

SUDANESE ORGANIZATION FOR NONVIOLENCE AND DEVELOPMENT
(SONAD)

PO. Box 6426, Khartoum

Telephone: +249 155144977, Fax: +249 915544988

Web site: www.sonadsudan.org



European Commission



Participants in a group photo with the D/Chairperson of the South Sudan Peace Commission-Ministry of Peace and CPA Implementation

Report of a 3-day Urban Community dialogue workshop on 2011 referendum organized by SONAD in collaboration with Concordis International and funded by the European Commission
5-7th August, 2010 Juba, Southern Sudan

*Reported by
Mr. Moses Monday John and Mr. Amule Emmanuel*

Day one

Introduction

The Sudanese Organization for Nonviolence and Development (SONAD) in collaboration with the Concordis International organized 5-7th August, 2010 a 3-day workshop in Juba with funding from the European Commission. The workshop targeted the Minority population of Northern Sudanese residing in Juba with the Southern communities living in Juba. The total of 25 (twenty five) participated in which 13 were women and 12 were men. Out of 25 participants, 13 represent the minority community of Northern Sudan (3 from Sendi & Atbara, 2 from Senar , 3 from Gadarif, 3 from Darfur and the 2 from Nuba Mountains) and 12 participants representing the local ethnic groups of Bari, Moru, Madi, Acholi, Zande, Pari, Dinka of Southern Sudanese residing in Juba.

A 3-day workshop was facilitated by three trainers namely; Flora Francis Biringi who holds a bachelor's degree in Rural Development, University of Juba, has certificates in civic education, Nonviolence and peace building, Lawyer Taban Christopher holds a degree in law from Makerere University, Uganda and Moses Monday who holds Degree and Diploma in Business Administration in Sudan University and Wad Medani Ahlia College respectively. He further holds qualification certificate in Peace and Conflict Consultant from the Academy of Conflict Transformation, Bonn-Germany 2008 and certificate in Peace Building in University of Peace in Africa, Gitega-Burundi, 2006.

Welcoming and Opening remarks

The workshop was officially opened by Mr. Peter Gowang the Deputy Chairperson of the South Sudan Peace Commission / Ministry of Peace and CPA Implementation. Mr. Gowang thanked SONAD and the Concordis International for organizing the workshop on the forthcoming 2011 referendum. He described the workshop as unique as it targeted the minority groups in Juba (Northern Sudanese residing in Juba with the local communities) to understand what referendum is all about, identify challenges, fears and expectations ahead of the 2011 Referendum. He stated that the Referendum is very important for the Southerner Sudanese because it is going to determine whether Southerners want to remain one or separate from the North. He urged the participants to replicate the knowledge and message they will get from the workshop to their various communities.

Mean while, Ms. Jolien Veldwijn, Programme Development Researcher of the Concordis International in Juba registered a vote of thanks to the participants for the turn up, to SONAD for the organization and the Ministry of Peace and CPA Implementation for the cooperation and giving time to witness the opening session of the workshop. She said Concordis International is happy to work with SONAD to promote community dialogue between the minority groups. She Pointed out that, she is looking forward to read about participants' opinions, challenges but also opportunities they see a head of the Referendum. She said the recommendations of the workshop will be shared and communicated to the CPA partners and other stake holders.

Earlier Mr. Moses Monday the Director of the Sudanese Organization for Nonviolence and Development (SONAD) welcomed the guest of honour, representative of the Concordis International and the participants for the workshop. He highlighted the overall projects aim and objectives which he said is not about which option Southern Sudanese should take but its rather about how the Communities learn and understand the referendum, identify possible challenges a head of the referendum and work to mitigate the potential challenges to promote peaceful referendum in 2011. He clearly explained that SONAD being a peace organization does not and will not take side in the forthcoming referendum by supporting either of the options but will create awareness about the referendum, disseminate voter information to enable the Southern Sudanese make a sound decision. He said five participants from this workshop will be invited to a conclusion workshop.



Inset: First from the left; Deputy C/P peace commission, SONAD's Director and Ms. Jolien of the Concordis International at the opening session, Juba 5th August, 2010

Participants' expectations and fears

Participants were lead through a session to share what expectations they have for the workshop and the following are their responses;

- ❖ Free dialogue and interaction between Southern and Northern participants
- ❖ Know more about referendum, its benefits and implications
- ❖ Work together towards Peaceful referendum
- ❖ Learn about the Structure of the South Sudan referendum commission and compare it with the National Elections Commission (NEC)
- ❖ Share experiences of other Countries that have conducted referendum before

- ❖ Give time for unity of Sudan
- ❖ Get to know new friends in the workshop
- ❖ I am expecting to know whether there is going to be violence or no violence after the referendum
- ❖ I want to know more about separation and unity
- ❖ Know more about Nonviolence and how it can be applied in the context of the referendum
- ❖ To make separation attractive
- ❖ Know about challenges of referendum
- ❖ I want to spread the knowledge of nonviolence to others after the workshop
- ❖ I would like to teach others about the advantages of separation
- ❖ Understand violence

Workshop objectives: *A workshop objectives was then introduced to participants as follows;*

1. Engage leaders from the minority communities and their neighbors in the urban capitals of the North and the South of Sudan (i.e. Khartoum and Juba) to identify and agree upon the risks and challenges that they face in connection with the referendum and its potential outcomes.
2. Build consensus across these minority communities on what measures should be taken to ensure that their needs are met and their rights are upheld, whatever the outcome of the referendum.
3. Develop a set of activities that communities in the urban areas can undertake ahead of time to prevent and manage potential inter-communal conflict associated with the different post referendum scenarios and articulate which support they would like from others, e.g. governments or international actors, in order to implement them effectively.
4. Compile recommendations, developed by the minority urban communities in conjunction with their neighbors, stipulating specific policies to be included in post referendum arrangements (for either scenario) which would meet their needs and ensure their human security. Disseminate these recommendations to the CPA parties and other stakeholders.

