ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF SHIFTING TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SERVICE DELIVERY: A CASE STUDY OF THE BOR COUNTY, JONGLEI STATE, SOUTH SUDAN

BY

BIOR AJANG DUOT

STUDENT NUMBER: 200808076

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SUPERVISOR: MR. M.M. SIBANDA

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DECLARATION

I, BIOR AJANG DUOT, do hereby declare that, this mini-dissertation entitled ‘Assessing the Impact of Shifting Traditional Leadership Roles on Local Government in Service Delivery: A Case Study of the Bor County, Jonglei State, South Sudan, submitted at the University of Fort Hare, in partial-fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Public Administration has never been previously submitted by me or any other person for a degree at this or any other university. This is my original work in design and execution and all material therein has been duly acknowledged by way of appropriate references and citation.

Signature

........................................

Date

............./........./..........
DEDICATION

This mini-dissertation is dedicated to my wife Ayen Kon and my children.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank God the Almighty for providing me with every resource which contributed to the successful conclusion of this splendid piece of work. Furthermore, I would like also to express my sincere appreciation to the people who contributed immensely to the completion of this mini-thesis:

Mr M.M. Sibanda, my supervisor for the guidance and aid he offered me throughout this entire period when I was undertaking the study. The mini-dissertation is perfectly completed today because of his untiring and enduring supervision. Although I was based here in South Sudan, I managed to complete the project in the end, all due to his enduring supervision spirit. Thank you Sir.

To my friends and family, for always standing by me and persistently encouraging me to soldier on with the study. I am here today, not because of my ability, but because of the support and care they rendered to me throughout my entire life. I salute you; you are the real heroes in the story of my life.

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Last but not least, I would like to thank the individuals who sacrificed their precious time and energy to take part and assist in the study. The traditional leaders of the Bor County in the Jonglei State of South Sudan, the colleagues who helped me in data collection, officials, citizens and members of Non-governmental organisations who assisted in many ways-I thank you a lot.
LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework for Traditional Leadership........................................41
# ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACTS</td>
<td>African Centre for Technology Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>CPA</td>
<td>Comprehensive Peace Agreement</td>
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<tr>
<td>FHIR</td>
<td>Fort Hare Institute of Social and Economic Research</td>
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<tr>
<td>GOSS</td>
<td>Government of South Sudan</td>
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<td>HSRC</td>
<td>Human Sciences Research Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>IBEAF</td>
<td>Imperial British East African Company</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDASA</td>
<td>Institute for Democracy in South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-Government Organisation</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPLA</td>
<td>Sudanese People’s Liberation Army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPLM</td>
<td>Sudanese People’s Liberation Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.............................................................................................................................. ii
DEDICATION............................................................................................................................... iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS................................................................................................................. iv
LIST OF FIGURES........................................................................................................................... v
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS............................................................................................... vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.................................................................................................................... vii
ABSTRACT ....................................................................................................................................... xi

CHAPTER ONE................................................................................................................................ 1
INTRODUCTION: OVERVIEW AND DEMARCATION OF STUDY FIELD ....................................... 1
  1.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS................................................................................................. 1
  1.2 RATIONALE.............................................................................................................................. 5
    1.2.2 Research Questions............................................................................................................ 6
  1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY............................................................................................ 7
  1.4 DELIMITATION AND LIMITATIONS THE STUDY .............................................................. 7
  1.5 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS .................................................................... 8
  1.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS.................................................................................................... 10

CHAPTER TWO................................................................................................................................ 11
TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP IN SELECTED AFRICAN STATES AND SOUTH SUDAN: AN OVERVIEW ......................................................................................................................... 11
  2.1 INTRODUCTION....................................................................................................................... 11
    2.2.2 Definitions of Traditional Leadership .............................................................................. 12
  2.3 OVERVIEW OF HISTORY OF AFRICAN TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS ......................................................................................................................... 14
    2.3.1 The Following section reviews and discusses traditional leadership in Ghana. 17
    2.3.1.1 Ghana before colonial rule............................................................................................ 17
    2.3.2 The following section reviews and discusses traditional leadership in Uganda. ............................................................................................................................................... 20
    2.3.3 The following section reviews and discusses traditional leadership in Namibia. ............................................................................................................................................... 24
    2.3.4 Traditional Leadership in Zimbabwe .............................................................................. 29

The following section reviews and discusses traditional leadership in Zimbabwe.  .. 29
2.4 THE HISTORY OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP IN SOUTH SUDAN

The following section reviews and discusses traditional leadership in South Sudan.

2.4.1 Traditional Leadership before Colonial rule

2.4.2 Traditional Leadership during Colonial rule

2.4.3 South Sudan after Independence

2.4.4 Conceptual Framework for Traditional Leadership participation in Maintenance and Development

2.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

CHAPTER THREE

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES IN SERVICE DELIVERY

3.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

3.2 THE CONCEPT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

3.3 LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND SERVICE DELIVERY

3.4 TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE DELIVERY

3.5 LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES IN SERVICE DELIVERY

3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

4.2 THE CASE STUDY APPROACH

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.3.1 Interviews

4.3.2 DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

4.4 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

4.5 STUDY POPULATION AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES

4.5.1 PURPOSEFUL SAMPLING
4.6 PLANS FOR DATA ANALYSIS

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS OBSERVED IN THE STUDY

3.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

5.2 DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

5.2.1 ROLES TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN BOR COUNTY PLAYED BEFORE SOUTH SUDAN

Independence

5.2.2 ROLES PLAYED BY TRADITIONAL LEADERS DURING COLONIAL RULE

5.2.3 ROLES PLAYED BY TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN INDEPENDENT SUDAN

5.2.4 ROLES PLAYED BY TRADITIONAL LEADERS DURING THE CIVIL WAR (1983-2005)

5.2.5 ROLES WHICH TRADITIONAL LEADERS PLAYED DURING THE PERIOD 2005-2011

5.2.6 ROLES BEING PLAYED BY TRADITIONAL LEADERS AFTER INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH SUDAN

5.2.7 SHIFTS IN THE ROLES OF BOR TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

5.2.8 TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE DELIVERY

5.2.9 CHALLENGES FACED BY TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE DELIVERY

5.2.10 SOLUTIONS TO THE CHALLENGES TRADITIONAL LEADERS FACE

5.3 DISCUSSION

5.4 A MODEL FOR TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE DELIVERY

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

6.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

6.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS
ABSTRACT

The local level of government plays a pivotal role in the delivering of service in Bor county of Jonglei State in south Sudan. As the world’s newest nation attained independence in July 2011, the republic of South Sudan face a huge mountain to climb in terms of service delivery for socio–economic transformation. A country which has ransacked by civil wars and economic exclusion of its people in the past, South Sudan needs to pool resources together for the sustainable betterment of its citizens. Service is solely dependent on leadership and effective and efficient service rendering, requires a people – centred, accountable and professional leadership. Traditional leaders have played a key role in the welfare of their subjects in South Sudan beginning long back, they have led, counselled, mediated disputes, allocated and managed land as well as preservation of customs and cultures.

The study sought to assess shifting roles of traditional leaders in local government services delivery. It comprises of six chapters which are chronologically arranged. The main objectives of the study were to establish role which were played by Bor traditional leadership to promote service delivery at the local government level before independence, after independence, the extent to which the roles shifted, challenges they face currently and ways of solving them. The research question which guided the sought to find the answers to what roles traditional leaders played before and after independence, the shifting of roles, challenges and ways of addressing them. The paradigm used in the study is the qualitative research approach where empirical data was collected from a representative sample of 9 respondents. Data was collected using the non-random sampling techniques of purposely sampling. The researcher observed strict ethical guideline which includes informed consent, privacy and confidentiality. The study found out that traditional leaders played various roles under various governments. There were shifts in traditional leadership roles leaders can play and did not completely divert the roles leaders can play in service delivery. The study further established that Bor traditional leaders were willing service at the local government level but that they faced challenges particularly that of insecurity and war – related problems. The study therefore, recommended that government should pay attention to security in Bor County and the county at large. It was also recommended that government should train
traditional leadership roles such as those applied in Ghana, Uganda, South Africa and Zimbabwe. Despite the said shift in roles, traditional leaders remain a key asset to the development of South Sudan.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: OVERVIEW AND DEMARCATION OF STUDY FIELD

1.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

Traditional leadership was very important in the development, maintenance and service to African communities. It was because of this vitality that Africa developed powerful empires and kingdoms. For example, in West Africa - the Mali, Songhai, Oyo and Ghana empires and kingdoms such as Kanem-Bornu existed (Omer-Cooper et al, 1968:16-17). In the inter-laustrine region of East Africa, kingdoms such as Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro and Busoga existed (Were & Derek, 1968:44). Southern Africa had the Zulu, Shona, the Ndebele and the Basuto kingdoms (Were, 1974:65). Many such political institutions were found in all parts of Africa. Some of them were however, small and had chiefs in control. All these were developed, maintained and served by African traditional leaders who played their roles with the support of their people.

Traditional leadership roles were clearly defined. The kings, chiefs, sub-chiefs, headmen and family heads had their roles to play in the maintenance of their communities. However, such roles could only be played as long as there were no changes from within or outside the system. Changes from within could be for the improvement of African communities for the good of their members. Changes from outside like those brought by trade relations could also be for the benefit of communities as long as they did not interfere with African traditional political institutions. Outside interference, mainly political in nature often led to shifting traditional leadership roles.

In the late 19th century, external relations brought colonial rule which upset African traditional institutions and systems. Colonial rule led to shifts in traditional leadership roles. Akintoye (1976:2) notes that “it was perhaps in the area of political life that European colonial rule produced the most serious effect”. He says that the immediate effect of colonialism was that African kingdoms, empires and peoples lost their freedom.
African kings, chiefs, sub-chiefs, headmen and all categories of leaders were affected, including those in present-day South Sudan.

In the Sudan and particularly the southern part of it, traditional leaders existed with roles to play. Traditionally leaders were responsible to their people and ensured that the populace preserved their culture. They had power over land and all other resources. They had control over what was brought back home from raids such as cattle, food, women and children. They played roles in the political, social, economic, religious and cultural aspects of their communities. With the coming of colonial rule, leadership roles were affected. Some were got rid off while others were modified and new ones given.

According to Crowder (1968:169), South Sudan was part of Sudan which came under British colonial rule. The British ruled Africans and Arabs together. They ignored the cultural, religious, social and political differences of the two races. The main purpose of colonial rule was exploitation of the colonised country. The colonialists did not tolerate any uprising that would interrupt the achievement of this goal (Crowder 1968:169). The British therefore, avoided uprisings and in Sudan, realising the importance of traditional leaders just like elsewhere in Africa, they used African chiefs to get what they wanted. This kind of rule became known as “indirect rule” (Crowder, 1968:168).

In Sudan colonial administration introduced the element of chiefdom to the then theocratic traditional administration system among African Sudanese peoples. Chiefdoms acquired importance gradually until among some ethnic groups the state through chiefs was separated from religion. However, among other ethnic groups the link remained strong between religion and kingdoms (Acuil, 2008:2). Traditional leadership played a pivotal role during colonial rule. Chiefs solved many local cases and thus maintained law and order within their locality. They also ensured that taxes were collected. Chiefs were meeting annually to review their administration and to strengthen customary laws by passing common laws among their peoples. In June 1947, a historic conference was held in Juba centred on the importance and legitimacy
of chiefs and traditional authorities in exercising the right to self determination (Acuil, 2008: 2).

When playing their new roles under British rule, the chiefs realised that they could not be free to execute some of the roles they had before colonial rule. Their roles had shifted from what they were before to the ones given by the British. This shift did not please them. A nationalist movement began and the chiefs as well as their people joined it. Collier et al, (2005:1) write that, the Nationalist movement in Sudan achieved its objective in 1956 when independence was achieved. However, since then, Sudan underwent an uneasy period of independence. Sudan became involved in two costly civil wars. The first civil war began in 1955 before independence and it took nearly seventeen years. It came to an end in 1972 when peace agreement was signed in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. The peace which resulted from this agreement lasted a little more than a decade (Collier et al, 2005: 1).

In 1983 another civil war broke out in Sudan which was as a result of unresolved grievances which included disputes over resources, power sharing and religion. Preservation of culture was a driving force of armed conflict against various Khartoum governments. Everybody was affected as there was no real development in the South of the country. Thus, everybody in the South of Sudan resisted domination by Northern Sudan and many joined the war, which was led by Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/SPLA). The civil war lasted for almost twenty two years leaving South Sudan in a state of disarray.

In January 2005 a peace agreement known as the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was signed between the government of Sudan and SPLM/SPLA (SSDDR, 2011:6). The CPA gave Southern Sudan the Right to vote through a referendum to choose where they would wish to belong either in the unity government of Sudan or have a separate country. The referendum was held in January 2011 and the result was that Southern Sudan voted in favour of independence from the rest of Sudan.
Southern Sudanese people got their independence on the 9th of July 2011, under the name of South Sudan, as the new nation. However, the consequences of the civil wars particularly the last one are still evident and still impacting heavily on the new nation. It caused untold suffering, destruction of human life and property. People were displaced internally, while many found their way into exile. Half a million South Sudanese fled to neighbouring countries and roughly four million people were internally displaced (Collier et al, 2005:1). The wars caused destruction of infrastructure, distortion of the education system, collapse of industrial and agricultural sectors as well as the business sector.

The new country now needs concerted efforts by every citizen to rebuild and develop its infrastructure. The challenge is enormous in rebuilding the war torn society of South Sudan, which got seriously damaged in social, economic and political terms by decades of armed conflict. The social fabric of South Sudan consists of more than sixty distinct communities. There is need to accommodate and integrate its immense cultural and ethnic diversity if unity is to come, services delivered and development is to continue uninterrupted. In this task, leadership is the key to an impartial system of socio-economic transformation.

South Sudan has both modern and traditional leadership. The modern leadership has got education, but do not have the experience of working with colonial rulers. Traditional leadership on the other hand has had the experience of waking with colonial rulers and knows the culture of its people which has been kept for generations. They may be educated or they may not, but they are closer to their people than modern leaders and have respect from them. They had participated in public administration at the local government level, where they took part in service delivery as leaders of their people during colonial rule.

The activities of colonial rulers have had a bearing on traditional leadership roles even after independence. Will the new leaders who are educated and are using colonial structures be willing to give traditional leaders roles to play in service delivery at the local government level? This level is known to them and it is where they live with their
people. One such level is Bor County in Jonglei State, which this study takes as a case study. The Jonglei State is the largest state of South Sudans ten states. It has up to six linguistically different ethnic groups, which to greater extent are territorially distinct ethnic groups. The eastern Nuer, the Annuak, Murle, the Jie, the Suria Kachipo and the eastern Bor Dinka, have traditional leaders whose leadership roles must have been affected due to the situations they went through in the past.

1.2 RATIONALE

1.2.1 Main research problem

Traditional leadership roles in South Sudan have been changing with time. Before colonial rule, traditional leaders enjoyed immense power and exercised their autonomy through the roles which they played such as control over land and resources and judicial system. During the colonial period their roles shifted from the ones they played before colonial rule to the ones given by colonial masters. Roles which were not changed were considered less problematic to exploitation of the colonised people. For example, traditional judicial systems, remained and traditional leaders played their roles as local judges but they had to be modified to suit the needs of colonial rulers (Crowder 1968:16).

After independence South Sudan went through a series of destructive civil wars. Southern Sudanese resisted the new rulers who did not respect their cultural identity and cultural values. During the civil wars, which took a long time, traditional leadership roles could have shifted from the roles played during colonial rule to new ones brought about by the need to survive during the wars. In the process of getting independence from Sudan and particularly during the CPA period (2005-20011) the role of traditional leaders could have changed to suit the new situation in preparation for independence.

South Sudan attained independence in July 2011. Traditional leaders took part in bringing it together with the new leaders. Their roles had changed several times although; there is no real information that is documented about these. What is however documented is that, the interim constitution of the republic of South Sudan recognises
traditional authority and the establishments of local government (Articles 165 and 166, 2011:59). This study sought to explore the roles traditional leadership as well as assessing the impact of their shifting roles on service delivery at the local government level in the Bor County of the Jonglei State in the Republic of South Sudan.

1.2.2 Research Questions

The following research questions were used to guide the study:

- What roles did traditional leadership play in Bor County to promote service delivery at the local government level before the attainment of South Sudanese independence?
- What roles does the Bor county traditional leadership play in promoting local government service delivery today?
- To what extent have the Bor County traditional leadership roles shifted today from the roles they used to play in the past?
- What are the challenges confronting the roles played by the Bor County traditional leadership in promoting local government service delivery?
- In what ways can the challenges be addressed for the smooth running of service delivery in Bor County?

1.2.3 Research Aim and Objectives

The main aim of this study was to establish the roles which traditional leaders were playing in promoting local government service delivery, and shifts in their roles as they served various governments and how service delivery at local government level had been impacted by these shifting roles. Hence the objectives of the study were to:

- Establish the roles which were played by Bor County traditional leadership before South Sudan got independence.
- Establish current traditional leadership roles being played by Bor County traditional leaders in local government service delivery.
• Assess the extent to which Bor County traditional leadership roles have shifted from the roles traditional leaders used to play to the roles they play today.
• Establish challenges which Bor county traditional leaders face when carrying out their leadership roles in local government service delivery.
• Explore ways in which challenges which Bor County traditional leaders face when carrying out their roles in local government service delivery can be addressed.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY
The study is useful to policy makers not only in Bor County, but also to the entire country. Participation of traditional leaders in service delivery at local government level is crucial in the development of South Sudan. The interim Constitution (2011) supports traditional authorities but their roles have not yet been completely defined by the new government. The findings of the study may help in giving roles to traditional leaders. The study may also lead to a review of policies in areas associated with traditional leadership. These will be in the interest of National Unity. Academicians and Non-Governmental Organisations will benefit from the study, by way of adoption of suggestible ways of engaging traditional leadership in service delivery in their areas of jurisdiction.

