
Going 'Home' for the Sake of a Nation?

The Challenges Facing
Southern Sudanese Women
in Post-secession Khartoum

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ABSTRACT

After two civil wars and almost 50 years of struggle that led to the largest amount of internally displaced persons in the world, in January 9, 2005, Sudan reached a Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which ostensibly ended the North-South conflict and asserted the principle of self-determination for South Sudan after a 6-year transitional period. Nevertheless, in its practical implementation a series of important issues remained unattended, such as the future arrangements on citizenship and nationality in case of secession. Thus, after the Referendum for self-determination in January 9, 2011 (where almost 99% of southern Sudanese voted for separation), and the formal secession of the South in July 9, 2011, a 9-month transitional period was established, during which southern Sudanese should either return to South Sudan or stay in the Republic of Sudan as foreigners.

It is in this context that this research shall address the issue of how new borders have shaped southern Sudanese's statuses, elaborating on the challenges related to the decision to leave or remain in the Republic of Sudan after the separation, and the main factors shaping such decision, namely: socioeconomic, gender, and identity issues. Aware of the heterogeneity of such group of people, this dissertation focuses specifically on a young generation of women, most of whom were born in Khartoum or moved to the city at an early age, accompanying their families, who moved there for different reasons. Considering the characteristics of the research, whereby socio-cultural and behavioural topics are to be analysed, a qualitative approach shall serve better the purposes of the research, in that it provides the opportunity to stay open for research subjects and methods, so that unexpected information can take part in the emerging theory. Additionally, given the selected study group and the current changing political and socioeconomic context in Sudan, this research shall be developed by using grounded theory methods, in order to grasp not only such changing context but how it shapes people's decisions.

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ACRONYMS

ACHPR	African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights of 1981
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CERD	Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRS	1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness
GoS	Government of Sudan
GoSS	Government of South Sudan
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
ILC Draft Articles	International Law Commission Draft Articles on Nationality of Natural Persons in relation to the Succession of States
INC	Interim National Constitution
KACE	Al Khatim Adlan Center for Enlightenment and Human Development
NIF	National Islamic Front
RoS	Republic of Sudan
RoSS	Republic of South Sudan
SNA	Sudan Nationality Act
SPLA/M	Sudan People’s Liberation Army/Movement
SSLM	South Sudan Liberation Movement
SSNA	South Sudanese Nationality Act 2011
TCRoSS	Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan
UDHR	The Universal Declaration of Human Rights

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: Introduction	6
1.1 Sudan in Context.....	6
1.2 Objectives and Methods.....	7
1.3 Structure of the Research.....	8
CHAPTER 2: Nation-Building and National Identity	10
2.0 Introduction	10
2.1 Nation-Building in Post-Colonial Africa	10
2.1 The ‘Imagined’ Nation	12
2.2 Nationalism	15
2.3 Ethnic and National Identity and The Politics of Belonging.....	18
2.4 Ethnic Nation and Separatism.....	23
2.5 Nation-building.....	25
2.5.1 Women’s Role in Nation-building Processes.....	27
2.6 Conclusion.....	30
CHAPTER 3: Sudan, A Never-Ending ‘War of Visions’?.....	31
3.0 Introduction	31
3.1 Evolution of North-South Relations in Sudan.....	31
3.1.1 The North-South Conflict.....	32
3.1.2 Southern Sudanese in Khartoum: Changing Identities	37
3.2. Sudan: Nation-Building and National Identity	39
3.2.1 A Protracted Crisis of Identity	41
3.2.2 Unity of Convenience – ‘Us’ Against Whom, Now?.....	43
3.2.3 Now That ‘They’ Are Gone.....	45
3.2.4 Playing the Nationality Card.....	46
3.3 Conclusion.....	50
CHAPTER 4: APPROACH AND METHODS.....	51

4.0 Introduction	51
4.1 Settings	51
4.2 Sample Group and Interviews.....	52
4.2 Grounded Theory.....	54
4.3 Conclusion.....	57
CHAPTER 5: “We’re All Children Of The Same Father, But Then We’ve Been Separated”....	58
5.0 Introduction	58
5.1 Separated Children of The Same Father	58
5.2 Better The Devil You Know...?	59
5.2.1 Challenges.....	60
5.2.2 Opportunities	71
5.2.3 Coping Strategies	75
5.3 Than The Devil You Don’t?	76
5.3.1 Challenges.....	77
5.3.2 Opportunities	87
5.3.3 Coping Strategies	88
5.4 Conclusion.....	91
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION	92
BIBLIOGRAPHY	96
DECLARATION OF AUTHENTICITY.....	104