He cited out that SONAD will organize two 3-day each workshop in Juba and two workshops in Khartoum and one conclusion workshop where atleast five participants from each workshop will be invited for a conclusion workshop.

Golden Rules

Participants agreed on the following as the guiding rules for the workshop community:

- ❖ Observe Punctuality through out the workshop days and sessions
- ❖ Respect others' point of views
- ❖ One person talks at a time to ensure good communication
- ❖ Avoid un-necessary movement while sessions are in progress
- ❖ No smoking inside the hall
- ❖ Full and active participation
- ❖ Switch mobile Phones on silent/vibration

Referendum context:

In order to expose participants to what is a referendum and how it is being conducted in other contexts, few examples of self determination or referendum was cited:

Internationally, East Timor in 1999 conducted a referendum where two options were presented whether to unite or separate from Indonesia. The referendum was organized by the United Nations Mission in East Timor (UNAMET) whose responsibility was to supervise the registration, voting, and the counting activities. While in Africa, the Eritrea, April 1993 referendum was a close example that was shared. This referendum presented one question that required YES OR NO to choose whether they wanted Eritrea to be independent or remain part of Ethiopia.

It was organized and undertaken by an independent Referendum Commission and observed by UNOVER (United Nations Observer mission) to ensure that the referendum is carried out freely and fairly and in a transparent manner.

Other lessons that can be learnt from the Eritrean referendum was how lost of nationality became a challenge where A group of more than 700 Eritreans were expelled from Ethiopia (forced repatriation) and how this affected the Ethiopian living in Eritrean territories.

Other types of referenda include;

Participants were also introduced to other forms of referendum such as voting for the constitution or deciding on a political system to accept or reject the constitution. Therefore, other referenda examples based on Constitutional, Political and electoral reforms

Are cited including:

- 1-) Kenya: NOV 2005 and August, 2010 referendum on constitutional reforms
- 2-) Uganda: July 2005 referendum on Multi partism

Questions and Reactions from participants

After the presentation, participants were able to asked questions among others; whether Eritreans outside Ethiopia were allowed to vote in the referendum? The answer was YES and the Eritrean in Sudan voted in the 1993 referendum.

What role did the UN play during the Eritrean Referendum?

The United Nations (UN) deployed the body called United Nations Observer Mission (UNOVER) to observe the referendum.

Was a border between Ethiopia and Eritrea demarcated before referendum?

The border was not fully demarcated but the referendum was conducted.

Comments from participants:

- After the Referendum there will still be dispute over control of border and ownership of resources between the two Countries incase of separation and unity
- The issue of nationality is very crucial to be addressed to avoid lost of citizenship and its consequences
- New currency might be needed if the South Separates
- There is fear that Southern Sudanese staying in the North will be forced to return to South if the South votes for separation and this will have a negative implication on the Northerners living in Southern Sudan if not wisely managed by the authorities

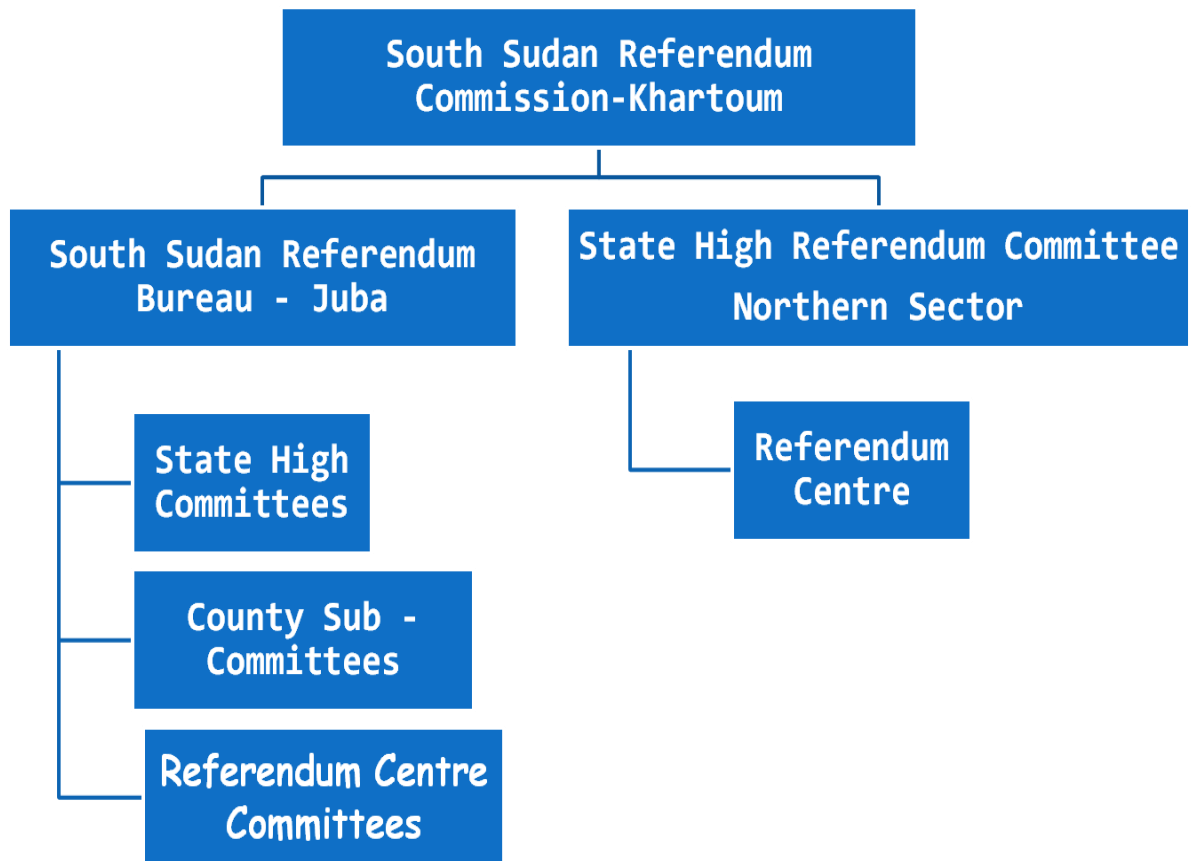
Legal Frame work for the 2011 Referendum