1.4 DELIMITATION AND LIMITATIONS THE STUDY
The study was conducted in Bor County in Jonglei State, South Sudan. It dealt with the impact of shifting traditional leadership roles on local government service delivery. The limitations of the study were, *inter alia*, the limitation of time, since the study was conducted for a period of six months, ending in July 2012; there was also the limitation of the population size since the study utilised a total of 09 respondents. These were however, knowledgeable and experienced people in their traditions and leadership. Lastly the study was conducted by the researcher with the assumption that the research could not influence the attitudes or subjectivity of the respondents, it was hoped that
these limitations could not affect the validity and reliability of the instruments and findings made herein.

1.5 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS AND CONCEPTS

The concepts and terms that are clarified and defined are those that were used in the study.

1.5.1 Chief

Ordinarily the term chief means the highest in rank for example, in relation to a person in a company or an establishment. The person is the most important amongst others. In a company, tribe or ethnic group the term came to be used to mean a leader or a ruler. The chief was a traditional ruler in most parts of Africa. The position was hereditary or elected depending on the tradition of particular people. When colonialism came to Africa some hereditary rulers were removed and replaced by those appointed by colonial administration. In other places where the position of chief and not exist colonial administrators imposed on the people. In this study the term chief is used to accommodate a traditional leader who is hereditary, elected or appointed by authorities.

1.5.2 Traditional Leaders

In this study the term traditional leaders is used to refer to chiefs of various ranks found within south Sudanese committees in Bor County. These are the guidance of traditional norms that are respected in particular committees from generation to generation. These relating or of resolving disputes, institutions and many other aspects of a community. They are important leaders who provide channels through which social and cultural changes can be realized.

1.5.3 Traditional leadership

The term refers to stricter or customary systems or procedures of governance recognizing utilized or practiced by communities through leaders of various ranks. The
term also refers to the authority that is based on the belief in sacred traditions in force since time immemorial.

1.5.4 Service Delivery

In this study, service delivery is used to refer to activities of local government from which communities benefit and take part in local government should be able to deliver services that enhance the quality of life of citizen and increase their social and economic opportunities by promoting health and safely, facilitating access (to work, education, to recreation) and stimulates new productive activities (Hemson et al.; 2005: 512) the service local government can provide are many and varied (limerick et al; 2012:9). Its most important role is to deliver the service to end users and take care of operational and maintenance requirements. This can be done through outsourcing to other organs of the state or private sectors. Thus the provider can involve a third party (Hollsnds & Mageza, 2010:12). The focus of local government is improving the standards of living and quality of life of previously disadvantaged sectors of the community (Pycroft, 1998:129). Bor County in Jonglei state, South Sudan has disadvantaged people. Service delivery in the context of this study means the people of Bor County that will improve their quality of life. These include.

1.6 PRELIMINARY FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

The study consists of six chapters which are chronologically arranged. Chapter one covers the introduction and contextualisation of the study. Chapter two focuses on the overview of traditional leadership in Africa including South Sudan. Chapter three offers a look at the roles of traditional leadership in Africa. Chapter four provides the research design and methodology. Chapter Five discusses the findings and analyses data. And Chapter six offers the conclusions and recommendations based on the findings of the study.
1.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The study looks at the roles of traditional leadership, which have been changing from time to time. The researcher had a lot of interest in it especially as it was related to service delivery at local government level which is very important for the development of South Sudan, which has become the newest country in Africa. It is of critical importance to understand the impact of changing leadership roles on service delivery at that level. This chapter looked at the introduction, rationale and contextualisation of the study. The next chapter provides an overview of traditional leadership through literature review.
CHAPTER TWO

TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP IN SELECTED AFRICAN STATES AND SOUTH SUDAN: AN OVERVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents review of related literature on the issue of shifting traditional leadership roles. It begins with the concept of traditional leadership and its definition. It then looks at the history of traditional leadership in selected African countries. Traditional leadership was found in all parts of Africa before the colonial era. Traditional leaders played their roles, but they had shifts in these roles. However these shifts were not so much as to seriously affect their political systems to the extent of removing or modifying their roles. Traditional leadership had external relations for a long time. As long as these relations did not interfere with their systems, traditional leaders played their roles and in many cases developed or maintained their territories with the support of their peoples. They were able to develop and maintain powerful empires, kingdoms and chieftainships. This situation was not to continue because of the coming of colonialism into Africa. This literature review also covers traditional leadership during colonial rule and after independence in selected African countries. South Sudan is considered in this way.

2.2 THE CONCEPT OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

There are concepts which explain the origins of traditional leaders and thus, traditional leadership. Two of these are known to explain their origin in terms of links between traditional leaders and God and in terms of evolution of human beings. Those who subscribe to the belief that traditional leadership is from God, link traditional leaders to God. They believe that leaders are instituted by God and their authority is unquestionable. In 1930, the Native Economic Commission of the Union of South Africa (1930: 32) in its report described the relationship between God and hereditary chiefs in this way;
“The hereditary chief is the link between the living and the dead. He is a high priest and with certain tribes, he may become a ‘God’ during his life time. The reverence for the chief and his family is therefore a quality deeply engrained in the Bantu”.

The Second concept which is about evolution of human beings is the belief that human beings evolved from being wanderers with no fixed abode, but living in caves until a time came when they established settlements, where they were organised. Before this, they lived as vagabonds and in appalling conditions. With time according to the theory of social contract, people began to come together and protect themselves. They developed mutual cooperation to improve their ways and quality of life (d’ Engelbronner-Kolff, 1998:118).

In the communities in which they lived people displayed different skills. There were those who were naturally gifted in bravery and eloquence and had greater skills for solving problems in their communities. These, found themselves taking the lead in their communities. They acquired power and played their roles to keep their communities intact. Their sons would also wish to take over from them after they had died. The communities would also prefer the sons and grandsons who were good to take over. This led to the development of traditional leaders, such as kings and chiefs (d’Engelbronner-Kolff, 1998:18).

It is clear that based on the theory, traditional leaders did not really come from God but were a creation of circumstances, which existed at the time when humans lived, progressed, came together and began to live in organised groups. However, whether it was from God and/or evolution of humans that traditional leaders came to be, one thing is clear namely, that traditional leadership has a following.

2.2.2 Definitions of Traditional Leadership
Several definitions of tradition and traditional leadership have been given. Acton (1952:53) defines tradition as “a belief or practice transmitted from one generation to
another and accepted as authoritative or referred to without argument”. Fleischacker (1994:45) gives a similar definition when he says that tradition is “a set of customs passed down over the generations, and a set of beliefs and values endorsing those customs”. Kwame (1997:221) however seems to deviate, but maintains the root of tradition as being in the past. He says that tradition is a cultural product that was created or pursued in whole or in part by past generations and that having been accepted and preserved in whole or in part by successive generations has been maintained to the present.

The definitions that have been given are very important in understanding the definition of tradition and traditional leaders. According to the Dictionary (www.federalism.com) traditional is “something done or respected according to custom from generation to generation”. The Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (2000:1271) defines traditional as “being part of the beliefs, customs or way of life of a particular group of people that have not changed for a long time”. These definitions make it easy to understand the meaning of traditional leaders as derived from them.

Traditional leaders are the guardians of traditional norms that are respected in particular communities from generation to generation. These norms could be outlooks on life, ways of relating or of resolving disputes, in institutions and many other aspects of a community. So, they are important leaders who provide channels through which social and cultural changes can be realised. Traditional leadership therefore “refers to the authority that is based on the belief in sacred traditions in force since time immemorial” (d’ Engelbronner et al, 1998:4). Ntsebeza (2003:31) then says in reference to the authority, that they are leaders who rule and govern their societies on the basis of traditional practices and values of their respective societies.
2.3 OVERVIEW OF HISTORY OF AFRICAN TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP AND EXTERNAL RELATIONS

Traditional leadership in Africa was responsible for the development and maintenance of African traditional communities. The communities developed as a result of traditional leaders playing their roles. The development of powerful empires, kingdoms and chieftains was attributed to traditional leadership. Many examples of these can be given. In West Africa, there were the Mandinka, Mali, Songhai, Oyo empires and Ashanti and Kanem-Bornu kingdoms (Omer-Cooper et al, 1968:16). East Africa had the interlacustrine kingdoms such as Bunyoro, Buganda, Ankole, Toro, Busoga and Wanga (Were & Wilson, 1968:44) while in Central Africa there was the Lunda-Luba Kingdom (Omer-Cooper et al, 1968:19). In Southern Africa, the Zulu Ndebele, Basuto and the Swazi Kingdoms were a force to reckon with (Were, 1974:65). The Sudan is known to have had the kingdom of Kush (Omer-cooper et al, 1968:8). These are just a few examples of kingdoms and empires which developed and flourished in Africa under traditional leadership.

Many less powerful communities existed in Africa and they were led by traditional leaders. However, whether communities were small or large kingdoms, empires or chieftains, they were led by traditional leaders who were powerful and who played traditional leadership roles in order to give services to their subjects, develop, maintain and protect their areas of jurisdiction. Their roles remained intact as long as revolutions did not occur or as long as there was no external interference. In the 19th century external relations, which had began in the previous century increased. These led to the coming of colonialism which later had tremendous effect on African political and traditional institutions. The immediate effect was that African empires, kingdoms, chieftains and peoples lost their freedom (Akintoye, 1876:2). Colonial authorities decided to give common national boundaries, common national names, common official languages and certain common institutions. These laid the foundations of the modern states of Africa (Akintoye, 1976:3).
Akintoye (1976:2) posits that, African political institutions were affected so much because the European colonial authorities - Britain, France, Germany, Portugal, Belgium, Italy and Spain, decided how the people in their colonies or protectorates would be governed, how their society would be ordered and how their economic resources would be disposed of. The African colonial authorities had both central and local administration. The central government was headed by a Governor/Governor General. The central government received orders and instructions from Europe (London, Paris or Brussels) interpreted the instructions and was responsible to the imperial government in Europe in the conduct of the affairs of the colony (Nkrumah, 1973:7).

Below the central government was the local government. Each colony or protectorate was usually divided into small administrative units called districts or divisions in the British colonies and cantons in the French colonies. Sometimes a few neighbouring districts or divisions were grouped together to form provinces (Akintoye, 1876:5). The local government provided the basis of colonial administration. Colonial governments made use of the indigenous African political institutions. They used the kings and chiefs in their day to day administration, because it was less expensive and they found that they could not easily do away with them. They were too well-established among the people and an intrinsic part of their lives (Akintoye, 1976:5). However, colonial governments made modifications to indigenous political institutions. They modified certain aspects of traditional government which were thought to be inconsistent with European ideas of what constituted good government.

They also made modifications to ensure the achievement of the main purpose of colonial rule which was the exploitation of the colonised country (Crowder, 1968:169). For example, human sacrifice and certain methods of treating criminals were abolished. These would not only interfere with the main purposes of colonial rule, but colonial masters saw that they were inconsistent with European ideas of what formed good government. For the exploitation of the colonised country, there was the introduction of taxes designed to stimulate production of cash crops for export (Crowder, 1968:168). All
these modifications would go a long way to develop the countries of colonial masters
that is, the metropolitan countries.

In order to achieve the main purpose of colonial rule, African traditional leaders were
used. Where chiefs were not found they tended to impose chiefs in a community that
did not have (Crowder, 1968:226). The British did not interfere with people’s selection of
their traditional leaders (kings or chiefs). However, those selected had to be approved
by the central colonial administration. The African chief was usually appointed as native
authority over his pre-colonial state in which he had specific roles to play. He ensured
that taxes were collected, applied modified forms of traditional law and ensured law and
order amongst his people.

During the colonial era, traditional African leaders were no longer their own masters.
The colonial government had final authority for their actions. The impact of colonial rule
on African traditional political institutions was great. When independence came, some of
the chieftaincies which existed had no traditional foundations at all, being merely the
creation of colonial administrators. Traditional institutions for example, the council of
lower chiefs in a kingdom, assembly of family heads, secret societies, age-groups and
professional associations, which had been very important in the traditional political
systems of Africa had lost their importance and even died out by the time of
independence, because colonial administrators had ignored or suppressed them. They
even lost their skills for managing their people as well as favour with people, partly
because they had become associated with the unpopular measures which they had
been made to implement during the colonial era and partly because they had acted as
allies of the colonial masters during the independence struggle (Crowder, 1968:213).

Traditional leadership was bound to continue to have challenges. Just before the end of
colonial rule a new system of government was gradually introduced. This was the
elective principles which allowed educated African commoners to take part in
government as local government councillors or in national assemblies. This meant that
as the European colonial masters gradually withdrew under nationalist pressure, they
were leaving the running of the African countries not in the hands of African kings and chiefs, but in the hands of the educated commoners, because it was the educated people not the chiefs who had the required knowledge. Akintoye (1976:8) says that “in the new political order of the emerging African countries, kings and Chiefs and other traditional institutions became less and less important”.

The colonial masters left African countries in the hands of educated people. These leaders used what they left in terms of the machinery of government. However, one important element which leaders of independent African countries had to deal with, were the traditional institutions. What could be the role of the kings and chief’s who had been there before and since the colonial times? The roles which they played before the colonial era led to the development of the metropolitan country. Would they be given roles to play after independence? Akintoye (1976:81) says, “on the whole the new leaders showed after independence that they could tolerate no rivalry from the chiefs who were the foci of local patriotisms and so threatened national unity”. He however, says that the problem differed from country to country.

The relationship between African traditional leaders and colonial governments affected traditional roles. After independence, traditional leadership roles continued to shift and change significantly from the pre-colonial set-up. The roles were changed or modified while others disappeared or became irrelevant. A look at a few selected African countries may well support this point and show how roles of traditional leaders shifted from what they were before colonial rule to what they were during colonial rule and after independence.

2.3.1 The Following section reviews and discuses traditional leadership in Ghana
2.3.1.1 Ghana before colonial rule
Ghana like most West African countries had powerful kingdoms and empires before colonial rule. The Ashanti Empire was one of the most powerful one in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Akan people were instrumental in its formation and development. Their system of governance was complex. It ensured socially acceptable conduct backed by
general goodwill, which in turn ensured social cohesion (Arhin, 2002:105). The Akan people were organised in villages led by clan heads. A great number of villages formed a large area like a district and this was headed by a paramount chief.

Asumadu (2006:2) notes that, at the head of the tribal group was the king (the Asantehene). The chief of the village was assisted by a council of elders. The elders were the heads of their respective clans. The chief presided at the meetings of the council. In the conduct of its affairs, each lineage in a village or town in a paramount, acts autonomously. Akan traditional leaders had roles to play in their communities. Asumadu (2006:1) says that they were the custodians of ancestral and community land, the custodians of culture, customary laws and traditions including history, the initiators and champions of development activities in their respective areas including presiding over and settling disputes. In the 19th century the Ashanti Empire became the most powerful state of the Akan. It was involved in trade and it expanded its rule to promote and protect trade up to the coastal regions. This brought the empire into contact with Europeans. From 1807 to 1900 the empire had several wars with British invaders. In 1902 the British defeated them and proclaimed the empire a colony of the British (Kwame 1997:224).

2.3.1.2 Ghana during colonial rule
Colonial rule affected African traditional systems in Ghana just as it did elsewhere in Africa. The Akan system was affected but the British kept the traditional pattern of their rule. The local government which the British government instituted had its roots in the Akan system of governance. Crowder (1968:168) says that this was indirect rule in which the local system of governance would not be interfered, with but used by the colonial power. Obaro (1970:7) says of indirect rule that, there was to be no doubt who was the senior partner.

In the case of the Akan, village councils of chief and elders were made responsible for the immediate needs of individual localities including traditional law and order and the general welfare. The councils ruled by consent rather than by right. Although he was
chosen by the ruling class, the chief continued to rule because he was accepted by his people (Kwame 1997:224). However, despite maintaining their power, chiefs took instructions from their European supervisors. Colonial rule rewarded the Akan chiefs for their work. Many were rewarded with honours, decorations and knighthood by government commissioners. Other groups of people among the Akan were not satisfied because they felt that local traditional leaders were too dominated by the British District commissioners and that the councils and the central government did not have adequate cooperation. All these and other grievances in Ghana led to nationalist movements.

In 1947, the educated Ghanaians asked for self government. They called for the replacement of chiefs on the legislative council with educated persons. They also demanded that given their education, the colonial government should respect them and accord them positions of responsibility (Mc Laugh Owusu-Ansah, 1994). The educated Ghanaians were supported by many sections of the population. When elections were granted, the nationalists parties contested and the Convention People's Party took the lead. In 1957 Ghana became independent (Akintoye, 1976:120).

2.3.1.3 Ghana after Independence
The position of traditional leaders in Ghana was weakened after independence by the government. Many chief's especially the Asante (the Akan) chiefs had supported opposition parties. Some of them who were unfriendly to the government were subjected to central government control. After many years of changes of government in Ghana, chiefs regained their authority. Ghana’s Fourth Republic Constitution, 1992 (Article 277) defines a chief as “a person who is hailing from the appropriate family and lineage , has been validly nominated, elected or selected and en stooled, en skinned or installed as a chief or queen mother, in accordance with the relevant customary law and usage”. Chiefs in Ghana during colonial rule were instrumental in the administration of the country at the local level. The 1992 Constitution however bars them from active partisan politics. Chiefs who want to take part in active politics are required by law to abdicate their thrones as stipulated in Article 176 Clause 1 of the Fourth Republic Constitution (1992).
The Fourth Republic Constitution, 1992 gave Chiefs roles to play (Fourth Republic Constitution, 1992). Donkah (2002:3) says that they have statutory and non-statutory functions. Under statutory functions are; collection, refinement, codification and unification of customary laws, adjudication in chieftaincy disputes, compiling of lines of succession to offices in various traditional areas and appointment of representations to various government statutory bodies, including the Council of State, Prisons Council, National and Regional Co-ordination Councils.