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

I.1 SUDAN IN CONTEXT

Countries with a severe crisis of national identity face serious and diverse dilemmas. On the one hand, identity provides individuals with a sense of belonging, dignity, and security, especially in weak states that fail to ensure assistance to its people. Identities can also provide the foundation for nationhood based on the distinctive attributes of a group (Deng, 1995: vii). In the context of nation-states, conflicts of identities happen when one or more some groups rebel against the oppression inflicted by the dominant group, which is usually expressed through: denial of recognition, exclusionary policies, or marginalization, amongst others. Under authoritarian political systems, as it was the case of colonial states, disillusioned groups may be too oppressed to uphold their demands effectively. However, in the case of post-colonial African states, such as Sudan¹, long-repressed ethnic and religious tensions begin to manifest themselves in violence, threatening the state with fragmentation and disintegration (Deng, 1995: 1).

Since its independence from the British, in 1956, Sudan has witnessed an ongoing civil war for diverse reasons, such as: unequal regional socioeconomic and political development; a neglect of diversity issues; and a weakened country economy coupled with the discovery of oil resources in the South (El-Nager, 2011: 1).

After a brief period of peace, with the signature of the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement in 1972, the conflict resumed in 1983, when such Agreement was abrogated. During the following two decades, the socio-political turmoil in the South led to the loss of over two million lives and five million internally displaced persons (IDPs); one of the largest displacement flows in the world (Grabska, 2011: 3).

The failure of both sides to the conflict, The National Islamic Front (NIF, and later the National Congress Party, NCP) and the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA), to obtain a decisive military victory and the growing international pressure, forced the Government to start peace negotiations, which culminated in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), in January 2005 (Sikainga, 2011: 16).

¹ For the purposes of this paper, and in order to avoid any confusion, “Sudan” shall be used to refer to the country before the separation of south Sudan. The “Republic of Sudan” and the “Republic of South Sudan” shall be the terms used to refer to both countries after such separation.

Besides containing arrangements for the sharing of powers and for the distribution of oil resources the CPA asserted the principle of self-determination for south Sudan after a 6-year transitional period (Chapters II, III and art.1.3 of the CPA). Although the agreement ostensibly ended the conflict between the North and the South, and was expected to create a new social and political transformation, its practical implementation adopted the same North-South dichotomies, failing to address the root causes of the Sudanese conflict (Sikainga, 2011: 16).

Thus, in the context of the January 2011 Referendum for self-determination in south Sudan (as established in the CPA), and after the formal secession of the region in July 2011, southern Sudanese living in Khartoum and other northern towns for decades, became foreigners after the secession vote (El-Nager, 2011: 1), with all the legal and social implication this entails.

1.2 OBJECTIVES AND METHODS

The complexity and interconnectedness of the several issues currently taking place both in the Republic of Sudan (RoS) and the Republic of South Sudan (RoSS) pose a challenge to the researcher, when it comes to delimiting a specific research question. Southern Sudanese currently living in Khartoum are far from being a homogeneous group. Both their reasons to initially move to the North as well as their decisions to stay are so varied, that trying to assess them all would be beyond the scope of this dissertation. Indeed, while there is quite some research done on the hard living conditions of the IDPs living in the suburbs of Khartoum, only a few investigations have been conducted on southern Sudanese who live in the centre of Khartoum and seem well integrated in the society (Bützner, 2011: 206). The present research, thus, is based on a very specific group of southern Sudanese young educated women, most of them born in Khartoum, whose decision to go to RoSS or stay in Khartoum, has been and still is influenced by the political context, their life experiences in Khartoum, family pressure, feelings of belonging, and their perception of human security in RoSS. Therefore, the objective of this dissertation is twofold. On the one hand, it assesses the unique identity of these southern Sudanese women, who, despite having spent most of their lives Khartoum, were born in the bosom of traditional southern Sudanese families and were raised by them, becoming, thus, a very singular group, whose identity lies somewhere between the North and the South. On the other hand, this research shall analyze the conditions and factors shaping the decisions

taken by these women, namely: remaining in Khartoum, going to RoSS, or maintaining a level of connection and residence in both, which inevitably implies a series of challenges, influenced by their interests, motivations, and perceptions of their own identity.