A presentation was made about the legal framework of the 2011 referendum starting with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), Interim National Constitution of the Sudan, South Sudan Interim Constitution and the Referendum Act 2009. The session further explained the key steps in the referendum process which includes;

- Establishment of Southern Sudan Referendum Commission

- Development of Referendum Rules and Regulations.
- Voter Information Dissemination
- Voter Registration
- Exhibition of Referendum Register
- Objections/appeals to register
- Final Register.
- Polling, counting and Tabulation
- Announcement
- Appeals

THE DIAGRAMATIC STRUCTURE OF THE SOUTHERN SUDAN FERENDUM COMMISSION



This session has also made clarification based on the referendum act 2009 on:

- who votes in the South Sudan?
- Who votes in the Northern Sudan?
- How to register?
- The polling and the counting process
- The validity of the result

Participants' Comments on the legal frame work of the 2011 Referendum:

- ❖ Why should the headquarter of SSRC be in Khartoum instead of Juba where the referendum commission will have much of its work? The response was that CPA is a national agreement so is the referendum and the presence of SSRC in Khartoum will not affect the process since all the results in Southern Sudan will be announced at the level of SSRB before its taken to Khartoum.
- ❖ How can we prevent Rigging of votes in Northern Sudan? Response, rigging can happen in any referendum centre not necessarily in the North. However, the Presence of International and domestic observers and the party agents and civil society in the polling station and during counting of results will manage control rigging of results.

GROUP WORK

Participants were divided into three groups to discuss and respond to the following question:

1. *What are your expectations and fears for the upcoming referendum and post referendum situation and its impact on your lives?*

Participants' response

The following are participants' expectations and fears about the referendum and post referendum situation and its impact on their lives;



Inset: Participants in a group work

Expectations of participants about the 2011 referendum:

- ❖ International and local observers will be deployed in all referendum centres
- ❖ One group agreed that the referendum will be conducted Peacefully but two groups felt that either of the parties to CPA may dispute its result for political reasons
- ❖ There will be confusion about names of voters and where to vote
- ❖ High voter turn out
- ❖ Intimidation during the voting process
- ❖ The results will be accepted by the Government of National Unity or the Government of Southern Sudan and the International Community
- ❖ Either party might not accept the results
- ❖ If the result announced is not fair it might lead to fresh war
- ❖ New nation might be born
- ❖ Border areas will experience disputes
- ❖ LRA, Ethnic conflicts may disrupt the referendum

Fears participants expressed before the referendum:

- ❖ Delay tactics to buy time as it happened with the census and elections conducted

- ❖ Human rights violation including banding of Freedom of expression, movement, residence..etc
- ❖ Insufficient voter education
- ❖ Intimidation of people during the campaign period for either Unity or secession
- ❖ Bribery
- ❖ Voters will be intimidated by party agents and there will be arrests of civilians and community leaders
- ❖ The Referendum might be postponed
- ❖ Additional days might be added for the voting
- ❖ The results might be rigged
- ❖ Announcement of the final results will be delayed
- ❖ Many people might not reached for registration
- ❖ In Northern Sudan its likely that there will be disputes about the question of eligibility and who can vote
- ❖ Many southerners will ignore the process of registration and would like to vote in the referendum if no voter education is carried out before time
- ❖ Donors and funding agencies will release funds for voter education late to civil society organizations as it happened in April 2010 elections.
- ❖ The referendum in Abyei if tempered with will escalate into violence
- ❖ Border might not be demarcated before the referendum

Impact of referendum and post referendum on the lives of the minority community of Southern Sudanese residing in the North and Northern Sudanese residing in the South;

Participants generally agreed that the 2011 referendum will have a huge impact on the lives of the minority communities in Sudan which among others will include;

- The status of citizenship of the minority communities if not discussed prior to the referendum will make the minority group vulnerable to insecurity, lost of lives and properties
- The working class are likely to loose their job
- If the referendum process is not carried out in a transparent and democratic manner, its results will be disputed and may lead to escalation of tensions between the North and South Sudan which will have a negative impact on the minority groups especially that the political parties in Sudan are still being viewed on ethnic and religious line.
- Forced migration of minority community

Feedback about day one

Participants were asked to give feedback specifically about what went well and what did not and how they want to see the improvement for the coming two days.