The non-statutory functions of chiefs consist of settlement of disputes through arbitration and mobilisation of people for development purposes. The chiefs act as linkages between their communities and development agencies, including central government departments, local government organs, NGOs, diplomatic missions, religious bodies and welfare associations. Chiefs are also to use the annual festivals to mobilise their people to plan and look for ways and opportunities for executing development projects.

Traditional leadership is useful for the development of Ghana. Traditional leaders play new roles and old ones which are acceptable to maintain and develop their communities. Donkah (2002:3) informs that chiefs have their own representative body called the National House of Chief’s which is made up of five representatives each from the ten regions of Ghana. This enables them to discuss issues related to their well being and those of their people. The roles of traditional leaders in Ghana are complementary to those of local government and the government of Ghana.

2.3.2 The following section reviews and discusses traditional leadership in Uganda.

2.3.2.1 Uganda before colonial rule
Uganda has many ethnic groups or tribes amongst its population. These existed before colonial rule and governed themselves in traditional ways. There were both small and large ethnic groups. The large ethnic groups were ruled by kings. There
were the kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro, Ankole, Toro and Busoga ruled by kings (Were & Wilson, 1968:44). For the purpose of this study, the kingdom of Buganda is selected.

Buganda was one of the largest and centralised kingdoms in Uganda. It was ruled by a king called the “Kabaka”. The king was always and remained powerful. He had judicial, political, social, economic, religious and cultural powers. He was the head of the army and he controlled all the land. The king was however, assisted by the chiefs who were powerful leaders of clans at first, but later the king appointed chiefs whose positions were made hereditary (Kiwanuka, 1971:184; Were and Wilson 1968:54). The Lukiiko, the traditional council also helped the king to rule.

Buganda became powerful because of the roles played by its kings and chiefs and also because of its contacts with the outside world. Buganda had trading links with the coast of East Africa. The most important of the goods that were used in trade by about 1844, were arms and ammunition, cotton cloth, beads and glassware. The kings and chiefs could use cotton cloth, beads and glassware to reward their subjects for good services and in this way strengthened their loyalty. The guns were a great military asset, which contributed to Buganda’s military superiority and relative commercial prosperity. By 1872, the king of Buganda had one thousand guns (Were & Wilson, 1968:55).

In 1862, Buganda received the first European visitors (Low, 1971: XV). These were followed in the 1870s by many Europeans, mainly Christians. These contacts inevitably brought colonial rule. In 1892 the king of Buganda by name Mwanga and his chiefs signed a treaty with the Imperial British East African Company (IBEACo). In 1884 a protectorate was declared over Uganda (Were & Wilson, 1968:185).
2.3.2.2 Uganda during colonial rule

The British took over Uganda in 1894. It was Buganda which first came under British rule. Other parts of present Uganda had to be brought under colonial rule through military conquests or signing of treaties. The British found in Buganda the traditional system of a king heading a hierarchy of chiefs. They were impressed by the system and as such, British rule in Uganda was extended by the use of the Buganda. In areas which were conquered, but there were no clear administrative systems, the Baganda provided the first chiefs (Kiwanuka cited in Ogot, 1968:317).

Although the Baganda were used by the British to extend their rule throughout Uganda, this did not mean that their traditional leadership roles were not affected. The 1900 agreement with Buganda affected their leadership roles. The Agreement reduced the powers of the king but enhanced his position. He was to be referred to as “His highness” and he would exercise direct rule over his people unlike in other parts of Uganda, where chiefs were to be supervised by District Commissioners. The king would be assisted by three ministers - the chief minister called the Katikiro, the Chief Justice and the Treasurer.

The Buganda Agreement gave new roles for the king and his chiefs to play. In the Agreement, “The Kabaka’s court was entitled to try natives for capital crimes, but no death sentence could be carried out by the Kabaka or his courts, without the sanction of Her Majesty’s representative” (Low & Pratt, 1970:352). The assessment and collection of taxes, the upkeep of the main roads and the general supervision of native affairs were the new roles of the king and his chiefs. The local chiefs collected the hut tax of three rupees. A chief was to report directly to the king’s native ministers, from whom he would receive his instructions, while the king received instructions from the Governor who was the representative of the Queen of Britain. The king and the chiefs were allowed to have a certain number of police, to assist them in maintaining order (Low & Pratt, 1970:352).
The agreement also covered land ownership and administration. The king of Buganda was granted freehold titles. These were also given to members of the royal family, ministers, County chiefs and about a thousand minor chiefs. About a half of Buganda became crown land. It was no longer the property of former users or occupants. However, many peasants were allowed to cultivate their former lands (Were & Wilson, 1968 P.187).

By the Agreement, colonial rule secured the loyalty of the chiefs. Consequently, the obligations imposed by the Agreement were fully undertaken by the chiefs. Their eagerness as tax collectors must have been gratifying. Low & Pratt (1970:197) report that “so quickly did the first levy come in within a few months”. Johnston who was a Special Commissioner and Commander in-Chief for Uganda Protectorate had to “call a halt to its collection in one area until facilities could be expanded to cope with the influx of cattle, goats and produce.” They also report that when “the government proposed in 1905 to replace the Hut Tax with Poll Tax, the Chiefs pressed for a rate higher than that desired by government.” Although the chiefs enjoyed leadership under colonial rule, they knew that they were not completely free. They had lost their power and wished to become independent once again.

Right from the 1920s there was discontent in Buganda where a section of the population desired a redistribution of land. People looked for outlets to voice political discontent. There were riots in Buganda in 1945 by those who felt that the Lukiiko did not represent their interests. Then came the Kabaka crisis of 1953 brought about by members of the Lukiiko, who were unhappy about what seemed to be weakening their power. Together with many events taking place in Uganda, including the founding of Uganda National Congress Party which was advocating for indulgence, the British government withdrew its recognition of the Kabaka (Mutesa II) who was then deported (Were & Wilson, 1968 P.291). The Kabaka crisis of 1953 increased nationalist activities and the quest for
independence which involved the entire country. In October 1962 Uganda became independent.

2.3.2.3 Uganda after independence
Traditional leaders in Uganda did not recover their traditional roles completely after independence. However, attempts were made to recognise traditional leadership. In 1963, Sir Edward Mutesa, the Kabaka of Buganda was elected president by Parliament of Uganda and Sir William Wilberforce Nadiope the king (Kyabazinga) of Busoga was elected his vice (Kiwanuka, cited in Ogot, 1968:131). The situation in Uganda after independence was not easy for traditional leaders, especially Buganda leaders, who wanted to regain Buganda’s past glory. There was tension between the central government and Buganda government. This increased and things came to a head, when the Lukiiko passed a resolution which virtually expelled the Central Government from Buganda soil. In May 1966 the Central Government troops invaded and overran the Kabaka’s palace. The Kabaka escaped and went to exile in Britain (Kiwanuka, cited in Ogot 1968:331). Thereafter, kingdoms were abolished and that seemed to mark the end of traditional leadership in Uganda. However, after several years in the 1990s traditional leadership was restored, with powers of traditional leaders limited to cultural activities only.

2.3.3 The following section reviews and discusses traditional leadership in Namibia.

2.3.3.1 Namibia before colonial rule
The African communities in Namibia were governed by kings. Kingship was hereditary and kings had almost all political, economic and social powers. In many parts of Namibia, they were assisted by chiefs. The chiefs were assisted by senior headmen. The kings, chiefs and headmen constituted the government (Keulder, 1998:34). The headmen were either selected by their subjects or they were appointed by the chief. In Ovambo, there were sub-headmen who were in charge of wards. They
advised the senior headmen. In some communities like that of the *Herero* people, the paramount chief appointed the chiefs, who in turn appointed the headmen (Keulder, 1998:35).

The chiefs and their subordinate headmen had roles to play. They were responsible for the allocation of land, defence, peace and order, coordination of agricultural activities and the general development of the group including looking after the poor. They almost had absolute power. Fife (1998:35) says that they constituted the political and economic elite and their political status and material well-being rather than the well-being of the group were often the driving force behind their decision making.

The economy of the people of Namibia at that time depended on the daily interaction of community members, just like in any traditional community before colonial rule. There was no currency to be used. It was what could be described as a moral economy. The transfers of goods and services were done in kind and the larger community was an umbrella for the safety and survival of individuals and families. The *Lozi* people give a good example of moral economy. Fife (1998:37) describes the practice of *Mafisa*, which was a practice of helping poor people among the *Lozi*. They had a practice in which any member or family in a community, whose livestock had been depleted through diseases or drought, could ask for animals on a kind of loan from the rest of the community. The member would undertake to look after the animals for an agreed period. At the end of the period, the original animals were returned to the owners and the member kept most of the offspring born during the period when the animals were in the custody of the member.

The Namibian community was governed by traditional leaders whose roles were clear. However, the coming of colonialism did not only disrupt and destroy most of the moral economy, but they also undermined the social and political authority of traditional leaders. They changed the roles of many leaders from those of
2.3.3.2 Namibia during the colonial period

In 1871 unification of Germany under Bismarck was achieved. Germany felt that as a great nation she needed to be respected and known. It was fashionable at that time for great powers to own colonies overseas. Colonies would be valuable as sources of raw materials and as markets for German manufactures. Also, German’s surplus population could be settled in them. So, Germany decided to acquire colonies. By the means of war and dubious treaties the Germans acquired colonies (Were, 1974:118). Namibia which was then called South West Africa became a German colony in 1884 (Denoon, 1972:73). German rule lasted until 1914. From 1915 up to 1989 the country was under the control of South Africa.

The German control of Namibia was mainly concentrated in the areas South of the Police Zone. This was the area where German administrative structures were established. The areas North of the Police Zone were left in the hands of existing traditional leaders (Keulder, 1998:35). The Germans began to show greed for cattle and land. In 1903 they set up reserves for the Herero people and a directive was given requiring Africans to pay their debts to European cattle traders and a railway was to be built through the Herero country. The Herero detested all these and suspected that the railway would lead to a further loss of land (Were, 1974:184).

In 1904, the Germans began to establish their administration. They established local government by the establishment of Advisory Councils. The councils were made up of nominated members of sections of the German community. In 1909, a three-tier local government structure for the whites was introduced. The municipal councils formed the first level and it was responsible for normal municipal functions. The second level was the district councils which functioned in a similar way as the municipal councils, but for areas outside municipal
boundaries. The third level was the territorial council which was an advisory body for the governor with some legal status to change and modify decisions (Du Pisani, 1986:24).

In 1914, the functions of the territorial council were expanded to include public health, agriculture, roads, irrigation, wildlife and black labour. The main aim of the German administrative structure was to reinforce and secure the supremacy of German interests. As a result of these, the relationship between the German rulers and the traditional leaders was conflicting, as the administrative structures were designed to undermine the authority of traditional leaders (Keulder, 1998:38).

The German administration interfered with the affairs of indigenous population. For example, the land policy which was formulated in 1892 (Du Pisani, 1986:25) directly interfered with traditional power over land. The aim of the policy was to expropriate tribal land for white settlers and to resettle the indigenous population in “nature reserves.” This policy was implemented in such a way that one traditional leader was used, together with the military power to destroy another one (Oomen, 2005:38). The expropriation of tribal land and restrictive legislation led to serious decline in stock levels and increased the conditions of absolute poverty in the tribal areas. The theft of land and stock was the cause of the Herero and Nama revolts of 1904 to 1907, when their traditional leaders mastered their military strength to remove the colonial power (Denoon, 1972:100).

The Herero-Nama uprising failed because they could not coordinate their efforts. The Germans decided to introduce native commissioners after the revolts in order to deal with the rising black discontent. One of the functions of the commissioners was the administration of black contract workers mainly on white farms (Keulder, 1988:40). German rule ended in 1914. In 1915 South African forces won South West Africa, from the Germans and thus Namibia came under South African rule. South Africa ruled Namibia as a mandated territory on behalf of the League
of Nations (Were, 1974:162). This was another landmark in the governance of Namibia. The government of South Africa decided to have direct intervention in the traditional power arrangements to ensure effective control over the indigenous people with the aid of sympathetic traditional leaders. It also decided to include traditional leaders into administrative structures to enhance the legitimacy of the structures. The government also used force and legislation to secure the dominance of modern state structures over the traditional ones (Keulder, 1998:40).

The changes which South African government brought in order to govern Namibia effectively put many of the traditional leaders on the side of the colonial power and this alienated them from their followers. Traditional leaders were to some extent forced to accept deeper involvement in government administration. A lot of discontent was caused as well as conflict between traditional leaders, the youth, churches, progressive political parties and the migrant workers. This was carried into independent Namibia. It resulted in a complete distrust of traditional leaders and a subsequent reduction of their powers (Keulder, 1998:40).

2.3.3.3 Namibia after independence

Namibia became independent in 1989. The constitution that was drafted was not a result of serious consultation with groups outside the political parties. Traditional leaders were not consulted and so their interests were not considered. Article 102(5) of the Constitution, 1998 however, states that; “there shall be a council of traditional leaders to be established in terms of an Act of Parliament, in order to advise the President on the control and utilisation of communal land and on such matters as may be referred to it by the president for advice” (The Constitution of the Republic of Namibia 1998, Act 34 of 1998).

Traditional leaders lost some of their roles which the colonial power had left. After independence, traditional courts lost their former criminal jurisdiction, but retained presiding powers over civil cases. The tribal police was disbanded and
traditional leaders lost their powers of detention. The only way in which traditional leaders could become part of the political arrangement set out in the constitution was to be constituted as a form of local authority. The Traditional Authorities Act, 1995 (Act 17 of 1995) however, excluded traditional leaders from political office, thereby reducing their traditional and colonial status from that of political leaders to that of cultural agents (Mahlangeni, 2005:65).

2.3.4 Traditional Leadership in Zimbabwe
The following section reviews and discusses traditional leadership in Zimbabwe.

2.3.4.1 Zimbabwe before Colonial Rule
Zimbabwe had two major kingdoms before colonial rule. These were the Shona and the Ndebele kingdoms. The Shona kingdom was made up of the Nobvu, Dzete, Hera, Nyanja and Rozvi tribes. Patrilineal ancestry was the basis of its political, administrative, religious and social systems. The kingdom had clans. Each clan had a common ancestor, who united its members and from whose name the hereditary title of chief was derived (Garbett, 1976:142). The Shona had a reputation for skills in divination, prophecy and rain-making (Ranger, 1967:33). This contributed to unity in the kingdom.

The Shona people were politically organised in relatively independent chiefdoms. Chiefdoms were sub-divided into wards, which were made up of several scattered villages. Each ward was controlled by a headman. Chiefs ruled chiefdoms. They were very powerful. They were entitled to tributes, which included hearts of all lions killed, women and youths captured as slaves during raids, leopard skins and labour. Garbett (1976:144) says that they ruled with the help of advisors and councillors. They also received advice from ward and village headmen and senior family members.

The Shona ward headmen were responsible for a number of villages which made up a ward. They heard cases referred to them by village headmen. There were
however, cases which were serious in nature which were heard by the chief. Serious cases such as those of murder, arson, witchcraft and offences against the chief were generally heard by the chief himself. The chief’s court was opened to outsiders, and his role was that of adjudicator rather than punisher (Garbett, 1976:144). The Shona kings were therefore, rulers of large and prosperous tribes. Their kings could only enjoy leadership as long as there was no outside interference into their systems.

The Shona system was a loose one. However, unlike their system, the Ndebele system was quite different. The Ndebele were organised into a strongly centralised kingdom. The kingdom centred around an active authoritarian king, rather than the sacred but restricted figure of the divine king. It was highly a centralised military system rather than a diffuse bureaucratic one (Ranger, 1967:33). The king of the Ndebele had great power and full control over land and cattle. He was the source of all authority. All land, cattle and people belonged to him. The king was the supreme commander of the army, which was well-trained. He was the supreme judge. All major decisions were made by him. He was the only one with the power of life and death over his subjects (Ranger, 1967:34). The king was assisted by great councillors and two councils. One council consisted of the headmen and it represented the interests of the commoners. The other council consisted of important kinsmen of the king. This represented the interests of the royalty (Keulder, 1988:145).

The Ndebele kingdom could be best described as a military kingdom. The system of administration was headed by a chief called ‘Induna’, who was appointed by the king from a commoner clan and not from the royal ones. It was the chief who enforced the king’s orders, instructions and policy and who therefore, governed. The entire population of the Ndebele was an army of warriors. Were (1974:87) says that the Ndebele lived among hostile peoples and had to fight most of the time and so their society was specifically organised to meet the challenge. He says that they had two categories of warriors. The first one consisted of a regular force of young unmarried men and the second one
comprised the older married warriors who were only called upon to fight either when there was an emergency or when a large expedition was necessary.

The king of the Ndebele possessed a remarkable grasp of administrative detail and was well informed through the device of placing queens in the various regimental kraals or settlements, of all important developments (Ranger, 1907:34). The “queens settlements” as they were known controlled various sub-structures in the kingdom. They were small independent courts run by the wives and daughters of the king. The king's daughters were married to important leaders in the regiments. They were an important source of information for the king as he went through his domain (Keulder, 1988:154).

The Ndebele kingdom was geared towards military conquests. The Ndebele carried out raids for cattle, grain and slaves. Many people from other tribes were conquered and incorporated into the Ndebele kingdom. Their raids disrupted the Shona political system, which was much more loosely organised and less prepared for military conquest and self-defence (Garbett, 1976:115). Such were the kingdoms in Zimbabwe which confronted European invaders.

