

Public Policy and Policymaking in Tumultuous Times in Sudan: A Quantitative Approach

Ahmed Mustafa Elhoussein Mansour^{1*}, Adil Altayeb Yousif²

¹Department of Political Science, United Arab Emirates University, United Arab Emirates; ²School of Mathematics, University of Khartoum

INTRODUCTION

On December 19, 2019 a peaceful social uprising ousted the thirty-years-old Omer AL Bashir's Islamist regime, and a new transitional political system has emerged. The emergence of this system is the outcome of very tough negotiations between the Military Council and the Forces of Freedom and Change (FOFAC). The latter includes opposition parties, civic societies, and militant groups. The latter include rebels from Dar Fur and the Southern Blue Nile Provinces, which have engaged in a civil war with the defunct Bashir's regime. The chief player among the FOFAC components is the Sudanese Professional Association (SPA), which consists of professionals such as physicians, university professors, labor organizations, and others. The main slogans of the revolution were "freedom, peace, justice, and medianai (civil government). The SPA played a pivotal role in the success of the revolution[1].It organized the popular uprisings and demonstrations against the previous government by scheduling the times and locations of widespread protests. The Bashir's regime utilized maximum force, including the police, the so-called "Shadow Battalions," and the ferocious Internal Security Apparatus, to suppress the revolution. After the overthrow of Bashir's regime, the new transitional political system consists of three bodies: The Sovereignty Council, the Cabinet, and an appointed legislative body; the establishment of the latter is pending the reaching of a comprehensive peace plan with the militant groups [2].

LITERATURE REVIEW

Public policy literature from a political and public policy perspective on Sudan is rare. To the best knowledge of the author, this article is the first to address policies, and public policymaking in the aftermath of Sudan's December 2019 revolution, and the Transitional Government that emerged thereof. This paucity of literature on public policymaking in Sudan and other Arab countries reflects the fact the discipline of public policy is not well established in political science, sociology, and economic departments [3]. Only recently, two Think

Tanks for evidence-based policy have been created. These are the Center for Development and Public Policy and Gender Center for Research and Training (GCRT). Whereas the first strives to provide advice on evidence-based policymaking in general, the second seeks the same objective, but it concentrates on gender policy issues. Both offer training and guidance for policymakers [4].

Although Sudanese economists have conducted some studies in Sudan's economic policy, most of these studies are flawed. They mainly concentrate on policymaking utilizing traditional macroeconomic parameters such as Growth National Product (GNP), economic growth, the balance of payments, inflation, capital formation and others. Although these studies are relevant to the objective of this study, yet they are infected with serious flaws that arise from the nature and orientation of the economic discipline. The weakness of these studies resides in their apolitical nature and their failure to highlight the role of the policymaking system in the failures of economic policy in Sudan. Moreover, they failed to highlight the political implications of the evolutions of these economic parameters. Significant among these studies, though a little bit outdated, is [5].

The significance of these two studies to this article, unlike the other papers, is that they utilize a statistical methodology to test hypotheses about the link between public policy, economic growth, and poverty reduction in Sudan in the period between 1971 and 2002. However, one weakness of these studies, which is also shared by the other studies cited above, is that they fail to unearth the inherent deficiencies infecting the Sudanese public policymaking system and its role in generating the current acute policy issues troubling the new Transitional Government in Sudan. Being faithful to the *ceteris paribus* mantra of economists, they ignore the political factors and their role in the Sudanese crises. However, the relationship between economic policies and policymaking issues in Sudan has never been *ceteris paribus*. This fact implies the need for a political economy approach adopted by the discipline of public policy analysis [6-8].