Participants' responses on what went well;

- ❖ The opening with the deputy Chairperson of the South Sudan Peace Commission was nice as it connected the appropriate Government body
- ❖ Food and refreshment was enough
- ❖ Balanced number of the participants
- ❖ Facilitation was very good
- ❖ The content was very rich with information

What did not work well or require improvement include;

- ❖ Time was not properly managed
- ❖ Less time was given for open questions
- ❖ No electricity in the hall
- ❖ Time allocated for full explanation of the legal frame work of the 2011 Referendum was not enough
- ❖ The facilitator's speed was too much especially during facilitation of the referendum legal frame work
- ❖ Participants were not given enough time to interact with each other

Facilitators promised to adjust accordingly based on the feedback provided.

Day two**Welcome and recap**

Participants were led through a process to reflect on what they have learnt in day one and the following are their responses;

- Learn about the Structure of the Southern Sudan Referendum Commission
- Basic steps for the referendum
- Conditions for the membership of the referendum commission
- How to call commission in Arabic
- Referendum context
- Participants expectations before, during and after the referendum
- Different between elections and referendum
- Legal frame work of referendum
- Who is eligible to vote in the referendum. I learnt that Southerners will be the only ones to vote
- Only those who registered can vote in the referendum

Session on Nonviolence its Principles and Methods

SONAD being conscious of Nonviolence as the best way to respond and mitigate conflicts has introduced this session to enable and equip the participants with nonviolent methods for conflict transformation. This session started with a brainstorming session on what is violence?

Participants viewed violence to:

- Killing & Fighting
- Destroying of properties
- Violation of human Rights including restriction of freedom of expression and movement
- Intimidation
- Bribery
- Misuse of power to influence the decision of the poor and the disadvantaged
- An insult and injury of feelings
- Oppression
- Application of force to achieve certain results

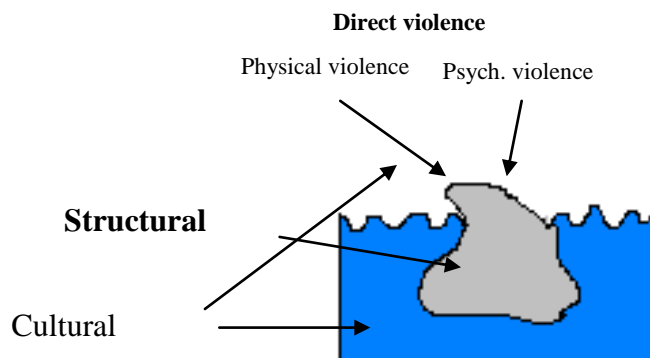
- Rapping
- Harsh treatment of human being
- Unfair treatment to others
- Cause of harm to others
- Harassment of others
- Result of anger
- It is a wrong approach to achieve a desire
- Recruitment of child soldiers
- Abuse of child Rights
- Undermining other people

Brainstorming

What is violence? What Nonviolence? is a destructive use of force that causes injuries or damages to a person, his property or environment. Professor Johan Galtung of the Transcend Peace University and the popular peace researcher divided violence into two:

- I. Direct Violence, consisting of Physical such as beating, killing, rapping ..etc and Psychological violence such as insults, discrimination, marginalization, rapping ..etc
- II. Indirect Violence, consisting of Cultural and Structural Violence. The cultural violence are those values and traditions that communities practice but has direct or indirect harm on the body, soul and spirit of human being.

The below diagram illustrates the different types of violence .



What is Nonviolence?

Participants were asked to work in pairs and write down a few words that they associate with nonviolence and they viewed Nonviolence as; refusal to kill anybody whatsoever the justification may be, dialogue, negotiation, reconciliation and peaceful co-existence, justice, tolerance, respect to human rights, opposition to violence, fairness, love and forgiveness.

Different definitions of nonviolence

Nonviolence is a difficult concept to define. It is like the word democracy. There are many different ways of looking at democracy. We can see that from participants' many different thoughts about nonviolence. Nonviolence was like wise defined by different scholars as detailed below;

Stellan Vinthagen presented his PhD dissertation in October 2005 – the first one on nonviolence in Sweden. His definition of nonviolence is: Without violence + against violence = nonviolence. To Stellan Nonviolence is a Struggle against violence without use of violence.

Gene Sharp, an American researcher, is perhaps the one in the world who has studied the methods of nonviolence the most. He sees nonviolence as a method, nothing else. He identifies 198 different methods of nonviolence. He writes: “Nonviolent struggle is identified by what people do, not by what they believe in.”

Mohandas Gandhi saw nonviolence as much more than just a method. He had a religious belief in the power of nonviolence to transform human hearts. He said: “Whenever you are confronted with an opponent, conquer him with love.”

Principles of Nonviolence

The heart is the symbol for our values and our convictions. It is with our hearts we feel connectedness, empathy and love to our fellow human being. Nonviolence principles often govern our actions. The following are some of the principles of Nonviolence developed by nonviolence movement which says;

- ♥ Search for the centre of conflicts – Nonviolence calls for action, not for passivity. We are called to act where people are suffering under violence, oppression and injustice.
- ♥ Show respect for you adversaries – Treat all people in a conflict as equals regardless of their ethnic, sex or religious background.
- ♥ Remember that everyone can change, and that there is something good in all people.
- ♥ Ends and means have to be compatible, e.g. if we want peace we have to pursue it in a peaceful way. *Gandhi said that peace is the road not only the goal.*
- ♥ If suffering is unavoidable, take it on yourself, rather than harming someone else. The cycle of violence stops with me.
- ♥ No one has monopoly on the Truth – The challenge is to bring our own and our adversaries’ truths together.