2.3.4.2 Zimbabwe during colonial rule

Colonial rule in Zimbabwe affected traditional institutions like in other African countries. Traditional systems of governance were destroyed through war and imposition of repressive modern administration on indigenous people. Between 1888 and 1893 the British South Africa Company defeated the Shona and the Ndebele, using a mixture of war and diplomacy. The man behind this was Cecil John Rhodes. His men occupied the lands of the Shona and Ndebele. They built the town of Salisbury in Mashonaland and took over the Ndebele town of Bulawayo in Matabeland (Were, 1974:112).

After the defeat of the Shona, Mashonaland began to be confiscated to form cattle ranches for the whites. Chiefs were forced to send their men to the mines and the farms. The arrogance of the invaders shocked the African sense of personal dignity and provoked a rapidly growing resentment. Shona chiefs and
headmen began to refuse taxation or resented the operations of justice (Ranger, 1967:191).

The same treatment of Africans and their leaders was meted out to the Ndebele people, but much more than for the Shona people. After the war against the Ndebele kingdom, the Ndebele system of administration was dismantled. Afterwards colonial administration systematically interfered in the leftovers of traditional systems. After the conquest, the Ndebele kingdom royal cattle were confiscated and the Ndebele were left with the poorest farming lands. Finally an epidemic of rinderpest decimated their cattle and this was associated with the whites (Ayandele et al, 1968:220).

The African people and their leaders were unhappy with what was happening. In March 1896 the Ndebele rose in massive rebellion against the whites. Isolated whites were killed on their farms and the forts were besieged. In June 1896 the Shona who were least expected on rebel rose and succeeded in killing a substantial number of whites in their areas (Ranger, 1967:129). These uprisings were crushed with the greatest brutality. Colonial administration then extended its social and political control over the African people. The number of traditional leaders was reduced. The leaders lost their power and status. Traditional ways of life were disrupted. Colonial administration however, relied on traditional leaders as they did elsewhere in Africa in order to maintain social control. African leaders were appointed so as to exercise authority over the African society (Keulder, 1998:154).

2.3.4.3 Zimbabwe after independence
Traditional leaders in Zimbabwe lost almost all their powers after independence. They lost the powers they had received from the colonial rulers. The new democratic state embarked on a strategy to monopolise social control and as such, traditional leaders were replaced either by popularly elected officials or by government appointed leaders. This was in line with the government’s socialist principles (Holomisa, 2004:13). The modern state of Zimbabwe took control over
administrative and legal structures, which colonial rule left and used them to achieve victory over traditional forms of government. The state was however, weak at the local level. It struggled to remain the only provider of services to the peasants. This became difficult and the state had to fall back on traditional leaders in order to enhance its ability to provide efficient legal services (Keulder, 1998:202).

Although traditional leadership was very weak as soon as Zimbabwe gained independence, it was not totally without influence. The popular election of traditional leaders to village courts proved that in certain areas at least, they had the support from the local population (Keulder, 1998:202). The government of Zimbabwe has since restored the powers of traditional leaders in local government. Traditional leaders also have powers over land administration, allocation and redistribution. The present government has the greatest support from traditional leaders. This is because the land that was traditionally theirs and that of their people before colonialism has been restored to them without cost. Traditional leaders also play a leading role in land allocation committees as well as identifying families which deserve land (Holomisa, 2004:13).

2.4 THE HISTORY OF TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP IN SOUTH SUDAN

The following section reviews and discusses traditional leadership in South Sudan.

2.4.1 Traditional Leadership before Colonial rule

South Sudan has many large and small ethnic groups or tribes. These existed before colonial rule. Large ethnic groups such as the Dinka, the Nuer, Anuak, Shilluk and the Zande were more powerful than others. They had kings or chiefs and headmen who provided traditional leadership. Small ethnic groups also had their traditional leaders. Traditional leaders of small and large ethnic groups played their roles according to their traditional setup, just like any other African traditional community before colonial rule. Until 1822, South Sudan was made up of many independent kingdoms and chiefdoms
(Akintoye, 1976:223). Thereafter, disturbances, changes and colonial rule affected traditional leadership roles in the society and community.

2.4.2 Traditional Leadership during Colonial rule

Traditional leadership in South Sudan is further discussed in section 2.4.2.1

2.4.2.1 South Sudan under Egyptian rule

South Sudan has a complex history of colonial rule which shows that it was once under both Egyptian and British rule. When it was under these colonial rulers, it was part of the Sudan nation. Later, Sudan got independence with Southern Sudan forming part of it. After 1822, the Egyptians under Mohammed Ali came, conquered and united the Sudan (North and South) and ruled it until the 1880’s (Akintoye, 1976:223). Akintoye (1976) further explains that one of the consequences of Egyptian conquest was that in the 1880’s there was the expansion of European and Arab trade into the thickly forested territories of Southern Sudan. From northern Sudan, European and Arab traders went on trading expeditions to the South. The main trade was in ivory, gold and feathers but later the traders began to buy slaves in the South and brought them to the north. After some time, slave trade overtook the trade in ivory. Akintoye (1976:224) says that by 1870 between 12 000 and 15 000 slaves were taken northwards from Southern Sudan annually.

In the circumstances of trade in human beings under Egyptian rule, African traditional leaders found themselves in a precarious situation. They had to protect their subjects on one hand and on the other hand they had to protect themselves against the traders and Egyptian influence which was so strong. In 1881, a local Muslim leader called the Mahdi started a holy war and expelled the Egyptians from the Sudan. He and his followers ruled the country until it was reconquered by the British and Egyptian forces in 1898 (Uk Pabi, 1971:41). In 1899 the British and the Egyptians signed the “Condominium Agreement “which implied that Britain and Egypt would jointly rule the Sudan.
2.4.2.2 South Sudan under British and Egyptian rule

The British and the Egyptians were to rule the Sudan jointly. However, the British ruled the Sudan with little Egyptian participation and moreso after Egyptian independence in 1822. British policy between 1899 and 1946 was to keep the north and the south of the Sudan apart as much as possible. This was done in many ways. After 1899, the soldiers used by the British in the south were northerners but in 1911, the British began to train Southerners as soldiers and by 1918 southerners had replaced northerners in the army in the south. Akintoye (1976:224) writes that other measures were taken such as opening mission schools in the south, introduction of English as the language to be used to win over southerners, not only from their traditional religions but also from the Islamic influences of the north.

In administration and other aspects of life the British took more measures in order to run the south separately from the Sudan. Northern officials serving in the administration in the South were transferred to the North and northern officers in the colonial army and police in the south were removed. Southerners were advised to give up Arabic culture and intermarriages between northerners and southerners were banned. Northern traders were encouraged or forced to leave the South. Steps were taken to suppress Islam and Christian missionary work was intensified (Akintoye, 1976:224).

The administration of the Sudan was headed by the Governor-General who had military and civil authority. He was appointed by the British government. Uk Pabi (1971:44) records that in 1929, the British established native administration in which tribal authorities were established to run local administration under the control of British officials. However, traditional leadership in the south of the Sudan had undergone several changes since 1822. The Egyptian rule and slave trade had impacted negatively on traditional systems in Southern Sudan. It was no longer possible to revive many ruling houses which had disappeared or to reunite traditional areas which had undergone a great deal of fragmentation (Uk Pabi, 1971:44).
Since the establishment of the “Condominium”, the British policy aimed at administering the south as a separate entity, they later realised that their policy had failed. Their policy had prevented the growth of understanding between the northern and southern Sudanese and tended to strengthen the traditional attitudes between the two. The policy had exploited the long standing enmity between the two. The northerners were represented as slave traders, who merely wanted to exploit the southerners, if they were given the chance. The northerners looked down upon the southerners as backward people and had little respect for them. In 1946, the British had to abandon the policy in favour of one with the aim of bringing the north and the south together in a union (Akintoye, 1976:225).

From 1946 onwards, the south was progressively subjected to the wishes of the north. In 1948 the British colonial government introduced the legislative assembly. Akintoye (1976:225) says that there were seventy six members of the assembly from the north and thirteen from the south and that the south Sudanese said that the composition would be used against the south. Events moved so fast, especially after the Second World War, which saw increased nationalists movement activities in the Sudan. These movements were however, dominated by northerners with Egyptian influence.

In 1953, self government was given to the Sudan (Uk Pabi, 1971:51). However, by this date the north was far ahead of the south in all spheres of development. The educated elite of the north had formed themselves into political parties, but the few educated southerners had no coherent political organisation. No Southerner was invited to the historic meetings preceding the granting of self-rule. It was clear that the northerners were anxious to suppress the southerners. Akintoye (1976:226) points out that at this time many northern administrators in the south were corrupt and boastful and openly despised southerners. He says that a committee was set up to recommend steps to Sudanese the civil service but that it ensured that southerners were given only six minor positions in the civil service.
In the circumstances, southerners could not help feeling that they were again being enslaved by the northerners. Feelings ran high and in August 1955 the southern army, the equatorial corps, mutinied and this quickly spread and developed into widespread uprising in the south against northern domination (Akintoye, 1976:226). The police and the army from the north were sent by government and this led to the death of many people and many fled across the borders to Uganda, Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo), Kenya and the Central African Republic. It was in the midst of all these troubles that the Britain granted independence to the Sudan in January 1956 (Uk Pabi, 1971:53).

Throughout the years under British-Egyptian rule traditional leaders assisted colonial government in their rule which was characterised by troubles. They collected taxes and maintained roads to help the colonial administrators’ access the traditional leaders in Districts. They were however, aware of the oppressive nature of colonial rule. Before independence, they had expressed concern for self-determination in 1947 in their meeting in Juba (Acuil, 2008:2).

2.4.2.3 South Sudan under the independent Sudan
The Sudan got independence in 1956. The civilian government was led by Al-Azhari. The situation on the eve of independence was already bad and this continued and worsened after independence. The situation deteriorated and caused economic distress and political instability in the country. In November 1958 the army took over government, led by General Ibrahim Abbabaud (Akintoye, 1976:226). Under military rule, Southern Sudan did not get any better. The military government used force and repression coupled with intensive spreading of Arabic and Islamic influences in the south, in the belief that national unity would be achieved by culturally assimilating the south to the north. Many koranic schools were established as well as centres for Islamic instruction for adults. All agencies of government were devoted to spreading of Islam and the Arabic language. Restrictions were placed on the practice of Christianity. In 1962 all Christian missionaries working in the south were expelled (Akintoye, 1976:226).
The policies of independent Sudan towards the south increased alienation of the south. Many southern leaders fled abroad leaving behind various resistance groups in the forests. They were terrorists’ organisations and chief among them was the Anya-nya group. The clashes between the Anya-nya and government forces led to widespread destruction of villages and means of livelihood and forced an increasing number of people to flee the country. The situation worried the northerners and this led to the removal of Abbaud’s regime in October 1964 (Akintoye, 1976:227). A civilian government which accepted participation by the southerners in the affairs of Sudan took over power.

The new government brought in new measures to conciliate the south. The government started to bring in southerners in the southern administration. It released many political prisoners. However in the south the tradition of hostility against the northerners was so great. In July 1965 violence erupted in the south in the areas of Juba and Wau. These removed all hopes of reconciliation. The southerners concluded that the massacres in both towns which were carried out by northern soldiers represented the true intentions of all northerners. From then on there were endless attacks and retaliations between southerners and northerners with Anya-nya serving as the best armed group of southerners (Akintoye, 1976:228).

In such a situation it was the ordinary people who suffered. An endless stream of refugees crossed the borders to neighbouring countries. The economy of the country deteriorated again producing widespread discontent. This resulted into a coup led by a group of army men under Jaafar Nimiery in May 1969 (Akintoye, 1976:228). Akintoye (1976:228) says that Nimiery’s government promised to solve the southern problem by granting regional self-determination to the south. A ministry of Southern Affairs was created under a Minister from the south. Several southerners were appointed to important positions and funds were set aside for reconstruction in the south. The leaders of Anya-nya were convinced that the government was doing the right thing and they prepared to negotiate. In 1972 an agreement was reached and the fighters gave up
the fight and surrendered their weapons and their soldiers (Colliers et al, 2005:1). After this, much of the national effort was devoted to reconstruction especially in the south.

Although the government was supported and believed to be working for the development of southern Sudan, there was not much to be seen by the southerners. The old enmity kept on coming up time and again. The issues of power sharing and cultural preservation soon brought conflict. After a decade of some peace civil war again broke out in 1983. This lasted for over two decades, until 2005 when another peace accord was signed—the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). This eventually led to South Sudan’s independence on the 9th July 2011. Traditional leaders in southern Sudan did not have easy time to play their roles under independent Sudan. It could have been extremely difficult for them to control even their own people during the civil war with people moving about looking for safety. This situation could have been similar to the situation of slave trade which southern Sudan went through. The situation of civil wars affected traditional leaders and their roles such as feeding the SPLA during the struggle, contributed manpower and other activities which led to the Independence of South Sudan.

2.4.3 South Sudan after Independence

South Sudan became independent on the 9th July 2011. The government began on the path of development and problems were enormous. The leaders faced the problem of national unity to keep the country together and not to let it be torn apart by ethnic divisions and clashes. They faced problems of socio-economic development and transformation. They had to satisfy economic expectations of the people and the need to mobilise the people to carry out the programmes of economic and social development of the new country. This would involve everybody. Traditional leaders, though with lots and lots of interruptions and disturbances under colonial rule and independent Sudan, had gained some experience in local governance, a feature which makes them active role-players in the development of the new nation of South Sudan.
2.4.4 Conceptual Framework for Traditional Leadership participation in Maintenance and Development

When the European powers began to invade Africa in the nineteenth century, they encountered many large powerful states (Akintoye, 1976:3). These states were under the leadership of traditional leaders. They were kings and chiefs who ruled kingdoms and empires. They maintained them and developed them up to the level the invaders found them. African traditional leaders offered stiff and in some places protracted resistance to European penetration into their kingdoms or empires. However, because of their weaknesses, more especially military weakness, they were defeated while others were tricked into signing treaties, which they did not understand but were taken as submission to European rule. Other African traditional leaders who did not lead kingdoms or empires resisted but were subdued through the military might of the Europeans. All the conquered territories became colonies at different times of the invasion, thereby weakening the authority of traditional leaders.

Just as when the colonies were originally seized, the rights of the indigenous people were completely disregarded (Nkrumah, 1963:7). Yet, as Akintoye (1976:9) notes, before colonial times, the African ruler or chief had not been just a political leader and until the end of the colonial era he remained important in the religious life of people. He was still the centre of important rituals and ceremonies. For some people, the king or chief remained “God's lieutenant on earth”, the great commander and judge. He continues that, in spite of the emerging new order, most of the illiterate people in the remote districts would rather take their disputes to the king or chief for settlement in the traditional way than to the new courts. He says “in short, in spite of all changes which traditional African institutions underwent during colonial rule, these institutions continued to command the allegiance of many people, even after independence in some places (Akintoye, 1976:9).

African traditional leaders played their roles during colonial rule. It was in the local administration that colonial governments made use of the indigenous African political institutions- kings and chiefs (Akintoye, 1976:5). This means that kings and chiefs were assigned roles to serve colonial governments or traditional roles were modified.
Crowder (1968:169) confirms that modifications had to be made on the roles of traditional leaders. There were modifications designed to ensure the achievements of the main purpose of colonial rule, the exploitation of the colonised country for example, introduction of taxes designed to stimulate production of cash crops for export.

After independence, modern African leaders inherited colonial system of administration, but they faced many economic and social problems. Leaders whether before, during colonial rule and after independence had and have the task of maintaining and developing their countries. African traditional leaders played their roles, maintained and developed their communities or states before colonial rule. They played their roles and those modified or given by colonial rulers and maintained and developed the metropolitan country as well as the colonial state. For instance, the rulers of the Sokoto Caliphate in West Africa, the Emirs and their district and village heads were associated with the British, who would assist them in compiling the roles of those who would pay tax and assessing how much each village or town was to pay. The proceeds from the tax were to be shared between them and the British (Obaro Ikime, 1970:9).

African traditional leaders can play roles which are traditional in nature or roles modified by the new leaders of independent nation or new roles assigned to them in the maintenance and development of their nation. South Sudan modern leaders and traditional leaders can do this for the same purpose. Figure 2.1 is an illustration of this understanding.
Conceptual Framework for Traditional Leadership Participation in Maintenance and Development

As illustrated in Figure 1 is a conceptual framework illustrating shifting traditional leadership roles and participation in the maintenance and development of a community or state, country or a nation. Traditional leadership roles were played before colonial rule. This led to maintenance and development of traditional institutions and communities or states. The violence and trickery that were used on African traditional communities or states by colonial agents led to colonial rule. Traditional leaders were forced to serve colonial governments. Their roles shifted from the ones they used to have to the ones modified and those dictated by the colonial government. Together with colonial leadership roles, African traditional leadership roles led to the maintenance and development of the metropolitan country and the colonial state.
After independence, African leaders faced the problems of maintenance and development of their nations. Modern leadership roles played together with traditional leadership roles, wherever they still exist can be a solution to the problems. The new leaders of an independent nation can assign new roles to traditional leaders or modify the ones that were used during colonial rule for this purpose.

2.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

African traditional leadership was drastically affected by colonial rule. Their leadership roles shifted from what they were in pre-colonial period to new ones given by colonial administration. However, even the old roles that remained unchanged could not be played without the approval of the colonial government. This control was to take care of the main intention of colonial rule which was economic. By serving the colonial government, African traditional leaders contributed to the development of the countries of colonial rulers. It should be realised that, while serving under colonial rule African traditional leaders learnt something or gained experience in modern governance especially at the local government level.