Within this context, several questions can be asked: 1) How do this group of young and educated southern Sudanese women in Khartoum perceive and face their current situation? 2) What perceptions do they hold, what expectations do they have, and which challenges do they face when considering whether and when to ‘return’ in RoSS? 3) Which are the factors influencing the decision to stay or leave?

After considering the nature of the field of this research and the attempt to conduct an in-depth analysis of an unexplored phenomenon, the current study is based on a qualitative approach, more specifically on grounded theory, because it provides the opportunity to stay open for research subjects and methods during the whole process, so that unexpected information can take part in the emerging theory, whereby hypothesis, instead of being made in advance, can be changed during the research. Indeed, when examining socio-cultural and behavioural topics, qualitative methods are more helpful, since they permit a closer contact with the subjects of research, who at the same time provide their own personal perceptions of a particular social phenomenon (Bützer, 2011: 141-142).

I.3 STRUCTURE OF THE RESEARCH

This dissertation has been organised around five main chapters, organised as follows:

After this introductory chapter, which provides a general overview of the Sudanese context, as well as the objectives, methods and structure of this dissertation, Chapter 2 contains a thorough review of the most relevant literature on nation building and national identity, which makes up the theoretical framework of this dissertation. Linking up with this part, and in order to understand the historical process that dichotomized Sudan since time immemorial, Chapter 3 provides the reader with a background of the evolution of North-South relations in the country since early Arab incursions, going through colonialism, until current times, namely, after the CPA in 2005. This context should help to understand the situation faced by southern Sudanese living in Khartoum, more particularly from an identity perspective. This Chapter also addresses the issue of the national identity crisis in Sudan, and the complex citizenship issues after the separation.

Chapter 4 gives a thorough account of the methodology, the settings, and complexities of the research. Before reaching to the conclusions in the last chapter of this dissertation, Chapter 5 is entirely based on the fieldwork conducted and the main results obtained after analysing the data.

CHAPTER 2: NATION-BUILDING AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter provides the theoretical framework of this dissertation, namely, the role of the state in nation-building processes, more specifically in post-colonial sub-Saharan Africa. Following an overview on how most modern African states are the product of colonial powers, where different ethnicities and identities were artificially brought together under the same geographical and political boundaries, this Chapter addresses the main concepts in the nation-building process. First, different theories of the concepts of nation and nationalism are discussed. Second, the concept of identity, both national and ethnic, are addressed and linked with the so-called politics of belonging, which play an important role in the construction of an ethnic nation, which might eventually lead to separatist movements. Finally, a considerable section of this Chapter deals with the role women play in nation-building processes.

2.1 NATION-BUILDING IN POST-COLONIAL AFRICA

From a modernist perspective, states create nations through a mixture of industrialist and capitalist logic, war-making, and the intentional creation of group narratives and symbols through national education systems. This view, however, is mainly focused on the eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe, whereby two main aspects were assumed. On the one hand, the nationalism deployed by the state was presumed to arrive to an end when the nation-building process reached its conclusion. On the other hand, every state, even those outside Europe, should develop a similar path to achieve the longed congruence between state and nation (Kpessa et al, 2011: 2117).

Reality, however, proved that not even in Western countries was the process of nation-building successfully ‘completed’, but also that even when such process was achieved, the state would still have to promote a feeling of national identity. Indeed, in both the developed and developing world, states seek to build and strengthen the nation, deploying their nationalism to gain the attachment and loyalty of their citizens (Kpessa et al, 2011: 2118). One of the strategies most recurred to by states to strengthen such attachments

and loyalties is through the implementation of citizenship² policies, understood as a legal tie between the State and the individual, which confers him/her certain rights and duties (IOM, 1999: ‘Citizenship’), granting, thus, a specific source of identity through the membership in a specific political community (Leydet, 2011: Section 1, 1.1). Under customary international law, States are free to determine who their citizens are, there are several criteria involved in order to determine the conditions for granting citizenship: citizenship at birth on the territory or *jus solis*; or citizenship through blood descent or *jus sanguinis* (IOM, 1999: ‘Citizenship’). Additionally, the stakeholder principle (or *jus nexi*) has been proposed as an alternative to citizenship by birth, whereby ‘rootedness’, namely, the individual’s real and effective link to the political community and their permanent interest in membership (Bauböck, 2008: 5) in such a community, is taken as a ground for obtaining citizenship (Shachar, 2010: 9).