There are few public policy articles on Sudan per se. In a 1987 article, Abedin wrote about public administration and its role in

*Correspondence to: Ahmed Mustafa Elhoussein Mansour, Department of Political Science, United Arab Emirates University, United Arab Emirates, Tel No: 971505235106; E-mail: hamadna@yahoo.com

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polymaking in Sudan. A relatively recent study is the qualitative study authored by El, and Shields sponsored by the International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI). In this study, the authors explore some dimensions and implications of policy volatility in the areas of natural resources, governance, and devolution in Sudan with special emphasis on Greater Kordofan in Western Sudan. Other research that addresses significant policy problems generally in Sudan is sparse and concentrates mainly on division, civil wars, race, and religion. Cockett explores the deterioration of the country to occupy the second place in the failed states group. He critically examines the role of the Sudanese elite and the failure of the policymaking systems to address the war in Darfur, which claimed the souls of thousands and led to the indictment of President Omer Bashir by the International Criminal Court. In 2015 Jok discusses the role of race, religion, and violence that characterized the policies of different regimes in Sudan and tries to explain the role of these factors that cause the fractured national identity of the country that led to civil wars and conflict.

In explored the failure of Sudan to sustain a prosperous modern post-colonial state. He critically examines reconstruction policies that invited many groups, including donors, NGOs, and ex-combatants, and the central state policymaking system. He further argues that reconstruction policies can succeed if they take into consideration the fundamental and irreversible transformation caused by the civil wars and the consequent massive urban and rural refugee problems. Again in 2015, considers at length the reasons for the continuation of the civil war in Sudan after the session of South Sudan and its emergence as an independent state to escape the violence endured by the southerners since independence due to faulty and flawed policies of domination adopted by the northern Arabicized elite. He provides a detailed account of why violence engulfs Sudanese society and what can be done to bring peace to the two countries ravaged by the civil war.

In 2010 Ali and Osman discuss the issue of building the capacity of the policymaking system and address the use of evidence-based data to inform Sudan's decision-makers regarding gender policy issues. The authors highlight the gaps, needs, and challenges faced by policymakers and civil society on gender issues in Sudan. Following the same lines of thinking, calls in 2016 for the need for data literacy to improve the policymaking processes in Sudan. discusses in 2005 the different positions of USA policy of both Clinton and Bush administrations towards the Bashir's Islamist regime in Sudan. Whereas the Clinton administration adopted a policy of isolating Sudan, the Bush administration opened a dialogue with the government. It started a "constructive engagement" policy under the pressure of American evangelicals, the significance of the war on terror, and the economic interests of the oil lobby. Nevertheless, each of these factors pulled the Bush administration in opposite directions reflecting the conflict between these groups and their differing interests.

THE EVOLUTION AND COMPOSITION OF THE TRANSITIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

A brief discussion of the Composition of The Transitional Political System is in order here. After the collapse of Bashir's regime, the African Union and the Ethiopian Prime Minister worked hard to bring the Military Council and the Forces of Freedom and Change (FOFAC) to reach a compromise regarding the transitional arrangements. From the outset, there was a deep divergence between the two groups. Whereas the Military Council, which originated from the so-called Security Committee formed by Bashir's government to suppress the revolution, consists of army generals who worked under the previous regime, the FOFAC comprises elements from the groups which represent the main opposition factions to the last defunct Islamite regime. In the last days of the previous system, many camps in the ruling National Congress (the political arm of the Sudan Islamic Movement) came to believe that President Bashir became a burden to the system that stifled the government and threatened the economic interests of the regime supporters. This belief is explainable by the fact that Bashir's indictment, together with some of his aides, for the genocide in Dar Fur underscores the positions of great powers towards Sudan, such as the United States of America (USA) and other European powers. Consequently, the USA classified Sudan as a state sponsor of terrorism, and this fact deprived Sudan of access to the assistance of international organizations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. Coupled with widespread corruption among the regime supporters and Bashir's family, the government suffered from a vast array of economic sanctions that created a strangling economic crisis, deterioration of living standards, shortages of staples and necessities.