The colonial powers left independent African nations in the hands of educated elites. Traditional leaders did not have the requirements for leading a modern state. The decision to include traditional leaders in the governance of an independent state lies with the modern leaders. In places where traditionalism is still strong traditional leaders’ participation cannot be ignored. South Sudan is the newest African country, which has a unique history of colonial rule. It needs to maintain and develop its population which has diverse ethnic groups with their traditions. For this to be realised, traditional leaders and the new leaders have roles to play. This chapter provided an overview of traditional leadership in Africa and South Sudan. The next chapter covers the roles of traditional leadership in Africa.
CHAPTER THREE

LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES IN SERVICE DELIVERY

3.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS
Local government is very important for the function of a government at the local level where the majority of citizens lives. It is the people who live at this level who need basic services from government. However, provision of these services is not easy. Local government needs the support not only of government, but also of the people at the local level, where it carries out day to day administration. At the local level, in the context of this study, traditional leadership is important. Traditional leadership is still respected in African countries where it exists. Traditional leaders need support from local government and they need to support local government in its work of providing basic services. However, both the local government and traditional leaders need the backing of government in order for them to cooperate in the delivery of basic services.

3.2 THE CONCEPT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT
Local government has got a strong relationship with public administration. Public administration is an area which is vast and not easy to define. It has however, been defined in political, legal, managerial and occupational terms. Mckinney and Howard (1998:6) define it as “the study of government decision making, the analysis of the policies themselves, the various inputs that have produced them and the input necessary to produce alternative policies”.

It may be simpler to understand public administration when it is presented in terms of its composition and what it includes. Naks (2010) present public administration as comprising of “establishments primarily engaged in activities of a governmental nature, that is, the enactment and judicial interpretation of laws and their pursuant regulations and the administration of programmes based on them”. He points out that this includes, “legislative activities, taxation, national defence, public order and safety, immigration services, foreign affairs and international assistance and the administration of
government programmes activities that are purely governmental in nature”. Kwame (2010:167) simply puts it that “public administration should be a collective effort to manage the human resources for effective implementation of public policies, within the budgetary constraints of that community”.

In most cases, a national government cannot perform all the functions that public administration entails because it is usually far removed from the bulk of the population that demand its services. The government therefore, delegates authority to deliver services to the people, to lower levels of government. Thus, local government is most suitable for the provision of basic services to people at the local level. Local government is a form of public administration, which in a majority of contexts exists as the lowest level of administration within a given country. The term is used to contrast with offices at state level, which are referred to as the central government, national government or federal government. Local government generally acts within powers delegated to it by legislation or directives of higher levels of government.

The UNDP (2004) notes that local government “comprises a set of instructions, mechanisms and processes through which citizens and their groups can articulate their interests and needs, mediate their differences and exercise their rights and obligations at the local level”. It adds that, the building blocks of good local governance are many and that they include, citizen participation, partnerships among key state and non-state actors at the local level. It ideally needs to draw on the capacity of local actors across all sectors, multiple flows of information, institutions of accountability, and it needs to be mostly pro-poor in orientation. When all these blocks and many others operate well, local government becomes an efficient and effective service delivery vehicle to its subjects.

Service delivery denotes the availing of services or satisfactions which are accessible to the people who need them at the local government level. These services help people to become productive as they enhance citizens’ quality of life of (Hemson and Owusu-Ampomah, 2005:512). However, service delivery requires good governance and
management. Local government can succeed in this task because it is with the people and can gain their trust, more easily than the far removed national government.

3.3 LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND SERVICE DELIVERY

Local government receives directives or its powers from the central government. Their powers and roles may be enshrined in the constitution of the country. For example, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), section 152 (1) (b) clearly articulates the objects of local government as being “to relate to the provision of democratic and accountable government, promoting social and economic development, promoting a healthy and safe environment, encouraging community involvement in local government matters and in relation to services, ensuring the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner”. Furthermore Pycroft (1998:129) writes that, with reference to South Africa the focus of local government is “improving the standard of living and quality of life of previously disadvantaged sectors of the community”.

The provision of basic services by local government enhances the quality of life of citizens and increases their social and economic opportunities by promoting health and safety, facilitating access to work, education, recreation and stimulating new productive activities (Hemson and Owusu-Ampomah, 2005:512). The services which local government provide are of a wide range. Limerick et al (2012:9) enumerate local government services in Australia, when they define local services, as being among others; waste collection and disposal, separation and recycling and landfill management, community management, maintenance and upgrades of internal community roads including footpaths, hedge maintenance, drainage and road signage. Other countries may however not have these basic services provided by local government in Australia.

The responsibility of providing services rests mostly with local government administration. The administrators do not however, do the work themselves. The work is done in collaboration with other people or agents, as in public-private-partnerships. Elected and appointed public officials, amongst them traditional leaders, plan for the
work, consult the community, make proposals, agree with providers and take action (Limerick et al, 2012:59). Therefore, the actual delivery of services may be done by people other than those working with the local government. The private sector can take part in it, or it can be done through partnership or outsourcing to other organs of the state or the private sector, or more still civil society (Hollands and Magaza, 2010:12). Limerick, et al. (2012:64), however, notes that there are services which need local inputs of users, such as those of a social nature, like counselling or family support or community development programmes. They also however point out that there are other services which do not need regular community input, such as the provision of waste collection service and the management of rubbish. Service delivery at local government level is not only the responsibility of local government, but also of others such as other organs of the state, the private sector, partnerships and community leadership.

### 3.4 TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE DELIVERY

Traditional leadership is still recognised in many African countries despite changes that have taken place and affected traditional leadership roles. The fact that they are still recognised means that they can be useful to their communities. Akintoye (1976:9) says that despite all changes, traditional institutions continue to command the allegiance of many people even after independence. This implies that, after independence, they can still play roles in order to serve their people.

Traditional leaders live with their people at the grassroots. They understand their people and know what they need. The proximity to their people, the respect and trust they get from their people and the attention they give to their people, give them power over the people. Some of them are hereditary traditional leaders, while others are elected, but all of them are leaders, people run to immediately in time of need. Leaders at the national level are far from the ordinary people at the local level and help from them take time to come.
Local government is nearer to the people than the national government. The local government provides services and sometimes has to involve the private sector, partnership and out sourcing as alluded to earlier, but above all local government has to involve the community that needs the services. This is the community in which local leaders exercise their authority, which is acceptable to the people. Thus, the community through their traditional leadership needs to take part in local government service delivery. Limerick, et al. (2012:65) refers to a research which was carried out by the Desert Knowledge Cooperative Research Centre in Australia, which revealed that indigenous people often seek full community control of services “with a social or cultural dimension”. In line with this finding, African traditional leaders can be relied on to play social or cultural roles, which lead to the improvement of the standard of living and quality of life of their people. The roles should be complementary to those of local government.

3.5 LEGAL FRAMEWORK FOR TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES IN SERVICE DELIVERY

Traditional leadership needs legal backing for it to survive and operate. This is important because of the experience traditional leaders have of colonial rule, some of which are not consistent with modern thinking and operations of government. National constitutions need to recognise the existence of traditional leaders and their importance in national development where they still exist and have considerable influence. Their roles need to be spelt out like in South Africa where traditional leaders have roles and functions specified in the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework, 2003 (Act, 41 of 2003). Traditional leaders need to be aware of them in order to operate well within the laws of the Country.

The legal framework for traditional leadership roles differ from country to country where traditional leadership exists. In some countries traditional leaders are excluded from political activities while in others their political activities are controlled or minimised. Mahlangeni (2005:65) says that in Namibia, the Traditional Authorities Act (No. 17 of 1995) excludes traditional leadership from political office. This has had the effect of reducing their traditional and colonial status from that of political leaders to that of
cultural agents. The government of Zimbabwe has fully restored the powers of traditional leaders in local government and land administration, allocation and redistribution (Keulder, 1998:202). The final draft Constitution of Zimbabwe (February 2013) section 282 (2) stipulates that “in the performance of functions traditional leaders are not subject to the direction or control of any person or authority except as may be prescribed in an Act of Parliament”. The extent to which traditional leadership roles are enshrined in national constitutions however differs from country to country. In South Africa the Constitution of 1996, Chapter 3 provides for cooperative governance. Section 19 and 20(1) of the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, 2003 (Act No. 41 of 2003) articulates the roles and functions of traditional leaders.

According to the Act, traditional leaders are to play the roles of promoting and preserving heritage resources, assisting in environmental affairs, dissemination of government policies and programmes, health services, registration of births, identity documents, customary marriages, deaths and other related matters, trying certain cases in customary courts and land administration. They have roles to play in the country’s minerals and energy where they are involved in mining activities and royalty benefits of minerals extracted from traditional community land, such as is the case with the Royal Bafokeng traditional leadership. They also play roles in service delivery and development and satisfy security and other areas enshrined in the constitution. The roles which a government gives to traditional leaders to play depend on how much traditional leadership is recognised and its strength as well as the consideration of what it can do to bring about an improvement in the quality of life of the people as well as national development. The history of a particular country especially during colonial rule also plays a part in shaping the future of that country.

3.6 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Local government and traditional leadership can be a reliable vehicle for service delivery to the poor and needy and those at the grassroots. Their activities can lead to improvement of living standards and quality of life. However, they should be governed
by the laws of the country in which they operate. The roles of traditional leaders should complement those of local government. It is necessary that roles are given to traditional leaders taking into account changes that have taken place and the current ones. This will not be strange because traditional leaders are already used to changes since colonial times. In this way, traditional leaders as well as local administrators will enjoy the outcomes of service delivery at the local government level. The next chapter discusses the research design and methodology employed in the study.
CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS
This chapter describes the methodology that was used to collect data for a case study of Bor County in Jonglei State in South Sudan. The main aim of this study was to establish the roles which traditional leaders play in promoting local government service delivery, as well as the shifts in their roles as they served various governments. The study then sought to assess how service delivery at local government level had been impacted by these shifting roles. Hence the objectives of the study were to: establish the roles which were played by Bor County traditional leadership before South Sudan got independence, establish current traditional leadership roles being played by Bor County traditional leaders in local government service delivery, assess the extent to which Bor County traditional leadership roles have shifted from the roles traditional leaders used to play to the roles they play today, establish challenges which Bor county traditional leaders face when carrying out their leadership roles in local government service delivery and explore ways in which challenges which Bor County traditional leaders face when carrying out their roles in local government service delivery can be addressed. The research design and methodology helped the researcher in mapping the way forward as well as the plan to collect the data needed to achieve the objectives of the study. This chapter therefore presents the methods and procedures which the researcher used in order to ultimately attain the research objectives.

4.2 THE CASE STUDY APPROACH
The study used qualitative research methodology this methodology includes several approaches to research that are in some respects quite different from one another. The common qualitative research design includes ethnography, grounded theory and case study (Babbie, 2007: 298; kaahwa, 2008: 31). For this study a case study research design was selected. This is a free-form research techniques that is used to gain insight into the undergoing issues surrounding a research problem by gathering non-statistical feedback and opinions noted in people’s attitudes, motivations, values and perceptions often from small samples usually called soft data (singleton et al, 1993:91).
The case study approach was chosen because it can bring a research to an understanding of a complex issue and can extend experience of strength to what is already known through previous research. A case studies put emphasis on detailed analysis of a limited number of events or coalitions. Research like yin has used it for many years across a variety of discipline (yin 1997:22). Social scientist in particulars, have made wide use of this qualitative research method to examine contemporary real life situations and provide the basis for the application of ideas and extensions of methods.yin (1997:23) defines case study method as an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomena in its real- life context, when boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence are discussed. Kaahwa (2008:31) defines it’s as an exploration of a bounded or grounded (time, place and case) system in developing on in-depth analysis of single or multiple sources of information (archive records, interviews, observations, physical artifacts and documents)

The case study research method has benefits and shortcomings. The use of case studied can be time consuming because of the large amount of time required for the fieldwork stage. The handling of subjects of the study is important if interviews are to used. However, a case study exposes real – life situation to the researcher. For the purpose of this study the case study method promised to yield valuable results. During fieldwork matters were made somewhat easier by the fact that the researcher knew the area very well. He grew up in the area and not of the key informants (Mr. Ajang Bior Duot) is his uncle. The situation ensured that the researcher obtained maximum participation, thereby enhancing the quality of the information gathered.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

For this study, the researcher used the qualitative research paradigm. This was descriptive and exploratory as it enabled the subject of the study to say in their own words what they believed, and felt. It enabled them to express themselves freely, affording them the opportunity to explain events under investigation. It is assumed that people make sense out of their experiences and in doing so create their own reality. In qualitative research the focus of attention is on the perceptions and experiences of the participants (Locke, et al, 1993:99). Amin (2005) contends that qualitative research provides a rich understanding of a social setting or activity as viewed from the perspective of research participants. The researcher therefore chose the qualitative
approach because it was suitable for capturing the natural context, voices and attitudes of the target population.

4.3 DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

The collection of empirical data was done in order to get an insider’s perspective about the role of traditional leadership in local government service delivery. The researcher used interviews and documents such as reports, diaries, books and government documents such as local government acts for further analysis of the roles and activities of traditional leaders in Bor County.

4.3.1 Interviews

The most important feature of qualitative research methodology is the interview. Locke et al (1993:99) submit that in qualitative research the focus of attention is on the perceptions and experiences of the participants. What individuals say they believe, the feelings they express and the explanations they give are treated as significant realities. They add that “the working assumption is that people make sense out of their experiences and in doing so create their own reality”. To get the realities of situations from perceptions and experiences of participants, interview is the research technique that is appropriate. Locke et al (1993:106) say that interviewing participants is particularly a common form of data collection.

According to Mugenda& Mugenda (1999:83) interviews is an oral administration of interview schedule. It may be collected face-to-face or by telephone. To obtain accurate information through interviews a researcher needs to obtain maximum cooperation from participants. There is a need for collaborative relationship in carrying out interviews (Weber, 1986:65-72). The researcher must therefore, establish a friendly relationship with the respondents prior to conducting interviews. Interviews may be unstructured and semi-structured. This requires much more highly trained personnel and more complex data analysis, which is why in-depth interviews generally are done with very small samples (Singleton et al, 1993:239).
The use of interviews in a study like this one has advantages and disadvantages. There are disadvantages but for this study it was found to be the best way to provide in-depth data to meet specific objectives which would not have been possible with questionnaire. The interview is flexible and gives the researcher the chance to clarify and elaborate the purpose of the research. Magenda & Magenda (1999:84) inform that interviews yield higher response rates mainly because it is difficult for subject to completely refuse to answer questions or to ignore the interviewer. Interviews have disadvantages and some of them are that, they are expensive, require high level of skill, interviewers can be bias, and they require smaller samples (Magenda & Magenda 1999: 84-85).

Despite the disadvantages of interviews, the researcher found that the advantages outweigh them. Interview was the most appropriate because the researcher would not have obtained data on real-life situation by use of any statistical data collection method. The researcher asked the same questions in each interview. However, the researcher always wished to remain flexible and in this way other important information were allowed to arise. Dawson (2002: 28-29) says that for this type of interview, an interviewer needs an interview schedule. In this study, the researcher used interview schedules for all the categories of people who were interviewed.

4.3.2 DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

Locke et al (1993:100) point out documents as one of the primary forms of information in qualitative research which is descriptive in the sense that text (recorded words rather than numbers) is the most common form of data. They say that qualitative inquiry also is analytic or interpretive often subtle regularities within those data. Documents can therefore be subjected to analysis in order to support data from interviews.

Documentary analysis is the study of documentary evidence available in order to obtain desirable data for research (Kaahwa, 2008:74). It is a careful study of written documents or visual information for example; text books, newspapers, articles, speeches, advertisements, dairies, pictures, records in archives, minutes of meeting,
Journals and periodicals (Kaahwa, 2008:74-75). The analysis of such documents is aimed at answering research questions. The analysis also provides information which supports data obtained through the interview of subjects. At times, respondents may not know what has taken place which has been documented.

For this study, the research obtained a number of documents to support findings from interviews. Documents such as the Interim Constitution of South Sudan (2011), reports on conferences of Traditional Authority Leaders of South Sudan, the Local Government Act, 2009, among others were analysed (Appendix E).

**4.4 VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY**

Validity and reliability are very important in any empirical research. According to Amin (2005:48) validity is the most important idea to consider when preparing or selecting an instrument. Mbaaga (1990:122) says that a valid instrument does not only measure what it is constructed for but must also measure it accurately. Validity, therefore, refers to the accuracy and the truth of data and findings that are produced.

Reliability of an instrument is the degree of consistency it shows (Mbaaga, 1990:118). Mugenda & Mugenda (1999:95) say that it is a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields consistent results or data after repeated trials. Reliable instrument give the same value if it is used a number of times to measure the same variables provided the variable does not change (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999:95).

The subject of the this study were the commissioner Bor County, Chiefs, Elders, a religious leader, a youth representative and a woman representative. These are respectable people in the county and have unquestionable experience and knowledge which were displayed during the interviews. The data each of them gave corroborated those given by others. During the interviews and especially when it came to discussions examples of similar situations elsewhere in South Sudan were given. To the researcher all these constituted measurement of the validity of the research instrument. The
researcher was convinced that the respondents were trustworthy given their age and the answers they gave which were not contradicting by information from other respondents. The information given on other parts of South Sudan convinced the researcher of the transferability of the research findings.

The researcher subjected the research instrument to pre-testing in order to eliminate errors such as that of ambiguity of instrument to respondents. This was done before fieldwork. The researcher took care of fatigue in his case and that of respondents to protect the instrument. The researcher was convinced that such measures led to reliability of the instrument.

4.4.1 Ensuring instrument validity and reliability

Validity refers to the degree to which an instrument is measuring what it is supposed to measure (Mbaaga, 1990:122). In this research the instrument was intended to assess the impact of shifting traditional leadership roles on service delivery at a local government level in Bor County. To ensure validity of the research instrument, the researcher pre-tested the instrument. It was a semi-structured interview which the researcher made careful preparations and obtained the necessary knowledge of research methods to be able to use the instrument.