Methods of Nonviolence

The methods of nonviolence can be used in everyday life to transform injustice and provide nonviolent solutions to the problems. It can be used to challenge the unjust laws and rules of the society and act where things are going wrong. Gene Sharp has constructed three main categories for the methods of nonviolence:

1. Protests and Persuasion. Demonstration:

This is where people or individuals use protest letter to express their dissatisfaction about unjust decision taken or against a change of unjust laws or policies. Peaceful demonstrations are typical example of protest. Like the demonstration organized by the opposition political parties on 7th December, 2009 in Khartoum demanding democracy, full implementation of CPA and approval of referendum Act and other laws. The result was that on 13th December, 2009 the referendum Act for South Sudan, Abyei and the popular consultation for the Southern Blue Nile and Southern Kordufan was passed all in one day.

2. Non-cooperation

This can take many forms such as Boycott or to refuse to buy a commodity or a service to show dissatisfaction with the one selling it. For example the boycott of South African

products during the apartheid regime. *Strike* or to refuse to work and *Political non cooperation* are examples of non cooperation.

3. Intervention

Blockades to place your body in the way of something. For example Israelis and internationals that gets in the way of Israeli bulldozers that are about to demolish Palestinian homes.

The methods of nonviolence have been used all around the world to build up more justice and democracy. In Sudan October revolution of 1964 and April 1986 uprising were typical examples of nonviolence protest and persuasion. The October revolution and the April uprising brought down the two dictators of Abdu and Nimeri respectively and subsequently, Sudan set a democratic system of Governance.

Nonviolence is not only about resistance against injustice and oppression in the world. It is also about building up and supporting good systems and initiatives. Gandhi called it the constructive program.

Reactions, Questions and Comments from the participants:

Some scholars also activates for violence “if diplomacy fails, use violence”

Nonviolence if associated with violence it losses its meaning

Participants’ reaction

1. How do you react when your daughter is raped? A participant asked. This question for left to participants to answer and one participant said “I will choose to take the official procedure by going to law so that the daughter is checked in the hospital whether she is indeed raped and thereafter take the legal procedure”. A lady responded “if I used violence to resist a rapist which one can be considered violence mine or the act of rape?”

A facilitator admitted that this is a difficult situation but advised that we should be wise to act. Using violence may even be risky to the life of a lady leave alone rapping depending on the situation.

2. I can see the rate of violence in Southern Sudan is so high is it because of the long civil war? What impact can this have on the referendum and its results? Can we become people of Nonviolence?

Most of what happens in Southern Sudan is the result of trauma but things are changing to better. Traffic laws are now being followed and as a result there are few accident cases of cars and motor bikes. These are positive changes commented a participant. Nonviolence is like a small seed that once is planted need some time to grow and take roots. There are many people in Southern Sudan who believe in the principles of nonviolence. We need to teach others about nonviolence for us to have a nonviolent society.

3. Incase the result of the referendum is rigged to unity and since the southerners are yarning for separation what should be done? Can Nonviolence work or we go for

war again? What do you think can yield sustainable results war or nonviolence? Asked a facilitator. This question was debated for long but participants in conclusion agree that its wise to use diplomacy and political and nonviolent solution to whatever, disputes that may arise as a result of the referendum.

Group work:

How do you want the negotiation on post referendum arrangements to ensure that the rights and needs of minority communities in the capitals (Juba and Khartoum) are respected and guaranteed?

Group Responses

Participants bring forward the following recommendations to the Government of the National Unity (GONU) and the Government of Southern Sudan (GOSS) and more specifically to the leadership of the National Congress (NCP) party and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) to ensure that the rights and needs of the minority communities are considered in the post-Referendum negotiation and the recommendations include;

- ❖ To respect human rights and fundamental freedoms of the minority community
- ❖ Provide security to the Minority community
- ❖ Southerners and the Northerners should be allowed dual Citizenship for those who wanted it
- ❖ Allow freedom of movement for both Southerners in the North and Northerners in the South case of Unity or Separation
- ❖ Protect the properties and resources of the minority groups
- ❖ Maintain good neighborhood relations incase of secession
- ❖ Allow exchange of trade between the South and North
- ❖ Freedom of worship and religion for Southerners in the North incase of unity
- ❖ Free access to grazing land for the nomads at the South North Border
- ❖ Working class should be allowed to continue working
- ❖ The Nomadic tribes should be given policy for harmonious movement
- ❖ Repatriation should be voluntary

Session on Universal declaration of Human rights

A power point presentation was made about the universal declaration of human rights. The declaration was adopted on December 10, 1948 by the General Assembly of the United Nations as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Reference was given to the Bill of rights in the interim national constitution part two articles 1, 2,3 &4 which says that;The Bill of Rights is a covenant among the Sudanese people and between them and their governments at every level and a commitment to **respect and promote human rights and fundamental freedoms** enshrined in this Constitution; it is the cornerstone of social justice, equality and democracy in the Sudan. The State shall protect, promote, guarantee and implement this Bill. All rights and freedoms enshrined in international human rights treaties, covenants and instruments ratified by the Republic of the Sudan shall be an integral part of this Bill. Legislation shall regulate the rights and freedoms enshrined in this Bill and shall not detract from or derogate any of these rights.