It is in this context that some prominent factions in the ruling party and government thought that the removal of Bashir from power would solve the endemic problem of the regime and allowed it to continue preserving the interests of the regime supporters. They found in the escalation of demonstrations an excellent pretext to carry out their scheme. Thus, the Security Committee, initially formed by Bashir to suppress the protests, removed Bashir from office by his Minister of Defense, who made no significant changes in government. This move infuriated the activists, and the Resistance Committees escalated the situation, and the coup survived for only one day. Removing the Minister of Defense and his supporters from office, a group of army generals in the Security Committee assumed power, and they formed the Military Council, which started tough negotiations with representatives from the FOFAC. In these negotiations, the Military Council, encouraged by the supporters of the previous regime, worked to continue the institutions of the former government and to involve and reactivate its protagonists. After many serious setbacks, the African Union and the Ethiopian Prime Minister's efforts, the two groups agreed to accept and sign a Constitutional Charter that lays down the foundations of the transitional period [9].

In the Constitutional Charter, the two parties agreed to a three-year transitional period, after which the government will organize a general election to create an elected democratic system. The Constitutional Charter stipulates the decentralized nature of the republic and, therefore, establishes three levels of government: The Federal, the State (regional), and local government levels. In effect, the Charter does not change the government structure of the previous regime. Moreover, the Charter provides for three government organs: the Sovereignty Council, the Cabinet, and an appointed legislative organ. While the Sovereignty Council represents the head of state and the symbol of its sovereignty and unity, the Cabinet wields the supreme, executive authority in the country, and the Legislative Council possesses the power to legislate and to watch over the executive organ's performance. The Sovereignty Council consists of 11 members representing the Military Council FOFAC.

Whereas the Forces of Freedom and Change selects five of those, the Transitional Military Council chose another five and the eleventh member should be a civilian to be selected through mutual agreement between the Transitional Military Council and the Forces of Freedom and Change. In the first twenty-one months of the three-year transitional period, a military member from the Sovereignty Council presides over the Sovereignty Council. In the remaining 18 months of the interim period, a civilian member, selected by the five FOFAC civilian members who were chosen by the Forces of Freedom and Change, chairs the council. However, it is worth mentioning here that the Sovereignty Council controls the armed forces and all internal security institutions, and this arrangement encourages it several times to step out of its symbolic domain into the executive realm. It also encourages the anti-revolution groups formed of the supporters of the previous regime, who remained active, to engage in sabotage and activities intended to destabilize the Transitional Government [10].

THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The major research question of the article is: "How do Sudanese citizens evaluate the performance of the Transitional Government attempts to address specific and thorny public policy problems?". These problems include the policymaking system, economic issues, the shortage of bread crises, the shortage of oil and gas, the debacles of peace and security, and the problem of eradicating corruption and malfeasance inherited from the previous government.

To address this research question, the authors design a research tool (i.e. a questionnaire) to collect the data for this article through an online survey sent to active Sudanese citizens in social media because of the Covid-19 pandemic that hindered the traditional methods of collecting research data. Hence, the authors used a convenient sample which is frequently used by researchers in social sciences. The authors designed the research tool's questions to capture the respondents' views regarding the public policy problems that were encountered by the Transitional Government from the outset and represent the subject matter of this article. To collect data from online respondents, the article utilized QuestionPro tool which is an

online survey software used to create, distribute, and analyze surveys and questionnaires. It also helps in the distribution of survey questions through social media platforms, emails, and websites. The software produces raw data to suit different file formats such as Excel, SPSS, and CVS and helps in performing some initial descriptive statistical analysis of data and produce some charts. The distribution of the questionnaire used such platforms as Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, and other Sudanese social media groups during the period extending between March and May 2020. The authors provided the survey link to the targeted respondents through multiple social media platforms in which there is a rich presence of Sudanese people. Nevertheless, the data collected express the opinions of these groups exclusively rather than represent the views of Sudanese people at large.

The research tool consists of 33 questions intended to reveal the respondents' views about the performance of the new Transitional Government in different important policy problems. To perform this task the research tool utilized the Likert Scale that contains five scores ranging between 1 indicating strong disagreement, 2 indicating disagreement, 3 depicting a neutral response, 4 showing agreement, and 5 indicating strong agreement with the different statements of the questionnaire. Hence, a mean response which is closer 2 represents disagreement, and a mean response above three represents agreement with the questionnaire statement. However, a mean around 3 indicates indecisiveness and neutrality towards the specific issue area. In the questionnaire different public policy are defined operationally by several statements grouped under one public problem. In describing variables, the authors used the means and standard deviation for each statement and use the grand mean (the mean of means) to represent the sample's average response on each variable. To test the research hypotheses, the article employed Mann-Whitney U, t-test, ANOVA, and Linear Regression tests [11].

RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The relationships between the independent variables (gender, education, policy problems, political affiliation, job, and region) and the dependent variable (Satisfaction of the Government Performance) are captured in five general hypotheses to test the level of significance of these relationships to generalize the findings in the descriptive statistics to the population of the study. These hypotheses include the following null hypotheses, which will be accepted if the level of significance is equal to and less than .05. The study uses different statistical tools to test the below five hypotheses. These include Mann-Whitney U, t-test, ANOVA, and Linear Regression [12].

- There are no statistically significant differences in citizens' differences regarding the Satisfaction with the Transitional Government performance attributable to gender (t-test)
- There are no statistically significant differences in citizens' attitudes towards the performance of the Transitional Government (regarding the issues of policymaking system, economic issues, the shortage of bread crises, the shortage of oil and gas; the debacles of security and peace and the problem of eradicating corruption) attributed to gender (t-test)

- There are no statistically significant differences in citizens' attitudes towards the performance of the Transitional Government (regarding the issues of policymaking system, economic issues, the shortage of bread crises, the shortage of oil and gas; the debacles of security and peace and the problem of eradicating corruption) attributed to education levels, age, political affiliation, job, and the region (ANOVA).
- There are no statistically significant relationships between the variables (policymaking system, economic issues, the shortage of bread crises, the lack of oil and gas; the debacles of security and peace and the problem of eradicating corruption), and the Y variable satisfaction of the people with performance of the Transitional Government

$$Y = a + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + b_3 X_3, \text{ etc.}$$

- There are no statistically significant relationships between the independent variables, which include gender, education levels, age, political affiliation, job, and the region and the Y variable satisfaction of the people with performance of the Transitional Government

$$Y = a + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + b_3 X_3, \text{ etc.}$$

SAMPLE DESCRIPTION: INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

The final research sample is 792 of completed responses, of these 75% (594) are males, and 25% (198) are females (only one respondent didn't indicate their gender type). Regarding the education levels, 0.25% represent those with primary education, and 0.25 have attained intermediate school levels, 5.8% completed secondary school levels, 5.4% attained a Diploma, 51.9% completed university education with a Bachelor degree and 36.4% have postgraduate degrees (only one person didn't specify the education level). Regarding the age variable, 1.4% of the respondents are less than 20; 15.4% occupy the 20-29 age group; 23.9% fall between the range 30-39; 21.8% fall in the group 40-49; 23.6% fall in the group range from 50 to 59; and in the group of over 60 there are 13.9%. Regarding the respondent's jobs there are 8.1% students, 4.5% are workers, 52.3% are professionals, 17.3% are businessmen or freelancers, 9.2% are unemployed, or homemakers and 8.6% are educators. In the geographical location of the respondents, whereas 65.4% come from the Middle Region, 23.86% are Northern Region's citizens, 5.56% are Western Region citizens, 4.42% are citizens of the Eastern Region and 0.76% are from the Southern Region. The distribution of the respondents along the political affiliation, 87.2% are not affiliated with any political party, while 12.8% are members of one or the other of the existing political parties [13].

Table1: Descriptive Summary of the Respondents' Views towards Public Policy Problems.

No.	Policy Issue Area	N	Min. Response	Max. Response	Mean	Std
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1	Policymaking Issues	792	6.00	30.00	20.9062	3.61075
2	Economic Issues	792	5.00	25.00	14.8753	3.82714
3	Bread Shortage	792	6.00	30.00	20.4950	3.17808
4	Oil and Gas Shortage	792	4.00	20.00	14.2229	2.15005
5	Peace and Security	792	6.00	30.00	19.1063	4.10241
6	Corruption	792	6.00	30.00	16.9740	3.02400
	Valid (Listwise)	792				