It can be said that the modern African state, far from emerging from endogenous processes amongst indigenous societies, was a product of European colonialism, whereby the drawing of territorial boundaries was an arbitrary process across ethnic communities. It was, however, colonial policies of social marginalization and the neglect of the welfare needs of the Africans that resulted in the emergence of nationalism in the continent (Kpessa et al, 2011: 2119). In postcolonial Africa, the creation of a political community implied a three-step process: “the creation of a national vision, the nationalist myth, and the setting up of a national organization” (Asres, 2007: 45). Indeed, colonial states had to adopt a territorial patriotism, political loyalties to the newly created states and their political communities (Smith, 1991: 41).

As Ernest Gellner points out, the boundaries of the ethnicity should coincide with those of the political unit. Moreover, rulers within such unit should belong to the same ethnic group as the ruled ones. Foreigners, especially as rulers, are particularly unwelcome in the political unit (1983: 35). In the newly-born independent African states, however, different

² The terms nationality and citizenship have different meanings in different contexts, although they are frequently used as synonyms (Assal, 2011:1). While citizenship could be defined as a legal tie between a State and an individual, which confers him/her certain rights and duties (IOM, 1999: ‘Citizenship’), nationality is more ambiguous, and refers to the origin and membership in a culturally defined community. In the case of Sudan, law and common discourse stress the concept of nationality (*jinsiyya* in Arabic) rather than the citizenship (*muwatana* in Arabic) (Assal, 2011:1). In the context of this dissertation, ‘citizenship’ is used with the same meaning as nationality, which refers to the legal relationship between an individual and a state (Abdulbari, 2010: 4).

and sometimes hostile ethnic communities were drawn together by political regulation, bringing them into a new struggle for scarce resources and political power. The ruling élites, who often were recruited from the dominant ethnic community, tried to give shape to a new political mythology and symbolic order so as to legitimate their authoritarian regimes, and to prevent any threat of endemic ethnic conflict and/or secessionist movements. Thus, the project of nation-building in sub-Saharan Africa implies the creation of a new ethnic identity and consciousness that will incorporate some of the loyalties and cultures of the existing ethnic communities (Smith, 1991: 41).

In this context, African nationalists framed the colonial rule as an outside and oppressive force to be resisted (Kpessa et al, 2011: 2119), which prepared the ground for building bonds between Africans of different ethnic, religious, cultural, and tribal backgrounds within a given colonial territory, in a way that minimized existing divisions and shaped the construction of national consciousness beyond social and ethnic divisions (ibid., 2120). Thus, nationalism was successful in uniting Africans of all backgrounds against a perceived common enemy. Nevertheless, because the states that emerged out of the nationalist struggle for independence were not made up by ethnically-homogenous populations, the challenge that emerged in the following years was how to consolidate and avoid the newly-created states from falling apart. Indeed, the new African states faced several problems, such as: uneven development and ethnic divisions, which had been exploited by the colonialists in their ‘divide and rule’ strategies; and a re-emergence of pre-colonial cultural incompatibilities and hostilities (ibid., 2121). Indeed, as observed in Chapter 3, in Sudan, the main concern of the North after the independence from the British Condominium was to amend its divisive effect between North and South by pursuing forced assimilation policies through Arabization and Islamization, which were inevitably seen by the South as an Arab replacement of the British colonialism (Deng, 1995: 12).

2.1 THE ‘IMAGINED’ NATION

Debates about contested concepts, such as: state, nation, nationalism, or national identity are far from new. Indeed, authors like Ernest Gellner (1983), Anthony Smith (1991), or Benedict Anderson (2006) amongst others, have largely discussed such topics from different and often overlapping perspectives.

In the twentieth century, the state was the most widely recognized norm of political association, under the auspices of nationalist principles. While the state’s legitimacy

derived from the nation it sought to represent, only nations with their own states could feel autonomous in a world of ‘nation-states’. This way, state and nation became increasingly confused notions that, despite being the cause of much conflict all over the world, also served to strengthen both concepts: state and nation (Smith, 1991: 168). On the one hand, a state has been generally understood as “a self-governing political entity, with internationally recognized boundaries and a government that provides public services and police power. It enjoys sovereignty, meaning that no other state has authority over the country’s territory and external recognition” (Assal, 2011: 2). On the other hand, a nation signifies a cultural and political bond, uniting in one political community a culturally homogeneous group of people, sharing a common history, homeland or territory, public culture, economy and legal rights and duties for all members, which clearly differentiates it from any conception of state, which exclusively refers to public institutions, exercising a monopoly of coercion in a given territory (Smith, 1991: 14). Such definition of nation implies that nations might exist without their corresponding state. Similarly, when a nation has its own state, this is called a nation-state (Assal, 2011: 2).