Reliability is the degree of consistency an instrument shows (Mbaaga, 1990:118). To ensure that the research instrument was reliable and therefore, it was stable and consistent, the researcher paid attention to procedure during the interviews. The same approaches to respondents to get data, the same order of questioning and variations in discussions were used. Instructions were clear and the researcher ensured that inaccurate recording and coding were eliminated by checking from tape recorded text and comparing with handwritten data. The researcher was confident of reliability of the research instrument as it brought out the necessary data.
4.5 STUDY POPULATION AND SAMPLING PROCEDURES

The population of this study are people living or working in Bor County of South Sudan. They consisted of the Commissioner of Bor County, Paramount chiefs, chiefs, youths, women, elders and religions leaders. The research selected a representative sample of 30 respondents which were selected using the purposive sampling technique.

4.5.1 PURPOSIVE SAMPLING

Purposive Sampling is a type of sampling in which the researcher considers the accessibility of the intended respondent. Amin (2005:236) supports this sampling technique and calls it “a process where a researcher usually select a sample based on his or her experiences of knowledge of the group to be sampled and has in mind that those respondents have the required information”. The researcher used this technique to build the sample because there were need for a careful discretionary selection model to hand-pick those respondents who had knowledge of traditional leadership and its part in local government service delivery.

4.6 PLANS FOR DATA ANALYSIS

The researcher organized data daily by writing and sorting them according to the research interview guide. All the data collected were then analyzed and organized according to the research question. According to Merriam and Associates (200:61) processing of data involves harmonizing the information gathered before it can be merged to give common understanding. The data which was collected gave raw information and not knowledge by themselves. Therefore, the researcher organized it to create meaning. The data collected by the use of interviews were translated, sorted out according to emerging themes, coded and analysed. Similarly, the information collected from documents was put together according to where it belonged. The researcher used interview summary sheets to help in the analysis of data. This was completed as soon as possible after each interview has taken place. This included details about the time and place and details about the content and emerging themes. Similar responses are coded at the end of fieldwork. The analysed data was presented in graphical form, to make it readable to the ordinary people. Data analysis will be covered in the coming chapter.
4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS OBSERVED IN THE STUDY

The researcher followed ethical research standards. Research intrudes on lives and a researcher should try to minimize disruption of people lives (Dawson 2002:147). Their age social status or position need to be respected. The researcher was able to establish friendly relations with participants before sharing information during the interview. The researcher was mindful about appearance and body language including eye to eye contact with the interviewees. All these should prepare an atmosphere of friendliness and mutual respect. The intention of doing all these is to obtain data which can be used and reflects realities on the ground. Every human has the right not to be used by other people (Locke et al, 1993:29). Bearing this in mind and in addition to respect, confidentiality will be maintained throughout the research. The study population will be informed about the purpose of the research and assured that it is for academic purpose only. No respondent had their right to privacy infringed upon, no one was harmed neither were respondents coerced to partake in the study.

3.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This research was conducted in Bor County successfully with the help of county authorities from whom permission was obtained. The presented research design and methodology in this chapter played a very active role towards the attainment of the study objectives. Data collected through the interviews was augmented by the information and data obtained from pre-existing records, reports and other pieces of literature which the research had access to. The next chapter looks at the discussion of the study findings.
5.1 INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS
This chapter describes a case study of shifting traditional leadership roles and their impact on Local Government Service delivery in Bor County of Jonglei State in South Sudan. These come out from the interviews which were conducted and the analysis of relevant documents which the researcher conducted. The chapter gives interpretation and discusses the findings. Finally, it gives a model for traditional leadership roles and participation of traditional leaders in Local Government Service delivery, given the new situation of independence of the country.

5.2 DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION
The findings of this study are presented according to the research questions which guided the study. The study sought to establish roles which traditional leaders in Bor County played before the independence of South Sudan, the extent to which roles shifted, the roles traditional leaders play in local government service delivery, the challenges they face and possible ways of addressing them as they participate in local Government Service delivery. The findings that follow are the responses of people who took part in the interviews which were conducted.

5.2.1 ROLES TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN BOR COUNTY PLAYED BEFORE SOUTH SUDAN INDEPENDENCE
The first question which guided the study was about the roles which Bor county traditional leaders played before South Sudan got independence. All the respondents of the case study gave brief history in Sudan and South Sudan beginning from the pre-colonial period, giving roles which were played by traditional leaders in each period. During the interview they said that before the colonial period, the people of Bor County
did not have chiefs in the sense that they came to be known during the colonial period. Respondent Number seven (R.7) said that;

“Before colonial rule, there was no chief but the system of leadership was there. There were leaders who were not called chiefs. Leadership came because of the abilities and talents which individuals possessed in their communities. For example, some people became leaders because of the spiritual gifts they had. Some were respected and became leaders because of their fighting prowess while others came to be leaders because they were rich. These people were respected in Bor communities. They were consulted and they played leadership roles in their communities”.

Respondent number five (R.5) submitted that there were two types of traditional leaders. There were traditional religious leaders and traditional secular leaders. Those with spiritual powers were powerful traditional religious leaders while warriors and the rich were also powerful traditional secular leaders in their communities. In Bor county there was no king. Traditional leaders in Bor County had roles to play in their communities. Respondent number three (R.3) was able to give their roles during the discussion when he said that;

“Traditional leadership had profound influence in the community and has a long history. Traditional leaders played many roles such as in communal security, communal welfare and communal livelihood according to the lifestyle of their communities for example, a cattle owning community. The leaders settled individual and group cases. They settled inter-communal and neighbourhood cases or conflicts. Traditional leadership was a complete set of government. It was successful in what it did to traditional communities”.

During the interview the Fifth respondent (R.5) was asked as to whether traditional leadership led to development. His answer was that, “Good leadership led to development in terms of maintenance of peace and agriculture production through
communal labour. This was development through partnership”. On the issue of challenges, R.5 said that as long as all was well in Bor communities, there was no worry. However, challenges could come whenever there were raids or insecurity and this would be when the leaders would display their strength and play their role as expected by the communities.

5.2.2 ROLES PLAYED BY TRADITIONAL LEADERS DURING COLONIAL RULE

Traditional leaders in Bor County could not continue with their usual way of managing communities as long as they liked. This was because intruders came and interrupted them. Respondent number two (R.2) recalled that Bor county had been there since the Turkish-Egyptian rule between 1821 and 1885. He recalled from oral history that the period was a difficult one because of slave trade. Slave trade disrupted traditional way of life in Bor County as there was a slave market in Bor town. He said that in 1881 there was a rebellion led by the Mahdi a Muslim leader. This was against the Egyptians and the Turks. It was a holy war which eventually drove out the Egyptians and the Turks. The Mahdist ruled the Sudan from 1885 until 1898 when the Egyptians and the British fought them and defeated them. In 1899 the Egyptians and the British proclaimed over the Sudan what became known as an Anglo-Egyptian ‘Condominium Agreement’. This meant that the two were to rule over the Sudan. However, it was the British who ruled the Sudan.

The interview with R.5 revealed the hierarchy in the British administration of Sudan. The respondent said that there was a Governor-General who was the head of the Sudan and who was answerable to the British government. Below him, there were governors in the provinces who reported to him. The governors were assisted by the District commissioners who had their assistants. He commented that his was the beginning of modern administrative structure in the Sudan. During the interview, R.5 gave substantial information on British administration. He narrated that;

“Colonial administrators were very few. There was one District Commissioner running a district of about 15,000 people. This organization would not be
sufficient for service delivery. Health and education services could not be provided effectively. So, they turned to agriculture for food security. Otherwise, government was ineffective”.

The administrators were few and they could not expand British rule to remote parts of the country. The British therefore, took advantage of the local community leaders to help them. The communities were to serve themselves while government would take charge of peace and security. In 1920/1921 government began to think of a system of governance. Government decided to recognize traditional leaders. The powers of the Chief’s Ordinance Act were drafted. It was approved and it came into force in 1924. However, the British soon ran into problem because of the number of people they were ruling. So, they thought of reorganizing tribes. In 1927 they began to combine smaller tribes into a federation under one chief who became known as paramount chief. He was the chief spokesman of the tribe.

In his contribution in the discussion on the British system of administration, R.2 stressed that this was a Native Administration system which gave chiefs roles to play. He said that it was a dual system. The chiefs were to be left alone to run their own administration and let people live the way they were living. The District Commissioner and his assistant would be in charge of administration of the entire district, the army and security. He said that traditional leaders became very powerful in their communities and they enjoyed their work.

The position of paramount chief and chief did not exist before colonial rule. R.1, R.2 and R.7 gave information to the effect that paramount chief and chief were a creation of the British to run Bor County and the rest of the country. R.5 said that with the establishment of the positions of Paramount chief and chief, the British began to organize courts. In 1932 the Chiefs’ Ordinance Act was passed. This recognized joint knowledge of individuals in hearing cases. This was found to be more valuable. However, in 1936, there was a change in administration. A new Governor-General was brought. He was not satisfied with the previous arrangement. He favoured District
councils instead. Therefore, in 1936 Local Government Councils were created. R.5 said that;

“There were rudimentary and lacked a lot of information. They remained strictly under the District Commissioners. The important thing was that the councils created partnerships. Many chiefs were incorporated into the councils and chiefs who were literate actually ran the councils”.

During the British, the British administrators had challenges. The initial challenge came from the tribes which did not want British rule. They met problems in Bor County where the people were hostile and they would run away from the whites. They were later tamed through their leaders who in future would ask for their freedom. R.1 said that the administrator of Bor County would call chiefs, tell them what to be done, and the chiefs would give reports on their areas. He said that at such meetings the chiefs would request for independence and the administrator would promise to look into it.

Colonial administration continued to meet challenges. In the 1940s there was a lot of agitation by educated people who blamed the government for not allowing them to take part in administration. As a result of Juba conference on 1947, R.5 said that in 1948 a legislative council a kind of parliament was formed. This was the beginning of the road to independence. In 1951, the assembly passed the first Local Government Act. This was the effective beginning of Local Government in Sudan. R.7 said that Local Government started to function in Bor County in 1954 headed by a District Commissioner. Before 1954 there was no Local Government. Bor was ruled by a commissioner and head of police who was Sergeant Major. This was between 1930 and 1953.

The government was working despite the fact that the Bor County did not have local government institutions. The chiefs played a great role in the running of the government. R.7 submitted that the paramount chief supervised the whole area of Bor County. He ensured that people were safe and that they obeyed the law and order.
Together with the Commissioner, the Paramount Chief determined how much the individual was to pay in taxation each year. They made divisions on road construction for development, road maintenance, building dispensaries and school, digging wells and the general security of the county.

The chiefs carried out all that had been decided by the paramount chief and the District Commissioner. R.7 said that a clan had a chief who was assisted by a sub-chief. The sub-chief was assisted by a headman and large clans could have many headmen. The chiefs collected taxes and gave to the British. Taxes were paid in form of money or in kind. Those with money would pay the agreed amount for the year. Those without money could sell their bulls and pay or they would give their bulls as a form of payment. The chiefs also ensured that roads were maintained. R.1 said that the British wanted easy access to the communities. So chiefs had the role of maintaining roads. Those who maintained their roads well throughout the year were given bulls as a token of appreciation but those who did not could be punished. Roads were well maintained because of the token of appreciation which encouraged chiefs to work hard.

One of the most important roles which the chiefs played was in the court system. R.2 said that the court system was perfect. In Bor County, there were seven courts. The head of these courts was the paramount chief. The chiefs headed the courts as president of the court. The chiefs could solve minor cases. However, cases which they could not settle would be settled when chiefs of the 7 courts sat together with the paramount chief. Their judgment in cases like those of murder would be verified by the Governor and Governor-General. They would approve or disapprove the verdict. R.7 gave details of how court decisions could be reached when he said that;

“The paramount chief would sit with the District Commissioner to decide on what form of punishment to be given out for certain offences. Offences such as breaking someone’s finger, head or teeth, rape, adultery, killing a person and stealing would attract penalties. For example, a person who raped an underage girl would be forced to marry the girl without question. The case of adultery was a
serious one and the person who committed it would pay a fine of six cows. Fifty heads of cattle were paid as a fine for killing a person. A person who stole a cow, killed it and ate it with other people in secret, when found would pay for the cow. All those who ate the cow would be punished. If a cow was stolen and was found, the person who stole it would pay another cow for the stolen one”.

The Paramount chief and the chiefs played a big role in the court system of Bor County during colonial rule. The relationship between colonial administrators and the chiefs was good as R.1 said. The challenges that chiefs faced were that, not everybody respected their authority and they did not have adequate machinery to help them do their work efficiently like passing information quickly. Communication was difficult as well as transport. For example in the whole of Bor County there was one vehicle and nine donkeys. However, the local police helped to enforce obedience.

5.2.3 ROLES PLAYED BY TRADITIONAL LEADERS IN INDEPENDENT SUDAN

All the respondents submitted that the period of independence of Sudan from 1956-2005 was a period of hostilities against the people of South Sudan. R.1 said that the British handed over the rule of Sudan to the Arabs who began to mishandle Southerners. The Arabs were a bit selfish and hence wanted to take over everything for themselves. The relationship between the Arabs and South Sudanese was that of animosity (R.7). This kind of attitude was reported in a conference of Traditional Authority Leaders in Yambio Capital of Western Equatoria State, South Sudan. The conference took place between 26th and 28th March 2008. In the document a copy of which the researcher was able to get, Dr. Conradian Perner nicknamed kwacakworo when answering a question put to him by Gurtong, had the following to say;

“I stayed for almost thirty years with the people of South Sudan in villages far away from towns and cities, very far out in the so called wilderness. There of course, you are close to the people and you know their problems. Although I like very much the people of North Sudan, what upset me all the time was their behaviour towards the people of the South. Not surprisingly, there has been war
in Sudan for almost fifty years. The root cause of this war was the lack of respect for cultural identity and cultural values. There was also the issue of lack of respect for Southerners whom they considered to be like animals roaming naked in the wilderness, had not cultural values or identity and were stupid and lazy. These were the terms used once by former president Nimiery on a Swiss television (P.11 Report by Gurtong).

R.7 gave examples to show how bad the relationship between the Northerners and the Southerners was after independence. He said that:

“There were 876 posts in government to be given out to the people of Sudan. Out of these, 870 were given to the Northerners-filled by Arabs. Only six positions were given to Southern Sudanese. This was when problems started. The Arabs wanted to Arabize the South. The chiefs knew this and could not play their roles well. The Arabs opened schools and forced people to be taught Arabic and use it as official language. Africans were given Arab names.”

This was to get rid of African and Christian names. Africans were told that there were 99 names in the Qur’an from which they could choose their names. The chief resisted Islamisation. It was because of bad relationships that civil war which began in 1955 continued after independence. As R.7 continued to narrate, the government of al-Azhari was removed in 1958 by General Ibrahim Abboud so as to handle the South which wanted separation. In 1960 Sunday was outlawed throughout Sudan. Friday was the only day of prayer. This forced many people to join a group that had rebelled against the government called Anyanya I. R.2 when recounting events after independence, said that in 1960 Local Government Act abolished traditional leadership in the South. Chiefs ceased to be recognized. Then in 1967 many chiefs were killed in Bor County. In total 43 chiefs were killed including the father of the researcher who was a paramount chief. This happened after Abboud’s regime was removed. However, the civilian government which took over could not last long. R.2 said that after the killing of the chiefs, things began to decline and things were never to be the same again.
The civilian government was removed in 1969 by al-Nimiery. This was another military regime. It was however, able to sign a peace agreement with Anyanya in 1972. Thereafter, there was relative peace. R.2 said that many people were able to go to school and traditional leadership tried to recover. He said that because of politics of the north, traditional leadership was affected. R.7 said that al-Nimiery repeated the same things previous government did in order to bring the Sharia Law into force in the South. This was opposed by the Southerners. In 1983 another civil war began. The period since the independence of Sudan was a difficult period for chiefs to carry out their roles. R.4 said that the chiefs tried to solve problems between clans but the situation was bad and it led to the weakening of traditional leadership.

5.2.4 ROLES PLAYED BY TRADITIONAL LEADERS DURING THE CIVIL WAR (1983-2005)

From 1983, South Sudanese again began a period of difficult life for the next twenty two years. R. 2 said that this was a period of war. Although it was difficult time R.6 said that as chief, he was able to play certain roles between 1986 and 1987. This was before the conflict worsened. He was able to solve conflicts in three Bor communities. He solved marriage, divorce and adultery problems. He was court president and he played the role of second class magistrate.

As the conflict worsened, chiefs lost direction. The SPLM tried to develop traditional leadership system but the ordinary soldiers in the field did not know what to do. R.2 said that as a result of this, administration softened. The chiefs’ court lost its strength. Criminal as well as civil offences could not be solved because no courts operated. All the respondents however, concurred and said that chiefs played a key role in supporting the war against the Arabs. R.2 said that;

“Chiefs supported the war against Northerners. They were very useful during the war years. They supplied food items for the army in terms of grains, fish and bulls. I contributed a total of 9 bulls. Chiefs also contributed their children for the
army. Each chief was to contribute a number of children as well as recruiting for the army. Each chief was to contribute a number of children as well as recruiting for the army. Headmen also contributed. Apart from collecting the Youth for the movement chiefs also directed soldiers for example, when crossing rivers and streams”.

R.4 also said that chiefs contributed manpower to carry luggage for the army. Men and women helped soldiers to carry ammunition and food for the army. The chiefs’ role during the war was commendable.