Table 1 is a summary of the scores of each policy issue area domain in which the minimum represents strongly dissatisfied and maximum represents strongly satisfied in the five-value Likert Scale. The article calculates the minimum and maximum scores by multiplying the number of items in the Likert Scale by 5 where the minimum (=5) and maximum (= 30) in table. Since the mean is not close to the maximum (30), the respondents are generally not in agreement with the performance of the Transitional Government policy in all issue areas.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

Table2: Satisfaction of the Government Performance.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent	
Valid	Strongly Dissatisfied	138	17.4	17.4	17.4	
	Dissatisfied	250	31.5	31.6	49.0	
	Satisfied	126	15.9	15.9	64.9	
	Satisfied	230	29.0	29.0	93.9	
	Strongly Satisfied	48	6.1	6.1	100.0	
	Total	792	99.9	100.0		
	Total	792	100.0			
	N		Min	Max	Mean	Std

Satisfaction with Government Performance	792	1	5	2.75	1.218
Valid (Listwise)	792				

Table 1 uses the Likert Scale with values ranging from value 1, indicating strong dissatisfaction and the value of 5, showing a strong satisfaction with the performance of the Transitional Government. The mean response of 2.75, which is slightly higher than 2.5, depicts a relatively low level of government satisfaction among the sample respondents. This outcome is not good news for the Transitional Government. It should be noted that the values in this table represent the values of the dependent variables.

HYPOTHESES TESTING

Hypothesis 1: There are no statistically significant differences in citizens' attitudes towards the Satisfaction with the Transitional Government performance attributable to gender.

To test this hypothesis, the article seeks to unveil the differences between males and females concerning their satisfaction regarding the performance of the Transitional Government. To compute our first choice, the parametric t-test, we find that Levine's test for equality of variance is insignificant (F= 1.537 with significance level of (215), indicating that variances are equal. The Kolmogorov-Smirnov test value is .225 significant with p = .000 indicates lack of normality that violates one of the assumptions of t-test. Hence, we utilize the nonparametric and Mann-Whitney Test. Table 3 below shows the results of these in which the null hypothesis is retained.

Table 3: Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U.

	Null Hypothesis	Test	Sig.	Decision
1	The distribution of Satisfaction is the same across categories of Gender.	Independent-Samples Mann-Whitney U Test	.761	Retain the null hypothesis.

Asymptotic significances are displayed. The significance level is .050

However, an underlying problem with the tests of normality is "that they are very sensitive to small samples and minor deviations from normality". This extreme sensitivity suggests that not rejecting the null hypothesis does not necessarily indicate the variable is not normally distributed. Usually, there is no perfect normality in social sciences research. Therefore, it is permissible to consider variables as normally distributed when the visual appearance of variables legitimately allows this even in cases of rejecting the null hypothesis. Thus, we retain this assumption in conducting parametric tests for all other

hypotheses. For example, violating the assumption of normality and conducting the test for the previous hypothesis, we arrive at the same result as with the nonparametric Mann-Whitney test. Table 4 shows the same result as shown in table 3.

Table 4: Group Statistics for Dependent Variable Group for Satisfaction of the Government Performance.

Group Statistics for t-test (Males, Females).

Variable	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Std. Error of Mean
Satisfaction with the Government Performance	Male	594	2.74	1.216	.050
	Female	198	2.77	1.227	.087

Independent Samples Test

	F	Sig.	T	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Diff.	Std. Error of mean
The Satisfaction of the Government Performance	Equal variances assumed	.105	-.337	790	.736	-.034	.100
	Equal variances not assumed		-.335	335.36	.738	-.034	.100

In table 4, the values of t under the assumptions of equal and equal variances are insignificant. Hence the null hypothesis is accepted. This result shows that there no differences between males and females in their Satisfaction with the Transitional Government performance. The mean difference and standard error of means are equal for both independent samples. This result is consistent with the descriptive statistics in table 4. The mean response in table 4 of 2.74 and 2.77 for males and females respectively is closer to the dissatisfied scores in the Likert Scale, indicating the dissatisfaction of the respondents with the performance of the Transitional Government. This result reflects the high expectations of the Sudanese people after the revolution.