Usually grouped in regional inter-state systems, nation-states have been acknowledged as the only constituents of the so-called ‘inter-national’ community (Smith, 1991: 168). Nation-states are collective actors legitimated by clear expressions of the national will and of national identity, whereby they must show that their citizens are clearly differentiated from ‘foreigners’, and that, at the same time, internally they are as much similar to each other as possible. In other words legitimization requires internal homogenization. However, while geo-political demands can reinforce ethnically homogenous states, they can also undermine the cohesion of ethnically plural states. Given the prior existence of ethnic communities in many areas, the attempt to impose on surviving ethnically heterogeneous regions a system of compact and bureaucratic states is doomed to produce instability and deep ethnic conflicts wherever such states fail to fit the already existing ethnic diversity (ibid., 169).

A first element to be considered under the concept of nation is the territory, in that nations must possess compact and defined territories, whereby people and territory must belong to each other in a sort of intimate relationship where the land in question is not any land, but the ‘historic’ land, the ‘homeland’, whose natural resources also become exclusive to the people, in that they are not for foreign use and exploitation (Smith, 1991: 9). A second element is that of the patria; namely, a community of laws and regulating institutions with the same political purposes, which can be expressed through highly

centralized institutions and laws, or through the union of separate provinces, whose federal institutions and laws both protect local freedoms and express common political will and sentiments. In any case, together with the sense of legal and political community there is a sense of legal equality among the members making up such community or citizenship, which confers people a series of civil, legal, political, and socio-economic rights (ibid., 10). Finally, the legal equality of the members in a political community in a specific homeland is supposed to gather a series of common values and traditions among its population, or at least, its ‘core’ community. In other words, nations must have a measure of common culture and a civic ideology, a set of sentiments and ideas, binding the population together (ibid., 11).

For the purposes of this dissertation, however, it is important to emphasize that even though the components of the standard Western model of nation (historic territory, legal-political community, legal-political equality of members, and common civic culture and ideology) have remained vital elements in most non-Western conceptions of a nation, a rather different model of nation emerged outside the West. The main feature of such non-Western or ‘ethnic’ conception of the nation is that a nation is above all a community of common descent, emphasizing a community of birth and native culture (Smith, 1991: 11). Such ethnic model highlights the descent (or presumed descent), rather than the territory. The nation can, thus, trace its roots to an attributed common ancestry and its members are differentiated from outsiders by their family ties, which justifies the strong popular element in the ethnic conception of the nation, made up by elements such as: genealogy and presumed descent ties, popular mobilization, vernacular languages, customs and traditions (ibid., 12).

Interestingly, a more recent approach emphasizes a series of subjective properties of nationhood, whereby nations are seen as a recent invention, as “the artefacts of men’s convictions and loyalties and solidarities” (Gellner, 1983: 7), or as what Anderson calls them, ‘imagined communities’, where most of their members believe them to be nations, which deserve a self-government (Norman, 2006: 4). From this perspective, nations are imagined as limited because all of them have finite, somehow elastic, boundaries. They are imagined as sovereign because the concept was born at a time when nations dreamt of being free, and the indicator and emblem of this freedom is the sovereign state. Finally, nations are imagined as communities, because, “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship” (Anderson, 2006: 7). Indeed, it is this fraternity that has led, over the past

two centuries, millions of people, not only to kill, but also to die for such limited imaginings (ibid.). Additionally, nations are imagined political communities because their members will never know the majority of their co-nationals, who are, nevertheless, considered as relatives and close friends, objects of personal identification (ibid., 6). “Both nations and national identities exist because of the beliefs, convictions, sentiments, and attitudes of individual people” (Norman, 2006:34). Identifying oneself with one’s nation involves having a sense that one enjoys a special standing among one’s co-nationals, which implies additional moral responsibilities. The problem, however, is that these special duties might conflict with commonsense (Heath Wellman, 2005: 104).