DISCUSSION IN PLENARY

Participants discussed in lengths on the question of upholding the universal declaration of human rights in our local context. Participants therefore recommended the following recommendations on how the post Referendum arrangements can meet needs of the populations in line with the international standards;

- ❖ The international community should be involved in the referendum process especially the United Nations, African Union, European Commission and others to ensure transparency of the process and peaceful acceptance of its results.
- ❖ The People of Southern Sudan should vote in a free and fair environment
- ❖ Carry out civic education and Voter information dissemination as early as possible
- ❖ Borders should be demarcated and the decision of the International Court of Arbitration on Abyei arbitration be implemented
- ❖ There should be freedom of expression
- ❖ The two CPA partners should cooperate for the betterment and success of the Referendum
- ❖ The government should protect the properties of both Northerners in the South and Southerners in the North
- ❖ The Southern Sudan Referendum Commission should be neutral in all the process to give credibility to the process and the results.
- ❖ The citizens should abstain from use of violence through out the process
- ❖ The International Community should observe and follow up the referendum process more closely with the referendum commission to ensure transparency
- ❖ The community based organizations should be given funds and the go ahead to disseminate voter information as soon as its out

Day three

Welcome and Recap

The participants were all welcomed for the beginning of day three and thanked for turning up early. This was then followed by recap of the previous days' work.

The question was talk to your partner about one thing you still remember from what was discussed yesterday that you think is important for the coming referendum. After the discussions in pairs the following was provided as few sample remarks from the participants;

- ❖ Concept and definition of Nonviolence
- ❖ Principles of nonviolence
- ❖ Methods of nonviolence
- ❖ Human Rights
- ❖ Post Referendum arrangements and challenges
- ❖ Negotiation
- ❖ Intervention
- ❖ Citizenship
- ❖ Ownership of properties
- ❖ Types of violence
- ❖ Interim constitution of Sudan and Southern Sudan
- ❖ Bill of Rights
- ❖ Universal Declaration of Human Rights

THEATER OF THE OPPRESSED

The theatre of the oppressed is a kind of tool that provides participants with skills for nonviolent intervention to mitigate and resolve conflicts. It was first introduced by the Brazilian Artist Dr. Augusto Boal. Dr.Boal developed a process whereby audience members could stop a performance and suggest different actions for the actors, who would then carry out the audience suggestions. But one day, a woman in the audience once was so outraged as the actor could not understand her suggestion that she came onto the stage herself and showed what she meant. For Boal this was the birth of the spect-actor (not spectator) and his theatre was transformed. He began inviting audience members with suggestions for change onto the stage to demonstrate their ideas. In so doing, he discovered that through this participation the audience members became empowered not only to imagine change but to actually practice that change, reflect collectively on the suggestion, and thereby become empowered. This method was used in the workshop to identify potential triggers to violence associated with the referendum and post referendum situation in the urban communities;

Group One

The first group presented in a role plays a scenario where the Chief of the village was given some money to mobilize his people for Unity of Sudan. He asks everyone in the polling centre to vote for unity and threatens whoever, refuses.

This role play provided participants with a chance to intervene and provide nonviolent solution to this kind of situation a head of the 2011 referendum. Those who intervened were able to inform the Chief that what he does is an offence against the referendum act and is punishable by law. He was told to leave everyone alone since the time for campaign has finished.

Group Two:

Group two presented a scenario where there was a family comprised of a Northern Sudanese (Husband) who got married to a Southern woman (Wife) and are living in Northern Sudan. When the result of the referendum was announced in favour of separation, the husband forced his wife to return to South saying that you are now divorced. But the wife did not want to leave and pleaded to be allowed to decide where she wants to stay. The husband started beating her up, as the play ends.

In the second round of the play, a participant played the role of a neighbor and was able to intervene saying that separation is not about breaking marriage relationships adding that have not seen Sudanese getting married to the white men and women?? Are they divorced for coming from different countries?? The law will regulate the status of your wife being a Southern Sudanese residing in Northern Sudan. What about future of your children? The husband replied my people will not accept me living with a Southern Sudanese after Southerners choose to secede. But now your wife is not only a Southerner she is a Muslim. Replied a neighbour! Will she still be considered a stranger?? On hearing this man said ok let me think about this first before I can ask my wife to leave.

Group three

The third group played a scenario where a community leader was forcing people to vote for separation. He deployed his agents to harsh those who wants to vote for unity. This scenario was played again and participants were given several chance to intervene and correct the leader based on the referendum act 2009. The act of forcing people is an offence as every voter is supposed to decide alone on whether to vote for unity or secession of South Sudan.

Group Work

What are the potential triggers of urban violence / Community conflict in the capitals during the pre and post Referendum period? What sort of activating can communities undertake to mitigate violence and promote peaceful referendum?

What roles can other actors play?

The participants were divided in to three groups and in each group, they were expected to discuss and present the potential triggers of urban violence/ community conflict in the capitals during the pre and post-Referendum period.

Participants' response

The following are the potential triggers of urban violence / community conflict in the capitals (Khartoum and Juba) during the pre and post Referendum period.