Hypothesis 2: There are no statistically significant differences in citizens' attitudes towards the performance of the Transitional Government (regarding the issues of policymaking system, economic issues, the shortage of bread crises, the shortage of oil and gas; the debacles of security and peace and the problem of eradicating corruption) attributed to

gender. Table 12 below depicts the group descriptive statistics for the Independent Sample t-test.

Table5: The output of the Independent Sample t-test.

Group Statistics

Policy Issue	Gender	N	Mean	Std. Dev	Std. Error of mean
Policymaking	Male	573	20.7958	3.68210	.15382
	Female	184	21.2500	3.36528	.24809
Economy	Male	553	14.7667	3.83843	.16323
	Female	177	15.2147	3.78232	.28430
Bread	Male	533	20.3827	3.19713	.13848
	Female	174	20.8391	3.10276	.23522
Oil & Gas	Male	523	14.2237	2.20971	.09662
	Female	168	14.2202	1.95894	.15114
Peace & Security	Male	506	19.0237	4.24211	.18858
	Female	162	19.3642	3.63174	.28534
Corruption	Male	496	16.9355	3.11462	.13985
	Female	159	17.0943	2.72771	.21632

Independent t-Test

Policy Issue	Levin's F	Sig.	T	Df.	Sig. (two-tailed)	Mean Difference	Standard Error of Difference	
Policymaking	Equal variances assumed	1.537	.215	-1.486	755	.138	-.45419	.30571
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.556	334.909	.121	-.45419	.29191
Economy	Equal variances assumed	.079	.778	-1.356	728	.175	-.44796	.33032

Bread	Equal variances assumed	.236	.627	-1.647	705	.100	-.45634	.27715
	Equal variances not assumed			-1.672	301.917	.096	-.45634	.27296
Oil & Gas	Equal variances assumed	.571	.450	.018	689	.985	.00347	.19081
	Equal variances not assumed			.019	314.601	.985	.00347	.17938
Peace and Security	Equal variances assumed	4.693	.031	-.919	666	.358	-.34048	.37038
	Equal variances not assumed			-.995	313.315	.320	-.34048	.34202
Corruption	Equal variances assumed	.944	.332	-.576	653	.565	-.15886	.27573
	Equal variances not assumed			-.617	300.897	.538	-.15886	.25759

Table 5 shows the value of t for the six variables as less than two and not significant for the values of t. Thus, the decision is to accept the null hypothesis that "there are no significant differences in the level of satisfaction with the performance of the Transitional Government attributed to gender. The

descriptive statistics in table 5 show approximately close similar means for males and females in different issue areas. However, the values of the standard deviations depict wide spread away from the mean except for the female standard deviation of 1.95894 and 2.72771 against peace and security and corruption –the male views concerning the issue of the oil and gas cluster closer to the mean.

Hypothesis 3: There are no statistically significant differences in citizens' attitudes towards the performance of the Transitional Government (regarding the issues of policymaking system, economic issues, the shortage of bread crises, the shortage of oil and gas; the debacles of security and peace and the problem of eradicating corruption) attributed to education levels, age, political affiliation, job, and the region.

Table6: ANOVA (AGE)

		Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Policymaking	Between Groups	84.561	5	16.912	1.3	0.262
	Within Groups	9771.78	751	13.012		
	Total	9856.34	756			
Economy	Between Groups	316.431	5	63.286	4.422	0.001
	Within Groups	10361.2	724	14.311		
	Total	10677.6	729			
Bread	Between Groups	78.941	5	15.788	1.569	0.166
	Within Groups	7051.79	701	10.06		
	Total	7130.73	706			
Oil_and_Gas	Between Groups	4.24	5	0.848	0.182	0.969
	Within Groups	3185.43	685	4.65		
	Total	3189.67	690			
Peace & Security	Between Groups	119.867	5	23.973	1.429	0.212
	Within Groups	11105.5	662	16.776		
	Total					

Total		11225.4	667			
		5				
Corruption	Between Groups	75.068	5	15.014	1.65	0.145
	Within Groups	5905.49	649	9.099		
Total		5980.55	654			
		9				

Since the ANOVA test is insignificant for all variables except age, table 6 shows only the result for the age table. The ANOVA test shows a significant value of F for the age group variable regarding economy issues with p-value 0.001. The highest score goes to respondents above 60 years old. However, there is a significant difference between the other categories. This result means that the older generation is more supportive of the Transitional Government's efforts to straighten out the economic issues and problems inherited from the previous regime. It conforms with the younger generations' high expectations regarding quick economic results. The younger generations are affected the most by the previous regime's economic policies, which result in high rates of unemployment among them.