Indeed, it could be argued that many words normally used to refer to the nation, such as: homeland, motherland, or patria, denote something to which one is naturally tied; namely, something un-chosen. Thus, nation-ness is assimilated to skin-colour, gender, parentage, or birth, all of them attributes that one cannot help (Anderson, 2006: 143). It is precisely the fact of being un-chosen that ultimately characterizes this ‘nation-ness’ with a halo of disinterestedness, and just for that reason, it can ask for sacrifices, not so much in the huge scale on which they permitted people to kill, as in the unprecedented numbers persuaded to lay down their lives for the sake of the nation (ibid., 144). Indeed, nationalism’s roots in fear and hatred of ‘the other’, and its affinities with racism easily remind us that “nations inspire love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love” (ibid., 141).

2.2 NATIONALISM

It can be argued that nationalism is a more complicated concept than nation, because it can refer to distinct things, properties, mental states, abstract entities, and processes (Norman, 2006: 5). Indeed, nationalism can be used to define the process of forming and maintaining nations or nation-states; a consciousness of belonging to a nation, linked with aspirations for its prosperity; a language and symbolism of the ‘nation’; an ideology; or a socio-political movement to achieve the national will (Smith, 1991: 72). In other words, nationalism is “an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential ‘nation’” (ibid., 73).

Nations and nationalism cannot be understood only as a political ideology but also as a cultural phenomenon, in that nationalism should be regarded as closely linked to national identity, a multidimensional concept which includes: language, sentiments and symbolism

(*ibid.*, vii). Both concepts, however, can be considered cultural artefacts from the late eighteenth century, which became able of being transplanted to different social terrains and merged with different political and ideological patterns arousing deep emotional attachments (Anderson, 2006: 4).

“Nationalism in sub-Saharan Africa was often regarded as another form of anti-colonial protest” (Kersting, 2009: 7). Within this context, Smith refers to ethnic and territorial nationalism, depending on the general situation in which specific communities find themselves before and after independence (1991: 82). On the one hand, such non-Western territorial nationalism is characterised by the fact that territorialism itself, understood as a political commitment to specific social and territorial boundaries, is based on the residence and proximity, rather than the descent, whereby being rooted in a particular land is the necessary criteria for citizenship (*ibid.*, 117). Thus, the concept of citizenship is not simply used to underline membership of the nation and differentiate ‘us’ from ‘them’, but also to outbid the claims of competing identities, especially ethnic ones. Indeed, in periods of national homogenization³ or state creation, as it is now the case of RoS and it was with the Serbs in Croatia, ethnic membership has been a major factor for denying or granting citizenship (Blitz, 2011: 7). Therefore, legal citizenship in territorial nationalisms, while carrying strong moral and economic implications, becomes the main tool for exclusion and inclusion and benefits, regardless of ethnic origins (*ibid.*, 118). It could be argued, thus, that this is one of the reasons why multiple citizenship tends to be avoided by States; because it can lead to conflicts with competing rights and obligations (IOM, 1999: ‘Citizenship’). Nevertheless, territorial nationalism has often been considered inauthentic because African states had ‘artificial’ boundaries, fencing in multiple ethnic groups and creating heterogeneous territorial entities (Kersting, 2009: 7-8).

On the other hand, several waves of ethnic nationalisms started to emerge ever since the late eighteenth century (Smith, 1991: 123). While such waves have had specific features over the years and regions, for the purposes of this dissertation, the main focus shall be placed in the wave of ethnic nationalisms that emerged outside the European colonial empires in the early to mid-twentieth century, as movements that continuously challenged the stability of post-colonial states in Africa and Asia. Such movements aimed at the secession from the post-colonial state that is seen as a foreign intrusion or imposition.

³ ‘National homogenization’ in this secessionist context should be understood as a series of exclusive policies implemented by the Government in order to shape and emphasize the national identity of the state, by establishing the limits of who is a citizen and who is not.

Popular ethno-nationalisms sharply contrast the state and the nation, they mobilize ethnic communities in the name of suppressed and neglected cultural values, threatened by the bureaucratic state at the service of a dominant ethnic community and its élites. For southern Sudanese, and for many others, such as Kurds, Armenians, Palestinians, or Eritreans, among others, the new states where colonialism incorporated them are viewed with hostility, which in most cases resulted in protracted wars of ethnic liberation (ibid., 124).

In the case of Sudan, both types can be identified since its colonial times. On the one hand, two sorts of territorial nationalism are visible during the pre- and post-independence period from Britain. First, an anti-colonial nationalism as a pre-independence movement, whose main concept of the nation was civic and territorial, seeking to eject foreign rulers and substitute a new state-nation for the old colonial territory. And second, an integration nationalism as a post-independence movement, which tried to bring together into a new political community disparate ethnic populations and create a new ‘territorial nation’ out of the old colonial state. On the other hand, it could be argued that right after achieving the independence from Britain, another type of inner ethnic nationalism emerged within the country; namely, a secession nationalism as a pre-independence movement in South Sudan, with a basically ethnic concept of the nation, seeking to secede from a larger political unit and set up a new political ‘ethno-nation’ (Smith, 1991: 82).

