.

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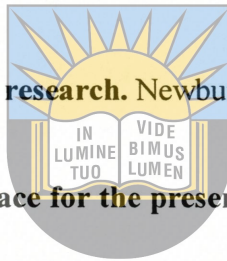
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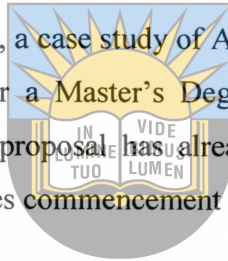
ANNEXURE A: LETTER OF PERMISSION

Subject: Permission to conduct research in Aweil East County
(Abiem County)

Dear comrades

.....

Dear comrade, I do hereby put forward this request to answer the questionnaire below. The subject of my research is to examine the role of traditional leadership during the war of the struggle for liberation in Southern Sudan, a case study of Abiem traditional leadership. This is in fulfilment of my study requirement for a Master's Degree in Public Administration at the University of Fort Hare. My research proposal has already been approved by the Research Technical Committee and this necessitates commencement of my field work.



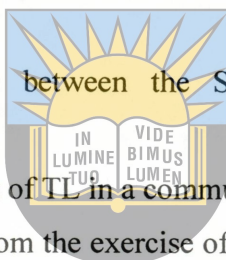
Furthermore this process is being done under supervision of my advisor, Prof. M.H. Kanyane, currently supervising students in the Masters in Public Administration programme at the University of Fort Hare. My student number is 200431226.

Finally it is my pleasure to inform you that this study is intended to contribute positively to the role of traditional leadership in the future local administration of the government of Southern Sudan. You are one of the Movement cadres whom I believe would contribute objectively to these questionnaires.

ANNEXURE B: INTERVIEW

A. Interview questions

1. What is the level of impact of the role of traditional leadership in Dinka society in general and in Abiem community in particular?
2. What were the factors that enhanced or hindered the role of traditional leadership during the war of liberation 1983-2004?
3. Could you explain type of support rendered by TL to the liberation army/movement during war times? Explain.
4. What was the relationship between the SPLA/M and traditional leadership, particularly in Abiem area?
5. Explain the levels of the roles of TL in a community.
6. What lessons were learned from the exercise of TL and TA in Abiem area during the war of liberation?
7. Evaluate the impact of weak and strong TL in a community.
8. What difficulties were encountered by the traditional leadership in the exercise of their legitimate roles in their communities in the face of SPLM administrative structures?
9. Explain the comparative relationship between the roles of traditional leadership and the local government.
10. How can traditional leadership promote :
 - good governance
 - decision making
 - development?
11. Generally comment on the problems and challenges between traditional leadership and local government and how best this could be resolved.



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ANNEXURE C: COVERING LETTER

It is my pleasure to present the final report of my research dissertation for a Master's Degree in the Public Administration Programme. The research study is under the title, **The Examination of the Role of Traditional Leadership during the armed struggle in Southern Sudan from 1983-2004**. This process has been done under supervision of my advisor, Prof. M.H. Kanyane, currently supervising students of Masters' in the Public Administration Programme at the University of Fort Hare. My student number is 200431226.

With this presentation I hope that this research study will contribute to the body of knowledge in the field of Public Administration and management.



Best regards.

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Kuol Deng-Abot Kuol.

ANNEXURE D: QUESTIONNAIRE

Format of the questionnaires

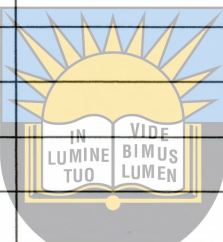
1. Gender

Male

2. State your age:

Indicate your marital status: *Married.*

3. How would you rate the role of traditional leadership in Abiem area?

Very Good	
Good	
Not Sure	
Poor	
Unacceptable	

4. How would you rate your involvement and working relationship with the traditional leadership/authority in Abiem area?

Very Good	<input type="checkbox"/>
Good	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not Sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poor	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unacceptable	<input type="checkbox"/>

5. Did the army coordinate with traditional authority/traditional leadership in the collection of logistics?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

6. Was the army involved in local administration during the war time?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. Do you think the traditional leadership really participated in the war effectively?

Yes	<input type="checkbox"/>
No	<input type="checkbox"/>



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8. How would you rate the relationship between army and traditional leaders?

Very Good	<input type="checkbox"/>
Good	<input type="checkbox"/>
Not Sure	<input type="checkbox"/>
Poor	<input type="checkbox"/>
Unacceptable	<input type="checkbox"/>

Were there any problems? If no/yes explain.

9. The army were too harsh to population and their leaders, if no explain!

Yes

No

Motivate your answer.