Hypothesis 4: There are no statistically significant relationships between the variables (policymaking system, economic issues, the shortage of bread crises, the lack of oil and gas; the debacles of security and peace and the problem of eradicating corruption), and the Y variable satisfaction of the people with performance of the Transitional Government $Y = a + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + b_3 X_3$, etc.

To test this hypothesis, the article computes linear regression. The normal probability plot in figure 1 indicates the normality assumption is not violated and substantiates our previous conclusion about normality.

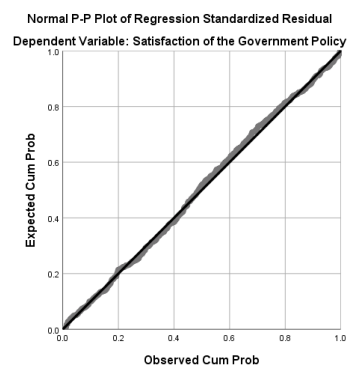


Table7: Liner Regression Output.

Model Summary

Model	R	R2	Adjusted R2	Std. Error of the Estimate
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623b	.388	.38	.94
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a-Dependent Variable: Satisfaction of the Government Performance

b- (Constant), Corruption, Policymaking, Oil_and_Gas, Economy, Peace & Security, Bread

ANOVA^a

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	369.779	6	61.630	8.371	.000b
Residuals	584.108	648	.901		
Total	953.87	654			

Dependent Variable: Satisfaction of the Government Performance

Predictors: (Constant), Corruption, Policymaking, Oil and Gas Economy, Peace & Security, Bread

Regression Coefficients

Model	B	Standard Error	Beta	T	Sig.
Constant	-.605	.340		-1.780	.076
Policymaking	-.012	.012	-.033	-.983	.326
Economy	.129	.013	.412	10.281	.000
Bread	.024	.016	.063	1.548	.122
Oil & Gas	-.042	.021	-.074	-2.015	.044
Peace & Security	.068	.011	.233	5.996	.000
Corruption	.028	.014	.070	1.944	.052

a-Dependent Variable: Satisfaction of the Government Performance.

ANALYSIS OF LINEAR REGRESSION OUTPUT

The F test in table 7 shows a significant linear relationship between the satisfaction with Transitional Government performance (dependent variable) and all independent variables with p-value 0.000. Therefore, we reject the null hypothesis that the impact of all independent variables on the dependent variable is statistically insignificant and accepting the alternative hypothesis. Consequently, at least one of the regression's B

(coefficient) for oil and gas is significant. The difference between the regression sum of squares and the residuals indicates the range of variables that could have been included to improve the model fit. Consequently, the coefficient of variation (R2) in table 7 shows that only 38.8% of the variability in the dependent variable is due to the independent variables. It is noticeable that there is a negligible difference between R2 and adjusted R2; the latter control for the undesirable tendency of R2 to increase with the increase of the number of independent variables. In social sciences, whereas the values of R2 (or adjusted R2) below .20 usually suggest weak model fit and those between 0.20 and 0.40 imply a moderate fit, the values between 0.40-60 indicates strong model fit, the values above 0.60 suggest very strong fit.. The coefficient values in table 7 indicate that the economy (p-value 0.00), peace and security (p-value 0.00), and oil and gas (p-value 0.044), corruption (p-value 0.052) have a significant effect on the Satisfaction with the performance of the Transitional Government. The result for the impact of policymaking and bread coincides with the null hypothesis that B = 0 [14].