- Abyei referendum and threats from Misiriya militia Group
- Delay of referendum beyond 9th January
- Intimidation and arrests during campaign and referendum period
- In-sufficient awareness about 2011 referendum in both Southern and Northern Sudan. Northerners need to know and understand what referendum is all about and what it is not. Ignorance about this will be a big lop hole which can easily trigger violence
- Lack of clarity about citizenship and the status of the minority communities in both regions especially incase of secession of Southern Sudan
- Oil and its implication to Border demarcation between the South and the North

- The policy of divide and rule being continuously used by politicians in both the North and South Sudan. Such policies turn to create enmity between ethnic and religious lines.
- Delay in the referendum process and announcement of its results on time
- Independency and fairness of the South Sudan referendum Commission and South Sudan referendum Bureau and the high court of appeal
- Bribery before and during the referendum
- Abyei referendum and Border issues
- Misunderstanding and lack of commitment from CPA partners
- Manipulation of the Referendum results
- Gossip and baseless bad rumours about the referendum
- Monopoly and control of Resources
- Involvement of the military
- Insecurity

What participants would like to do (activities) to manage potential conflicts associated with the referendum include:

- ❖ Enlighten the community about the facts and legal framework of the referendum
- ❖ Carry out dialogue urban community dialogue on referendum with Involvement of religious and community leaders
- ❖ Promote nonviolence as the best way to mitigate conflicts associated with the forthcoming referendum through training and advocacy
- ❖ Put peace as an ultimate goal and work to achieve it not only Unity or Separation
- ❖ Identify common interests of the community and work to protect it especially those living in Abyei and other Northern States Bordering the South

What can CPA partners do to prevent violence before, during and after the Referendum to support peaceful Referendum?

- ❖ Provide security for All citizens through out the process
- ❖ Guide the role of media to Promote peace and peaceful co-existence of the people of Sudan regardless of the referendum result.
- ❖ Freedom for Southern Sudanese to exercise the right to self determination on time
- ❖ To support the SSRC to immediately release the time table for the referendum and release the rules and regulation and voter information package for Civic and voter education
- ❖ Respect the choice and decision of Southern Sudanese
- ❖ Agree to grant the people of minority groups a right to dual Citizenship beyond the six months interim post referendum period
- ❖ Commitment and cooperation
- ❖ Ensure that Abyei referendum is conducted concurrently with the south Sudan referendum as stipulated in CPA and demarcate Borders
- ❖ Support civil society organizations to carry out massive voter education
- ❖ Ensure Freedom and security for peaceful campaign
- ❖ Promote and respect rule of law

What role can international organizations play to prevent violence before, during and after the referendum?

- ❖ Support the referendum process through provision of technical and financial support
- ❖ Support the local CBOs and CSOs to carry out voter education
- ❖ To encourage the partners of CPA to fully implement the agreement and support post CPA Sudan
- ❖ Support the security forces in areas of training
- ❖ Send international observers and observe neutrality
- ❖ Support the popular consultation in Southern Kordofan and Southern Blue Nile on time
- ❖ Mobilize the international community to support the peace process in Darfur

What can SONAD do to prevent violence before, after and during the Referendum period?

SONAD as a community based Organization should:

- ❖ Carry out massive civic and voter education in both Southern Sudan and Northern Sudan
- ❖ Enlighten people about Nonviolence
- ❖ Organize frequent seminars, market day events and community meetings on referendum
- ❖ Follow up the participants' recommendations
- ❖ Lobby for fair credential to domestic observers and raise additional support for outreach activities from the international donors
- ❖ Advocate for peaceful referendum
- ❖ Connect the grass roots and the minority communities with the government

Follow up and the way forward

How can we follow up our recommendations? What mechanisms shall we use to maintain contacts and dialogue between us (Participants)?

Follow up Mechanisms:

- ❖ Meet once every month for follow up
- ❖ Form a network of urban community dialogue promoters on 2011 referendum
- ❖ Organize similar workshops with out communities
- ❖ Exchange mobile numbers and e-mail address to share information and stay connected to each other
- ❖ Dissemination of the voter information
- ❖ Organize Public debate

Evaluation of a 3-day workshop

What was useful for you in the dialogue workshop organized by SONAD? Do you feel empowered as a result of the dialogue? If yes in what ? And if not what do you further need to strengthen your capacity?

- Yes, I learnt that the minority groups have rights
- Yes, I was feeling scared about the referendum but the workshop has given me hope that referendum is a group rights
- I learnt about the examples of the referendum in other countries especially in Eritrea
- Yes, I learnt how to intervene nonviolently when there is violence or injustice taking place
- Yes, I am now equipped with information about referendum and the importance of dialogue with minority communities
- I got enough about Referendum
- I now know about who votes in the South?
- I know what nonviolence is
- I feel empowered because I can now follow the principles of nonviolence
- I can now discuss on Referendum
- Making the passive active “the theatre of the oppressed” is what impressed me the most
- No, I need more training about conflict resolution
- No, the time for the workshop should be increased to five days at least next time
- The people were from different Communities
- People had different hopes for the coming Referendum
- No, I need some materials to educate the community
- Different opinions about the Referendum
- Yes, through the discussions, free participation of the participants and group works. These three things make one to have wider understanding than only listening to the facilitators
- How to respect the choice of Southern Sudanese

What were the positive experiences / lessons and skills you gained from SONAD'S workshop you attended?