5.2.5 ROLES WHICH TRADITIONAL LEADERS PLAYED DURING THE PERIOD 2005-2011
The period 2005 – 2011 was the period of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). During this period a lot of effort was spent to re-establish traditional leadership in South Sudan. This was however, a follow up of what had been going on since 2000, to map out the system of government should South Sudan become independent. The Sudan People’s Liberation Movement (SPLM) the political wing during the civil war, made preparations for the new Sudan. These preparations involved considerations of what to do when South Sudan became independent. Health, education, civic education and information, infrastructural development and cultural development planning occupied much of the time (SPLM, 2000).

In the plan of SPLM, cultural development was important because it would bring about restoration not only of trust but also social values and reciprocity, solidarity, human dignity, social responsibility and a sense of common purpose. In this way, basic structures of social capital would be rehabilitated by way of restoring a sense of community, of cultural revival, of emotional reconnection between individuals and their communities, of belonging and of social harmony and peaceful co-existence.

The civil war between Northern and Southern Sudan ended with the signing of the CPA in 2005. This gave Southern Sudanese a period of six years within which to organize
themselves for a referendum to be held in January 2011. With the end of hostilities, they began to organize themselves with the help of development agencies such as the United States Institute of Peace (USIP), Fredrick Ebert Foundation (FES) and the Government of Switzerland, on the issue of cultural development (Gurtong, 2008).

In 2005, the Interim Constitution for Southern Sudan came into force. Article 175 (2) of the constitution stipulates that “Legislations of the Southern Sudan and States levels shall provide for the establishment, composition, function and duties of the council of Traditional Authorities Leaders”. Chapter III Article 155 (1) states that, “The State Legislative Assembly shall provide for the role of traditional authority as an institution at Local government level on matters affecting local communities”. The same Article subsection 2 states that, “The State Legislative Assembly shall provide for the establishment, composition, functions and duties of the councils of Traditional Authority Leaders”.

After 2005, meetings, workshops and conferences on traditional leadership were conducted. These were funded by the Government of Switzerland, USIP and FES (Gurtong 2008). According to the documents which the researcher was able to obtain, conferences were held in 2008 in Western Equatoria State and Warrap State. In March 2008 a conference of Traditional Authority Leaders was held in Yambio the Capital of Western Equatorial State for paramount chiefs, chiefs, community representatives, youth representatives as observers, women leaders and county commissioners. This was for the purpose of discussing issues among themselves and in the formation of “Council of Leaders of Traditional Authority” in their State.

At the end of the conference, a few people who attended were interviewed (Gurtong, 2008). Kuno Schafli the representative of the Swiss Government was asked as to why his government was concerned with traditional leadership in South Sudan. His answer was:
Because we think that the society of Southern Sudan is in full reconstruction of state authority, of mode of government in which modern government and traditional authority will play their due role. We know that the role of traditional authorities in Southern Sudan is very important because they are closer to the people and their role cannot be substituted. They are accountable to the population for the duties they alone can render to the society and we would like to raise their capacity to do so efficiently (p.6).

The then Governor of Western Equatoria State, Jemma Nuna Kumba, at a separate interview admitted the importance of chiefs and those chiefs in her state. She recounted that the late Dr. John Garang de Mabior appreciated the chiefs’ importance. They were the first people to be called to a conference at New Site in Juba where he addressed them and thanked them for their role in the war, how they provided food and security to the forces. She said that;

….the chiefs are important because they live with the people. They know them, so when they talk to the people, they listen. We the Government are a bit far from the people, but the chiefs are living right there with their people. Traditionally, every citizen lives under the authority of those traditional leaders and chiefs. They know how to mobilize, they know how to pass messages and they are respected by their people (P.10).

The importance of chiefs at the grassroots level in South Sudan cannot be disputed. Chief Wilson Hassen Peni, the paramount chief of Yambio County was asked about what he was doing as chief and he had this to say;

There are always cases to judge. When there is conflict between individuals or communities, it is our duty to bring peace and reconciliation. We also support the government in mobilizing the community to construct feeder roads, to construct health centres and mobilize children to go to school. Chiefs have a lot of work to do. But if like at the moment, we are not involved in policy making who will implement that policy?
The government cannot just sit and make policy without involving the chiefs. It is the chiefs who can implement government policies involving the people (P.8.)

Dr. Christian Jones Paula of USIP was asked about chiefs’ participation in politics in South Sudan. She said that;

\[\ldots\ldots a\ chief\ in\ order\ to\ really\ look\ after\ the\ welfare\ of\ the\ community\ and\ people,\ cannot\ afford\ to\ be\ partisan,\ plus\ the\ fact\ that\ decisions\ are\ reached\ traditionally\ by\ consensus,\ which\ is\ not\ the\ political\ way\ of\ the\ westernized\ systems\ which\ are\ being\ imported\ or\ imposed\ here.\ To\ keep\ it\ out\ of\ politics,\ I\ think\ that\ non-partisanship\ and\ this\ consensus\ approach\ has\ to\ be\ strengthened\ (P.12).\]

During the interview, R.3 said that traditional leaders should be left out of party politics but R.4 said it would be difficult because politicians would bring them to politics. R.5 was of the view that traditional leaders may hide themselves from party politics but they would not participate effectively in party politics.

In September 2008, the Council of Traditional Authority Leaders of Warrap State was formed to bring strong unity among chiefs and the people. This took place in Kwacjok town on 26th September 2008 (Council of Traditional Authority Leaders of Warrap State 2008). Some of the key objectives were, to facilitate mutual understanding between cultures, enhancing respect for all, work for the preservation of cultural heritage, languages and traditions as well as restoration of culture and values; to work towards creating and maintaining harmony, mutual recognition and respect among traditional and community leaders and their citizens, guarantee justice and inclusivity so that the council includes all traditional leaders without exclusion of any ethnic or language group.

Other states held conferences on Traditional Authority Leaders but the researcher was not able to obtain reports on deliberations at the conferences. In May 2011 a third workshop for Council of Traditional Authority Leaders was held in Juba on 25th and 26th.
Delegates from the ten states attended. At the conference, it was agreed that all states were to enact Bills on Council of Traditional Authority Leaders to become law and thereafter, a Bill at the National Level would be initiated and later it would become law (Report on Council of Traditional Authority Leaders, 2011). The National Council of Traditional Authority Leaders Bill was later drafted. It gave the Council functions and duties. The Bill was passed after independence.

Traditional leadership in South Sudan has legal backing. The Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan, 2011 do recognize traditional authority. Article 166 (1) and (2) stipulates that, “The institution, status, and role of Traditional Authority, according to customary law are recognized under this constitution” and “Traditional Authority shall function in accordance with this constitution, the state constitutions and the Law”. All the respondents of the study were in favour of traditional authority.

Throughout the period since the signing of the CPA traditional leadership has been growing, and recovering from the period of suppression, and civil wars. Traditional Leaders played important roles during the CPA period. In Bor County, their role was recognized by Jonglei State. R.5 said that chiefs had been playing the role of settling returnees from exile, attending to land disputes and solving them. They played roles in the construction of health centres, schools, roads and water points. They participated in local councils and council committees. R.4 said that they represented their committees in council and council committees such as peace committee, security and community policing committees. They also played a big role in mobilizing people for the referendum of January 2011. R.4 said that all these have been possible because of the good relationship between traditional leaders and the local government authorities. He said that Local Government of Bor was able to organize workshops for chiefs and conducted training on how to handle cases and training on implementation of Government policies. R.1 and R.4 said that for the work they have been doing government has been paying them 200 South Sudanese Pounds per month.
R.2 commended the chiefs in executing their roles in the customary law courts. He said that they had been operating at three levels according to the Local Government Act, 2009. The researcher was able to get a copy of the Act which established Customary Law Council in each county. It is the highest customary authority in the County (Act 2009 Art. 93). The Act also established courts at three levels. The “A” or Chief’s court operates at the Boma level with the Chief as chairperson and sub-chiefs as members. The “B” or Regional Court is at the Payam level with the Head Chief as chairperson and chiefs as members. The “C” Court is the highest customary Law Court in the county. The Paramount Chief is the Chairperson and the Head Chiefs are the members. R.2 said that the Chiefs had played their roles in the Court very well. R.4 said that they handled cases well because “they know their people by names. They know parents and land boundaries are known to them”.

5.2.6 ROLES BEING PLAYED BY TRADITIONAL LEADERS AFTER INDEPENDENCE OF SOUTH SUDAN

Traditional leadership has become more and more important in South Sudan. In Bor County, traditional leaders continue to play the roles that they have been playing before independence in July 2011. The chiefs play major roles in the implementation of government projects such as building of schools, health centres and roads. R.2 said that they are part of public administration. R.3 said that they are taking part in service delivery as well as in the judicial system. They still have their courts running at the Boma, Payam and County levels.

R.2 informed the researcher at the interview that there were too many chiefs in Bor county. They were about 3000 and the local government had to reduce that number to about a half. In 2012 this was done through election. Those who were supported by the majority of community members, where they lived were elected chiefs. He said that the chiefs have the support of the government.
5.2.7 SHIFTS IN THE ROLES OF BOR TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP

The research question two which guided the study was concerned with the extent to which traditional leadership roles shifted from what they were to what they are today in Bor County. The findings of the study were that roles of traditional leaders shifted from time to time since the coming of colonial rule. All the respondents of the study concurred with this. R.3 said that shifts in roles have been there as functions would be taken over or removed by the next government.

Before colonial rule traditional leaders played communal roles such as communal security, welfare and livelihood. They settled individual, group, inter-communal and neighbourhood cases. These enabled them to maintain and develop their communities as R.5 observed. This situation could not however, continue because colonial rule came and interfered with traditional leadership and its communities in Bor County.

During colonial rule traditional leaders who became known as chiefs and paramount chiefs in Bor County were given new roles. The paramount chief supervised chiefs as they played their roles. The chiefs did what was agreed between the paramount chief and the Commissioner of Bor County who was a British colonial administrator. The chiefs collected taxes for the British. They maintained roads, settled local cases some of which would be referred to higher British authorities for approval or disapproval and the chiefs maintained law and order in their localities.

When the roles which the traditional leaders played before colonial rule are compared with those they played during colonial rule, it becomes clear that the roles shifted from what they were before to the roles colonial administration gave. No paramount chief or chiefs existed in Bor County before colonial rule. These were a creation of the British to help them get what they wanted since they were few. Therefore, roles were shifted to serve the new master. A new system had been imposed on the indigenous people. The chiefs and their communities were no longer free to do what they wanted. They worked in the interest of colonial master to develop the metropolitan country (Britain).
and to some extent develop Bor County. They could have loved to do things as they wished but there was a power in the land.

Sudan became independent in 1956. From that time until 2005 there had been no real peace in the Southern part of the Country. Chiefs could not operate well in such a situation. They tried to play their roles but it was a difficult time as government became more and more oppressive. They were not liked by the government and they resisted government oppressive system. In Bor County many chiefs were killed and this greatly weakened traditional leadership. The period from 1955 to 1972 was a period of violence and uncertainty. Many people were forced into exile. The roles which traditional leaders played during colonial rule shifted to almost no roles during the period. Chiefs however, tried to control and guide their communities.

From 1972 until 1983 South Sudanese went through a period of relative peace. However, traditional leadership had been weakened so much with government oppressive measures against Southerners who were left with no option except resistance. In 1983 another civil war began. It began in Bor County and spread throughout Southern Sudan. The war lasted until 2005. During the period chiefs played a number of roles. They supplied food items to the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA). They contributed their children to the army and recruited people to the army. They directed the movement of soldiers to safe areas, for example, when crossing streams and rivers and they contributed manpower to carry luggage for the army.

The roles which traditional leaders played during the period of civil war (1983-2005) were for a purpose. The purpose was to remove Northern control of Southern Sudan so as to pave the way for peace and development. The roles were completely different from the ones played during colonial rule and those the chiefs tried to play during the period 1955 to 1972.

When the last civil war ended and the period of CPA began, traditional leaders began to play roles different from those they played during the civil war of 1983-2005. They were
responsible for settling people who were returning from exile and attending to land disputes in Bor County. They played their roles in the construction of feeder roads, schools, health centres and water points. They also played roles in local councils and council committees. They mobilized Bor Communities for the referendum of January 2011. Their roles in customary courts at Boma, Payam and county levels were appreciated.

The roles which traditional leaders played during the CPA period were different from those they played during the civil war (1983-2005). This was a marked shift in the roles traditional leaders played. During the civil war the roles were played to free Bor County and the country at large from extreme suffering but during the CPA period the roles were played for the reconstruction, development and preparation for getting the final freedom from Northern control.

After independence, traditional leaders continued to play the roles they had played during the CPA period with the exception of mobilization for the referendum which was replaced with mobilization for reconstruction and development.

The current roles which traditional leaders of Bor County play are for the development of the county and the country at large. They are not playing the roles for any other country or people. Their own people are their rulers. Some of the roles that they play are similar to the ones the British assigned to the chiefs. However, there is a fundamental shift from the roles played before colonial rule to the current ones. Before colonial rule traditional leaders played roles according to their tribal and traditional norms but they now play roles according to the laws of Jonglei State and those of the country.

5.2.8 TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE DELIVERY

The third research question was about traditional leadership roles in local government service delivery. Respondents were expected to have knowledge of government
development plans, what services communities get, who were responsible for the delivery of services and the roles traditional leaders play in service delivery in Bor county.

All the respondents submitted that their local government, state and the national government had development plans. R.3 said the plans included infrastructural development and road network was key in the plans. They also included building schools, health centres, agriculture, livestock management, provision of clean drinking water and primary health care.

R.2 said during the discussion on service delivery that, to realize the implementation of development plans, there was need for a competent system of Local Government. He said that Local Government worked for justice and service delivery. These are supervised by Local Government at the Payam and Boma levels. He said that these were the levels at which Bor County communities needed services such as schools, primary health care and health centres, clean water, feeder roads and livestock management services. As to who delivered the services to these levels, R.3 said that it was government through local government that mainly delivered services. However, he also said that this was being done together with partners in development such as international NGOs, local NGOs and the community.

R.3 said that traditional leaders (chiefs) did support Local Government in implementing development policies. R.2 said that chiefs were part of public administration and that the chiefs and communities were involved in service delivery. He said that it was a partnership and chiefs were important in it. Chiefs were consulted before building schools, health centres, water points or any new projects that Government intended to bring. He continued that chiefs provided labour and that they had the memory of their respective areas and therefore, one could not ignore them.
The fourth research question was about challenges which traditional leaders in Bor County meet while carrying out their roles in Local Government service delivery. R.1 submitted that traditional leaders faced the challenge of insecurity. He said that government was collecting guns from people to curve this but the chiefs were not happy because other tribes were well armed. He said that chiefs in some parts of Bor County were running away with their people from their settlement. He however, said that chiefs had tried to play their roles in building health centres but there was no medicine in health centres. On the issue of insecurity all respondents agreed that it was a big problem to the development of the county.

The issue of insecurity was not only a problem to the county or the state but also a concern of the national government. In Bor town, there was a conference of Jonglei State communities which took place from 1st to 5th May 2012. The conference was called to address the issue of insecurity in the state. It was called by the Presidential Committee for Community Peace, Reconciliation and Tolerance in Jonglei State. The conference was attended by high ranking county, state and national government officials. The researcher was able to get a document on the conference. The conference addressed several issues of insecurity. It identified aggression by the Republic of Sudan against the Republic of South Sudan as a major problem for peace, stability and development in South Sudan. Other issues recorded among many were, insecurity caused by conflict between communities, killing of vulnerable persons, abduction of women and children by violence, kidnapping or trafficking, theft of livestock, trauma, food insecurity, internal displacement and border disputes.

R.2 identified non-creativeness as a disturbing challenge. He said that Bor County was disturbed so much during the war because Dr. John Garang de Mabior the leader of SPLM/A came from Bor. The war situation reduced people’s effectiveness. They became passive.
R.3 said that people had just come out of war and therefore, the challenges traditional leaders faced were war related. Traditional leaders were dealing with war related challenges such as settling displaced persons, difficulties of livelihood and trauma. R.4 mentioned the problems of poverty, hunger, inadequate schools and education in general. He said that chiefs were working but that they were not paid enough money.

5.2.10 SOLUTIONS TO THE CHALLENGES TRADITIONAL LEADERS FACE
The last research question was about solutions to the challenges traditional leaders meet. R.1 was of the view that the challenge of insecurity could be solved by the government. He said that “government should play its roles effectively and do things quickly—bring criminals to face the law or use force to destroy enemies”.

The solutions to the problems of insecurity of various types were discussed at the conference held in Bor town, Jonglei state in May 2012. These were contained in the resolutions the delegates to the conference made. Among the recommendations the delegates made on insecurity caused by conflict between communities were; enforcement of law and order, effective buffer zones, aerial surveillance, roads and communication networks, enacting laws regulating ownership of firearms and closing illegal sources of firearms, implementation of Bentiu Accord (armed chiefs’ guards), recruitment of Youth leaders into organized forces, addressing the issue of criminals already in other communities’ territory, regulation of alcohol production, sale and consumption of alcohol and that SPLA was to continue with comprehensive disarmament.

On other issues of insecurity, the conference recommended that government should address armed insurgents, creation of an anti-stock theft unit, community counseling, addressing the issue of special needs and disability, use of mass media, provision of security so that people can produce food, resettlement and rehabilitation of displaced persons.
Respondents of the study gave several solutions but most of them were covered at the conference. R.4 however, felt that schools should be opened in many communities so as to educate future generations. He suggested that workshops and seminars should be organized from time to time for traditional leaders. R.3 also said that people should be educated and confidence of the people should be restored. He suggested that traditional mechanisms should be established to mitigate local conflicts.

5.3 DISCUSSION

The study has established that traditional leadership roles were played before colonial rule, during colonial rule and to some extent during the period of independent Sudan, during the last civil war (1983-2005), during the CPA period and after independence of South Sudan. The roles which were played had been shifting from time to time. Traditional leaders had been playing roles in local government briefly, during British rule and after the last civil war. They have had challenges to which solutions were suggested by the respondents of the study.