These results highlight the most critical issues that capture the attention of the people; these are the economic issues that are, in fact, the main reason behind the downfall of the previous regime. The lack of oil and gas is critical because of its impact on the standards of living by reducing the mobility of goods and services. Therefore, it leads to the rising prices of essential commodities and inflation. The widespread corruption among the supporters and the elites of the previous is of paramount concern to all the Sudanese people. The astonishing result of this test is that the shortage of bread and policymaking issues have no impact on the Satisfaction of the Sudanese people regarding the performance of the Transitional Government in these issues. While the policymaking issue are controversial issues involving struggles between the civilian and the military elements in government, which might be remote from the average citizen, the bread shortage affects all sectors of the Sudanese people. One possible explanation for this result is that many participants live outside Sudan and hence suffer no shortage in bread supplies [15].

Hypothesis 5: There are no statistically significant relationship between the independent variables which include gender, education levels, age, political affiliation, and occupation, and the dependent variable satisfaction of the people with performance of the Transitional Government $Y = a + b_1 X_1 + b_2 X_2 + b_3 X_3$, etc.

Table8: Liner Regression Output.

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1					
Regression	45.289	4	11.322	7.898	.000b
Residual	1128.206	787	1.434		

Total	1173.49	791
	5	

ANOVA^a

Dependent Variable: Satisfaction of the Government Policy.

b. Predictors: (Constant), Political Affiliation, occupation, Education, Age Group.

Model Summary

Model	R	R ²	Adjusted R ²	Std. Error of the Estimate
1	.196a	.039	.034	1.197

a. Predictors: (Constant), Political Affiliation, occupation, Education, Age Group.

Regression Coefficients

Model	Model B	Standard Error	Beta	T	Sig	
1	(Constant)	1.942	.327		5.934	.000
	Education	-.011	.052	-.007	-.213	.832
	Age Group	.159	.035	.174	4.592	.000
	Occupation	.042	.038	.042	1.116	.265
	Political Affiliation	.084	.128	.023	.659	.510

a-Dependent Variable: Satisfaction of the Government Performance.

ANALYSIS OF LINEAR REGRESSION OUTPUT

The F test in table 8 shows a significant linear relationship between the Satisfaction with Transitional Government performance (dependent variable) and all independent variables with p-value 0.000. We thereby reject the null hypothesis that the impact of all independent variables on the dependent variable is statistically insignificant and accept the alternative hypothesis. Consequently, at least one of the regression's B (coefficient) is significant. The difference between the regression sum of squares and the residuals indicates the range of variables that could have been included to improve the model. Although the significant coefficient of variation (R²i) in table 8 shows that only 33.8% of the variability in the dependent variable is due to

the independent variables, the adjusted R² may provide a more reasonable estimate because it neutralizes the undesirable mathematical property of increasing values of R² with the number of independent variables. However, both of them fall within the region of moderate fit. The regression coefficients values in table 8 of the unstandardized Bs indicate only the age group (p-value 0.00) has an impact on the level of satisfaction with the performance of the Transitional. The insignificant values of t mean that the variables of Political Affiliation, Occupation, Region, and Education have no impact on their level of satisfaction with the performance of the Transitional Government. With this conclusion, it is nonsensical to use the standardized coefficient Beta to answer the question of which independent variable has the most significant effect on explaining the dependent variable [16].

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

Generally, females and males have similar views regarding the satisfaction with the Transitional Government performance. Their mean values are closer to the value of "disagree" in the Likert Scale. This conclusion is not good news for the new government. This negative view is corroborated by the views regarding the six issues of concern (policymaking, economic issues, bread shortage, lack of and gas, peace and security, and corruption). Here only people who are above 60 have a positive view of the performance of the Transitional Government. The regression analysis for hypothesis 4 shows that the only issue which has a significant impact on the Satisfaction with the Transitional Government performance is peace and security. Likewise, among the demographic variable, only age has a significant impact on the dependent variables of Satisfaction with the performance of the Transitional Government. One outstanding result of this study is that the low values of R² show that the variables used in this study do not capture the most critical factors that are related to the people's Satisfaction with the Transitional Government performance [17-18].

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