10. Do you think traditional leadership could play the same roles in the future democratic government in Southern Sudan?

Yes ()

No

11. Is there any other way round or substitute for the role of traditional leadership in a society?

Yes

No ()

12. Generally comment on the problems and challenges between traditional leadership and local government and how best this could be resolved.



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ANNEXURE E- PHOTOS AND MAPS

Photo 1: Traditional court under the tree, Mathol



Photo 2: Executive Chief Peter Makwac Makwac, Oct 2006- Wanyjok



Photo 3: Executive Chief Malong Yor, right of the researcher. Chief Malong is the oldest surviving chief since the era of the British rule, Madhol Oct.2006.

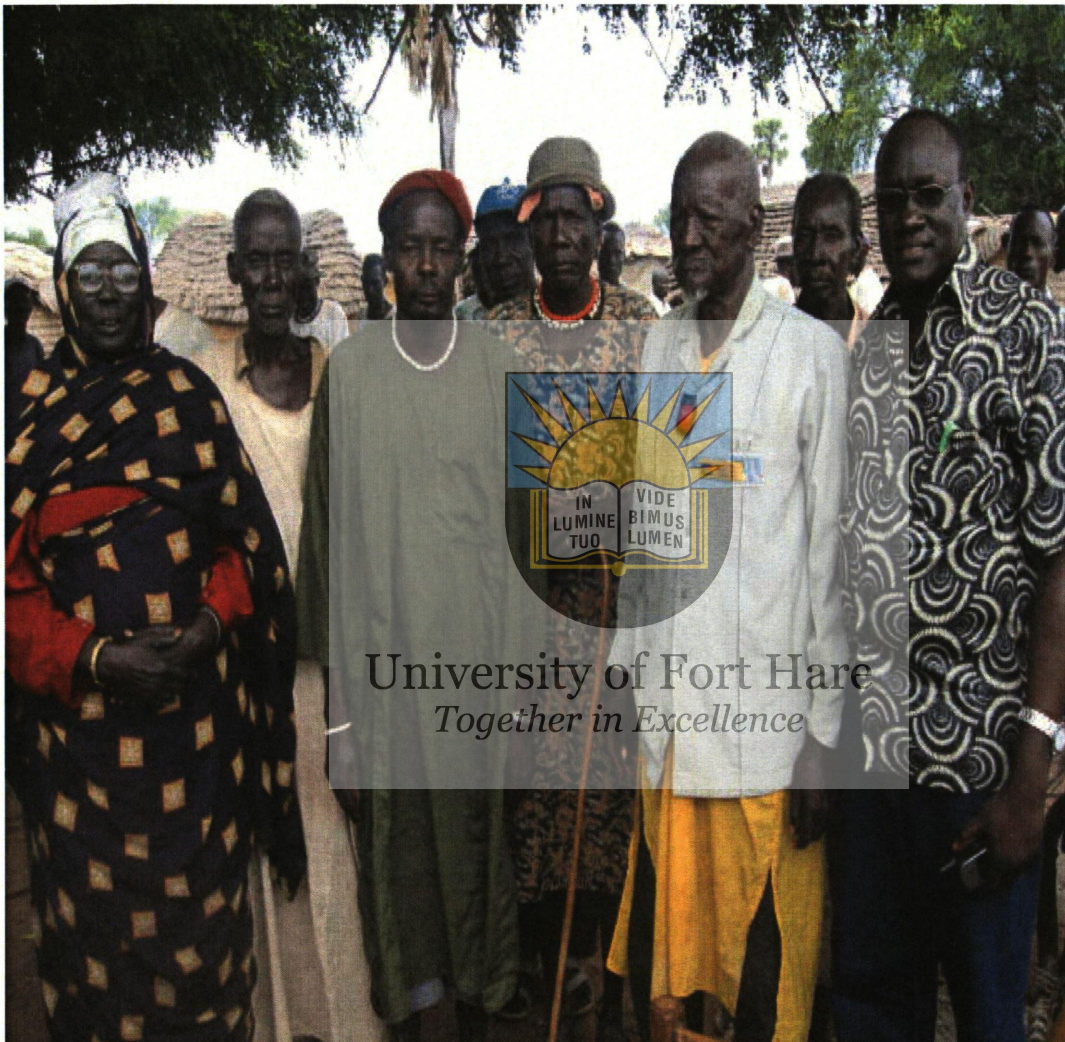


Photo 4: 27th Feb, 1999, Wunlit Conference



Photo 4: 27th Feb, 1999, Wunlit Conference

Map 2 Aweil East County Map (Abiem). The map represents the Abiem Tribal community with its seven Paya IRC- 05