When roles change from time to time, the performance of the players become inconsistent. This has been revealed by this study. Compare the roles played by traditional leaders before colonial rule and during colonial rule and the roles played by traditional leaders during the war periods and after the CPA period and after independence. The roles were never completely the same. In some cases they were fundamentally different. Thus, the performance of traditional leaders has never been consistent so as to bring out expertise in role play. The present traditional leaders had to start to play their roles afresh. They need to be trained, they need to be inducted and from time to time have refresher courses or attend workshops and seminars where they can obtain information which they need to be able to perform well in local government service delivery.

After independence, the government created systems and will continue to do so, so as to speed up the pace of development. Traditional leaders who live with the people need
to be educated so that they are able to interpret and carry out government policies. The times are changing such that some traditional aspects will be eroded and new ones embraced, this will need those who are educated.

Respondents have seen that education of Bor County communities would be beneficial to the people as well as traditional leaders. Traditional leaders will be able to perform well in their service to their communities as they support local government in the implementation of policies. In this way, there will be consistency in the roles they play because handing over traditional office to new leaders will be smooth.

The study has revealed patterns in the history of traditional leadership roles in South Sudan. The pattern is that whenever a new and completely different government came into office, roles would change. New roles were given to traditional leaders in Bor county when colonial rule came. After independence of Sudan traditional leaders were almost left without roles to play because of the new regime. During the period of the last civil war they played different roles. The CPA period was another period when their roles had to change even after independence.

Another pattern which this study has revealed is that of relationships between the ruled and rulers. When the relationships between the ruled and rulers are good, traditional leaders did their work well and enjoyed their roles. Under colonial rule traditional leaders enjoyed their work but under the government of Sudan they did not because relations were bad. During the last civil war the relationship between them and the army was good and so they carried out their roles in the difficult circumstances. During the CPA period and after the relationships between government and traditional leaders have been good. They enjoy their work despite challenges.

The other pattern that the study has established is that of perception. When the relationship is good between traditional leaders and the government the perception of government is good. However, when the perception of government is bad, it can bring a situation of chaos such as between the government of independent Sudan and South
Sudanese. It is the responsibility of government to ensure that perception of traditional leaders and their people of the government is good. This is how they will play their roles well.

The study has established that shifting traditional leadership roles has had an impact on local government service delivery. It has provided impetus to traditional leaders to work hard for the development of Bor County. They would not wish to play the roles that were played during the civil wars. They are willing to cooperate with local government in the delivery of services. They are working for a good change for Bor County. The perception of the government is good because the relationships are good.

The support that traditional leaders gave during the civil wars must be reciprocated so that traditional leaders continue to serve the government at the local level without giving up. Roles played during the last civil war has had profound effect on traditional leadership roles in local government service delivery in Bor County. Traditional leaders look at their local government as their own and play their roles. However, as all the respondents, said, traditional leaders need to be supported more by government. The present crises of insecurity need to be addressed so as to reduce the challenges traditional leaders face when playing their roles. R.4 said ‘deal with insecurity and everything will be done’.

5.4 A MODEL FOR TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT SERVICE DELIVERY

Shifts in traditional leadership roles were brought about by many factors. These have affected local service delivery. R.1 said that instead of chiefs concentrating on contributing to building of roads, schools, hospitals and wells, some of them are busy moving away from danger with their people. There is insecurity which prevents them from playing their roles. The new role of running away while taking care of people does not help in service delivery at Local Government level. There is therefore, need for a system to be established that develops traditional leaders to be good managers or administrators in their localities in counties such as Bor.
The establishment of traditional management development systems for chiefs which take care of identification of chiefs through communities, induction of chiefs which includes training, and the monitoring and evaluation of performance would go a long way to enabling traditional leaders play their roles well. However, government needs to bring about conducive atmosphere for such a system to operate.

5.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS
The findings of this study have been timely because this is the time when the Republic of South Sudan needs development more than anything else. To do this, all available resources need to be used including traditional leaders who live with the people in their communities. The data indicated that although the role played by traditional leadership in promoting service delivery has been altered changed and affected by the war and colonialism in South Sudan, the nation has restored powers to these leaders to enable fluent and effective delivery of service to the people of the Bor County.
CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The study sought to assess the roles played by traditional leadership in local government service delivery in the Bor County of the Jonglei State of South Sudan. It is structured into six chapters which have got specific items contributing to the achievement of the research objectives. This chapter gives summary of the study that was conducted in Bor County, Jonglei State of South Sudan. It makes conclusions and gives recommendations on how the roles played by traditional leaders can be strengthened and restored with a view of catalysing local government service delivery in South Sudan.

6.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The mini-dissertation is comprised of six chapters as follows:

Chapter one is the introduction of the study. It covered the introduction and general orientation of the study; it gave the foundation of the study by presenting the following important sections:

- The background of the study;
- The statement of the research problem;
- The significance of the study;
- The limitations and delimitation of the study;
- The definition of key terms and concepts; and
- The preliminary framework of the study.

Chapter two gave an overview of traditional leadership in Africa. This was a reviewed of literature on the topic of traditional leadership roles in the entire continent of Africa. The chapter covered the following:
• Traditional leadership in Namibia (before colonisation, during colonisation, and after independence;
• Traditional leadership in Uganda (before colonisation, during colonisation, and after independence;
• Traditional leadership in Zimbabwe (before colonisation, during colonisation, and after independence;
• Traditional leadership in Ghana (before colonisation, during colonisation, and after independence; and
• Traditional leadership in Sudan (before colonisation, during colonisation, and after independence; and
• Conceptual framework for traditional leadership participation in Maintenance and Development

Chapter three gave an in-depth look at the concept of traditional leadership in wake of local government service delivery. The chapter was presented in the following sections:
• The concept of local government;
• Local government and service delivery;
• Traditional leadership, local government and service delivery; and
• legal framework for traditional leadership roles in service delivery

Chapter four covered a detailed synopsis of the research design and methodology employed in the study under the headings of:
• research design and methodology;
• validity and reliability;
• data collection instruments;
• sample and sampling design; and
• the ethical considerations observed in the study.

Chapter five covered the discussion of findings. The study sought to establish the impact of shifting traditional leadership roles on local government service delivery in Bor
County. It was established that traditional leaders played many roles before, during and after colonial rule. Roles kept on changing due to change in government, relationship and perception of people in South Sudan and Bor County itself. As a result of the shifts in roles which occurred from time to time inconsistency in leadership roles could not be avoided and coupled with insecurity, the impact on service delivery is mostly negative. Traditional leaders play roles in service delivery but they have challenges which can be solved. Challenges such as insecurity, inadequate health services and education can be solved.

The current chapter covers the summary, conclusions and recommendations of the study.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

South Sudan got independence in July of 2011. It is a newest country that needs to develop so that the people can reap from their freedom. The issue of service delivery at the local government level becomes very important and must be addressed. It is recommended that:

- The government should pay great attention to security of the country particularly Bor County, this would ensure that the prospect of another civil war is minimised, hence long term security ensures sustainable service delivery;
- The roles of traditional leaders should be specified, in those cases where these roles have been distorted through civil wars and strife, they have to be originally restored to the traditional level;
- Traditional leaders should be identified, inducted or trained and their work supervised and evaluated at the end of every year; this would ensure that they are not using archaic leadership models which might not be applicable in a 21st century setting;
- Health and education services should be increased alongside with the development of infrastructure such as roads; delivery of the basic needs is of paramount importance in the Bor County of South Sudan;
• The Bor County, Jonglei State and South Sudan at large, should learn and adopt tried and tested traditional leadership models from other African countries such as Ghana, Namibia, Uganda and Zimbabwe. This would strategically position traditional leaders in the chain of local government service delivery;

• The government should come-up with regulatory frameworks, including Acts of Parliament and policy documents, to empower, emancipate and capacitate traditional leaders and their role in service delivery; and

• Lastly, interactive public participation forums should be erected at the local level of government so as to ensure that government is for the people, by the people. Such forums would ensure that the needs of the people are considered in policy making since public goods and services will be tailor-made to suit the specific needs of the people, and guard against the trickle-down effects of bureaucracy.

6.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The study sought to explore and assess the roles which traditional leaders of the Bor County of the Jonglei State of South Sudan are playing in local government service delivery. It has been deduced factually, with the help of empirical information and data that the roles of the traditional leaders in the study area have shifted due to instability and colonialism which they are have been subjected to historically. However, traditional leaders still remain the backbone socio-economic development in present-day South Sudan, since they act as the mouth-piece of the government. The government should play an active role in capacitating the local leaders so that they play a pivotal role in the local, regional and national development of South Sudan.
REFERENCES


University December 2010- *The Role of traditional leadership in Governance and Rural Development: A case Study of Mgwalana Traditional Authority by Khanyisa George.*


Dear Participant,

RE: REQUEST FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN RESEARCH PROJECT “ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF SHIFTING TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SERVICE DELIVERY: A CASE STUDY OF BOR COUNTY, JONGLEI STATE, SOUTH SUDAN”

It is a requirement by the University of Fort Hare that candidate for the Master’s degree in Public Administration carry out research to complete their studies. I am one of the candidates who is to conduct a study on the topic: “Assessing the impact of shifting traditional leadership roles on Local Government in Service Delivery: A case study of Bor County, Jonglei State, South Sudan”. I wish to request you kindly to take part in the research in an interview which will be scheduled at a suitable time to you.

The interview will be between you and me. We shall discuss issues related to the topic of the study. Open-ended questions will be asked just to guide us during the discussion. You do not need to answer any question you do not feel like answering. The interview will take about one hour. You will not be at risk by taking part in the research. Your name will not be used in the report without your permission. The interview outcome will be confidential.

Please kindly give your consent to take part in the research in the space provided below.

Yours faithfully,
Bior Ajang Duot
MPA Candidate in Public Administration

I agree to take part in the research

Name……………………………………………………… Signature……………….

Date: ..........................................................

I give permission to be tape-recorded.

Name…………………………………………… Signature……………….

Date: ..........................................................
APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KEY RESPONDENT (COMMISSIONER BOR COUNTY).

RESEARCH TOPIC: ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF SHIFTING TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SERVICE DELIVERY: A CASE STUDY OF BOR COUNTY, JONGLEI STATE, SOUTH SUDAN.

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this interview is to get information on the present situation of traditional leadership and its roles, local government and service delivery. Open ended questions will be asked but they are guidelines only.

1. Position of respondent. (What position does he hold? - Commissioner/Ag. Commissioner etc).

2. Awareness of traditional leadership in the county and roles traditional leaders play.

3. Local Government Services to committee
   - Services communities get.
   - Delivery mode of services- who delivers and how are services delivered?
   - Roles government leaders play in service delivery.
   - Challenges traditional leaders meet in playing roles.
   - Ways of dealing with the challenges.

4. Development plans. Please what plans are there to develop the county?
   - Local government/government development plans.
   - At what level do traditional leaders come in to help make development plans?

5. Relationship between Local Government and traditional leaders.
- Recognition of traditional leaders by local government and government.
- Participation of traditional leaders in local councils.
- Participation of traditional leaders in local government development committees.
- Roles which traditional leaders should play in local government.
- Traditional leaders and Party politics.

We have come to the end of the interview. Thank you so much for your time.

Thank you.

**Bior Ajang Duot**

MPA Candidate in Public Administration
APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE II

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KEY RESPONDENTS (PARAMOUNT CHIEFS, CHIEFS AND ELDERS)

RESEARCH TOPIC: ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF SHIFTING TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SERVICE DELIVERY: A CASE STUDY OF BOR COUNTY, JONGLEI STATE, SOUTH SUDAN.

OBJECTIVE OF INTERVIEW: The objective of holding interviews with key respondents is to get information on the present situation of traditional leadership and its roles, local government and service delivery. Open ended questions will be asked but these are guidelines only.

1. Position of the respondent in his community. What position does he hold (paramount chief, chief etc)?

2. History of traditional leadership. Please tell me the history of traditional leadership;
   - Before colonial rule (may be from oral history)
   - During colonial rule (Egyptian rule) (from oral history)
   - During colonial rule (British/Egyptian rule) (from oral history)
   - In independent Sudan including during civil wars.
   - During CPA period.

3. Will you please, tell me the kind of relationship that existed between;
   - Traditional leaders and colonial administrators
   - Traditional leaders and leaders of independent Sudan.
   - Traditional leaders and semi-autonomous government of South Sudan during CPA period.
4. Please, give the roles traditional leaders played;
   - Before colonial rule (maybe from oral history)
   - During colonial rule (Egyptian/British)
   - During independent Sudan.
   - During CPA period.

5. Local government. Please, let me know something about local government.
   - Services your community get from local government (e.g. roads, education etc).
   - Who delivers the services?
   - Roles which traditional leaders play in the delivery of services.
   - Are the roles different from those played under colonial rule, independent Sudan and during CPA period (respondent should be able to distinguish between past and present roles).
   - Challenges met in playing roles in the past.
   - Challenges currently being met when playing roles.
   - How present challenges could be dealt with.

6. Development plans. Please, what plans are there for the development of your community?
   - Respondent should have knowledge of plans by local government or government to develop community.
   - Does the respondent feel that traditional leaders should play roles in making development plans?

7. Relationship between traditional leaders and local government.
   - Are traditional leaders recognized by local government?
   - Representation in local government councils.
   - Representation in local government development committees.
   - What role should traditional leaders play in local government?
   - Traditional leaders and party politics.
This is the end of the interview. Thank you very much for your time.

Thank you.

Bior Ajang Duot
MPA Candidate in Public Administration
APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE III

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KEY RESPONDENT (RELIGIOUS LEADERS, WOMEN AND YOUTH)

RESEARCH TOPIC: ASSESSING THE IMPACT OF SHIFTING TRADITIONAL LEADERSHIP ROLES ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SERVICE DELIVERY: A CASE STUDY OF BOR COUNTY, JONGLEI STATE, SOUTH SUDAN.

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this interview is to get information on the present situation of traditional leadership and its roles, local government and service delivery. Open-ended questions will be asked only as guidelines.

1. Position of respondent (e.g religious leader, women or youth representative).

2. Awareness of traditional leadership in the county or community and roles traditional leaders play.
   - Roles which they play in community.

3. Awareness of local government services to the county or communities.
   - Services communities get
   - Who delivers services
   - Roles traditional leaders play in service delivery.
   - Challenges traditional leaders meet in playing their roles.
   - Ways of dealing with challenges.

4. Development plans. Please what plans are there to develop the county or community (knowledge of plans).
   - Local government/government development plans.
- Do traditional leaders get involved in making development plans?

5. Relationship between traditional leaders and local government.
   - Recognition of traditional leaders by local government and government.
   - Participation of traditional leaders in local government councils.
   - Participation of traditional leaders in local government development committees.
   - Roles which traditional leaders should play in local government.
   - Traditional leaders and party politics.

6. Future of traditional institutions
   - Which roles do you play in your traditional community?
   - Do you like the roles traditional leaders play in your community?
   - In your opinion is traditional leadership still relevant in your community to date?

This is the end of the interview. Thank you so much for your time.

Thank you.

**Bior Ajang Duot**

MPA Candidate in Public Administration
APPENDIX E : DOCUMENTS USED FOR ANALYSIS

Relevant documents were obtained from the following places for analysis.

1. Government administrative offices

2. County Commissioner’s office

3. Ministry of Legal Affairs and Constitutional Development

4. NGOs

The following documents were used in the study:


3. Report on The Council of Traditional Authority Leaders (COTAL) Third Workshop 25th -26th May,.

4. Commissioners’Forum in Lake State- 5th -7th October, 2010


APPENDIX F: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

1st Respondent - Respondent number one (R.1).
1. Name: Alier Biar Malual
2. Position: Chief
3. Clan: Biong
4. Interviewed on: 12/01/2013

2nd Respondent - Respondent number Two (R.2).
1. Name: Diing Akol Diing
2. Position: Elder
3. Clan: Kongor
4. Interviewed on: 21/01/2013

3rd Respondent - Respondent number three (R.3).
1. Name: Agot Alier Leek
2. Position: Elder
3. Clan: Palek
4. Interviewed on: 14/01/2013

4th Respondent - Respondent number four (R.4).
1. Name: Diing Stephen Maliet
2. Position: Youth Representative
3. Clan: Kongor
4. Interviewed on: 15/01/2013

5th Respondent - Respondent number five (R.5).
1. Name: Ajang Bior Duot
2. Position: Elder
3. Clan: Kongor
4. Interviewed on: 18/01/2013

6th Respondent - Respondent number six (R.6).
1. Name: Ajak Deng Biar
2. Position: Chief (former chief)
3. Clan: Awullian
4. Interviewed on: 24/01/2013

7th Respondent - Respondent number seven (R.7).
1. Name: Kezekia Chol De Aguer
2. Position: Elder
3. Clan: Adhiok
4. Interviewed on: 25/01/2013

8th Respondent - Respondent number eight (R.8).
1. Name: Andrew Jund Alaak
2. Position: Religious Leader
3. Clan: Ayuer
4. Interviewed on: 25/01/2013

9th Respondent - Respondent number nine (R.9).
1. Name: Martha Akuany
2. Position: Women Representative
3. Clan: Abek
4. Interviewed on: 26/01/2013
APPENDIX G: RESPONDENT’S NUMBERS

1. R.1 - Respondent number one
2. R.2 - Respondent number two
3. R.3 - Respondent number three
4. R.4 - Respondent number four
5. R.5 - Respondent number five
6. R.6 - Respondent number six
7. R.7 - Respondent number seven
8. R.8 - Respondent number eight
9. R.9 - Respondent number nine

THE END