- Importance of dialogue in post referendum Sudan
- Security arrangements during the Referendum process
- Human Rights knowledge
- The bill of Rights in the interim Constitution of Sudan and Southern Sudan
- What happens if the south separates or unites with the North?
- Post Referendum arrangements
- Sharing of experience
- Good relationship with SONAD
- Communication skills
- Human Rights
- Universal Rights
- Principles of nonviolence
- How to work in groups
- How to speak with people
- Respect for ones views
- Referendum in the international context
- Cooperation during the group works
- Involvement of international bodies in the Referendum
- The positive experience I got is that I can now stop and prevent violence
- I can now apply nonviolence in my daily lives

- Basic stages of the Referendum
- Process of the Referendum
- The Southern Sudan Referendum Commission
- Skills of stopping violence in communities in a peaceful way
- Searching for the center of the violence/conflict/problem
- How to negotiate
- How to intervene
- Civic education
- How to play a positive role as a citizen during the referendum
- Different experience between Southerners and Northerners on the referendum

How useful were the workshop materials provided/services rendered?

- They were very wonderful
- They were more useful
- The workshop materials were sufficient
- Services were fairly provided
- The workshop materials were good
- The workshop materials were enough
- Food was very delicious
- The hall need more air conditioners
- More greens should be provided next time
- The hall was okay but the power in it needs to be improved
- Some participants did not want to share their knowledge with others
- The services need slight improvement
- The materials were very practical
- The workshop materials provide broad knowledge
- Transport allowance was very small
- Good services
- Hand were more useful

How do you plan to disseminate the knowledge and skills you got from the workshop in your community or organization?

- Through conducting workshops
- Through debate
- Using Radio talk shows
- Through dialogue with others
- By sharing with friends and family members
- Write in the News papers
- Using the knowledge I got here, I would like to organize a dialogue in my community on Referendum
- Through community Meetings
- Through the Church
- Using the traditional leaders to pass the information
- To encourage people to live in peaceful co-existence
- To encourage people to apply the knowledge of nonviolence especially the principles of nonviolence
- I want to lobby for support the n organize the same workshops
- I shall after here cooperate with the people in my community

- By organizing seminars in the communities if there is support from SONAD
- By giving people hand outs about the Referendum
- By including the knowledge in the school teaching sessions
- I shall organize a group to draft a proposal for support in carrying out the workshop
- I am going to organize community meetings
- I shall ask the church leaders on Sundays for permission to pass summarized information about the Referendum
- Through face to face discussion
- Through interaction with other people
- Through nonviolence
- Using practical approaches

What do you suggest to improve your capacity in carrying out the Referendum Dialogue in your community or organization?

- I need to be invited to attend a follow up workshop on community dialogue
- SONAD should support us as we plan to go and disseminate the knowledge to the rest of the people in our communities
- Practice the concept of nonviolence in my daily lives
- Enough books to read
- I need to be put in to practice
- We should be involved in more workshops
- I should be invited for more workshops to become perfect with the Referendum act 2009
- I need to be neutral so as to reach the people in the grass root
- We need to be nonpartisan while disseminating the knowledge to the rest of the people in the community
- I need a lot of support from SONAD
- More awareness to the people at the grass roots
- The communities need to be informed early enough about the Referendum
- Peaceful approach to situations
- Sharing experiences with other people in the community
- SONAD should lend books to the participants to improve on their knowledge
- Chiefs should be called to attend such trainings
- General advertise of the workshop so that many people can come

What do you want SOAND to do differently in the coming workshops in terms of facilitation; services provided materials and so forth?

- Increase the transport allowance
- Increase the workshop days to five
- We should keep time in the next workshops
- More hand outs
- Invite more Northerners
- Improve on the services especially rent of well furnished halls with air condition
- Invite more cattle keeping tribes
- Organize the workshop in other parts of Southern Sudan as well as in the North
- The hall should be air conditioned
- Time management should be taken seriously
- Invite people from the rural areas to attend the workshop

- Develop workshop programs and give to the participants
- Participants should not be intimidated during the food service
- Keep with the same spirit of organizing good and fantastic workshops
- Give sources on which the notes were got
- Take workshops to other states of Southern Sudan
- SONAD should continue with this good organization of services and workshop
- Continue inviting people from different tribes
- SONAD should be more organized in setting other points
- Support should be given to the participants in terms of facilitation
- It would be better if the same workshop is organized for the community leaders like , Chiefs, traditional leaders and many others so that they can help mobilize the communities together
- And pass the information to them
- Invite participants from all states of Southern Sudan
- Translation should be taken a serious issue during workshops
- SONAD should make use of the people they have trained
- Spread the word of nonviolence to other states
- Announce the date for the workshop early enough

Conclusion

A 3-day workshop was concluded with certification and closing remarks from participants' representative who thanked SONAD for inviting them for the workshop which he described as historic and unique for targeting the Northern Sudanese residing in Juba with the local Community. He admitted that the workshop has corrected mis-understanding of many participants about the forthcoming referendum. He pointed out that they have made good use of the three days of the dialogue workshop by identifying challenges, fears, and expectations ahead of the coming Referendum. He further went on saying that during the workshop, they learnt that resorting to violence is not a good solution to what ever challenge communities are likely to face adding that dialogue and negotiation are the best options. The workshop was also addressed closed in the presence of representative of the Concordis International and Director of SONAD by Mr. Peter Gowang the Deputy Chairperson of the South Sudan Peace Commission –Ministry of Peace and CPA Implementation Government of Southern Sudan. He appealed to all participants to reach out their communities with message of peaceful and democratic referendum.