While it has been widely argued that the main motive for nationalism only exists when the boundaries between the government and the nation are disparate; nationalism “both precedes and follows successful attempts by national communities to become self-determining” (Norman, 2006: 25). Indeed, nationalism sometimes precedes national-self-determination-seeking because the national ‘self’ has to be created, shaped, and motivated. In other words, people who have various sorts of religious, linguistic and regional identities must be convinced that their primary identity is as a member of this particular nation (ibid., 25-26). Thus, nationalism should be seen as a characteristic of a political culture, which translates in a series of subjective sentiments and objective symbols that govern political behaviour and give structure to the political process (ibid., 11).

2.3 ETHNIC AND NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE POLITICS OF BELONGING

Given the importance of finding or ‘creating’ a national ‘self’, many nation-states still maintain nationalist political cultures because strong national identities in the population make it easier for political leaders to mobilize support for policies that they consider to be in the national interest (Norman, 2006: 26).

“Almost any issue can be used to shape or reinforce a national identity, evoke national sentiments, or mobilize nationalist opinion. What makes a demand or justification nationalist are not so much the things demanded but the grounds or the sentiments that are appealed to either explicitly or implicitly” (Norman, 2006: 12).

In fact, identity is so prevalent today that almost everything has become a matter of identity. Mass media bombard us on how the identities of several cultures or ethnic groups are threatened, on how we have to preserve our identity from influences of the culturally different ‘others’ (Malesevic, 2006: 13).

For Francis M. Deng, identity is “a function of how individuals and groups identify themselves and are identified by others on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, language, culture, or region” (Deng, 1995: vii). Social scientists argue, however, that while identity is determined by these objective factors, it is important to consider that what people think they are counts more than what they objectively are (ibid). For the purposes of this research, identity shall be understood as the way of “how people identify themselves and are identified in race, ethnicity, culture, language, and religion and how such identification determines or influences their participation in the political, economic, social, and cultural life of their country” (ibid., 14).

Identity is a complex and two-fold concept. On the one hand, it is primordial and given. On the other hand, it is constructed and chosen. Thus, “identity is both subjective and objective, personal and social, and hence its illusive nature” (Al-Baqir al-Afifi Mukhtar, n.d.: 3). Social identities, understood as one’s knowledge that one belongs to a social group or set of individuals with a common social identification (Stets and Burke, 2000: 225), are usually regarded as given and inherited as if they were biological traits. Recently, however, there has been a shift towards understanding identities as constructed by choice and, thus, subject to reconstruction, even though such choices are limited by the given and

primordial aspects, such as: features, family, and culture, just to name a few (Al-Baqir al-Afifi Mukhtar, n.d.: 5).

Smith points out the existence of individual identities, which are changeable, situational, and optional, and collective identities, which are usually persistent (Malesevic, 2006: 20). Among the latter, Smith refers to gender, territory, social class, and religion as potential shapers of group identities. First, there is the gender category, which despite being universal and pervasive, it is also the source of differences and subordinations. It is precisely its universality that makes it a less powerful base for collective identification and mobilization (Smith, 1991: 4).

Second, there is the territorial category, which despite being more cohesive than gender, it could be said that powerful regional movements are very rare. Even such cases are much more likely to derive from ideologies and they tend to be unable to sustain the mobilization of their heterogeneous populations (Smith, 1991: 4).

Third, there is the socio-economic or social class category, which, despite the broadly accepted myth of the international brotherhood of the proletariat within a nation, history shows that workers' revolutions are quite rare. Indeed, “the difficulty with treating social class as a basis for an enduring collective identity is its limited emotional appeal and lack of cultural depth” (Smith, 1991: 5). Just like gender divisions, classes are normally territorially dispersed and they have different economic interests, which inevitably result in subdivisions (ibid.). As Dr Samia el-Nager puts it: “*A rich Southern woman is different from a poor Southern woman. A Southern woman who is educated and knows what she’s doing, it’s not like the woman selling alcohol in order to survive*” (Interview, 11/08/12).

Finally, there is the religious and ethnic category, which has usually tried to include more than one class in the communities created on their bases, with a national or universal message, even though in practice such religion is mainly reserved for a particular class. While some authors, such as Weber, point out the close links between class and religious identities, the former derives from the sphere of production and exchange, and the latter from the spheres of communication and socialization. Indeed, religious communities are often related to ethnic identities, and while religions sought to overcome ethnic boundaries, most religious communities coincide with ethnic groups (Smith, 1991: 6). Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, Serbs and Croats, Catholics and Muslims in Sudan, are some examples of the many ethnic communities whose identity is based on religious criteria of differentiation (ibid., 7).

In this respect, authors such as Nira Yuval-Davies claim that even though discourses of gender, or class have their own ontological bases, there is no separate meaning of any facet of such social categories, since they constitute each other mutually in a specific historical moment. Indeed, being a woman will imply different things whether she belongs to middle or working class, to a majority, or to a minority group (Yuval-Davies, 2011: 7).

National identity, however, is perhaps the most basic and inclusive current collective identity. The world is divided into ‘nation-states’ and national identity underpins the recurrent drive for popular sovereignty and democracy, as well as the tyranny that it sometimes creates. Although other sorts of collective identity, such as: class, gender, race, or religion, may overlap with national identity, they hardly ever undermine its power, even though they might influence its direction (Smith, 1991: 143). Culturally, national identity comes in the shape of a series of assumptions, values, language, law, and institutions. Socially, national identity provides the most inclusive community, within which social intercourse takes place, and most importantly, the limit for differentiating the ‘outsider’. Economically, the nation represents the basic unit of moral economy. Politically, national identity determines the composition of the regime and it also legitimates policy goals and administrative practices that regulate the daily lives of its citizens (ibid., 144).

National identity, as it happened with nations, signifies bonds of solidarity among the members of a certain communities united by a series of shared memories and traditions, which are completely different from the mainly legal and bureaucratic features of the state (Smith, 1991: 15). National identity implies a sense of political community, which in turn implies some common institutions and one single code of rights and duties for all the members of such community. It also implies a specific social space, and a demarcated territory, with which the members identify and feel they belong (ibid., 9). The common features of national identity are: a historic territory or homeland; common myths and historical memories; a common, mass public culture; common legal rights and duties for all members; and a common economy with territorial mobility for members. In other words, national identity is, thus, a complex and multi-dimensional concept, which cannot be reduced to a single element nor be artificially induced in a population (ibid., 14).

As seen before, the concept of nation combines a territorial and an ethnic dimension. Such multidimensionality, thus, has turned national identity into a flexible and lingering power in modern life and politics, which can be effectively combined with other powerful ideologies and movements (Smith, 1991: 15). It can be said that ethnic nations base the membership

of its people entirely on descent, namely, on blood (Norman, 2006: 58), whereas civic nations tend to base membership in their nation: by being part of a political community and accepting certain basic values, such as the basic constitutional rights and duties of the state (ibid., 60).

It can be argued, thus, that when ethnic identity is combined with the desire for political self-determination, which is one of the main characteristics of a national identity, then there comes the problem of having a political community, be it a state or a province, treated as the ‘property’ of a particular ethnic group (Norman, 2006: 62), even though most territories are also inhabited by individuals who are not members of that ethnic group. It is difficult, thus, to maintain a true sense of equal citizenship when members of the minority feel like second-class citizens in the majority’s ‘national’ state. Either if this feeling is only a perception or a fact, minorities in an ethnic nationalist state normally get less than their fair share of the most primary goods, including the ‘social bases of self-respect’, or political equality (ibid., 63).

National identity fulfils a series of functions for groups and individuals. On the one hand, its *external functions* are: territorial, economic and political. First, nations determine a particular social space and a historic territory, which locates specific communities in time and space. Second, nations struggle to control territorial resources, organize the division of labour, and enhance the mobility of goods and labour. Third, national identity supports the state and its organs, which are supposed to reflect the national identity of the whole population, besides legitimating common legal rights and duties of legal institutions, since they define the values of the nation and reflect the customs of its people. On the other hand, among the *internal functions* of national identity there is the socialization of its members as ‘nationals and ‘citizens’, whereby the state tries to inculcate national devotion, a homogeneous culture, and unity (Smith, 1991: 16).

It is through the enhancement of a series of symbolic elements and traditions, members are reminded of their common heritage and cultural bonds and feel strengthened by their sense of common identity and belonging (Smith, 1991: 17). Here it is important to highlight that such feeling of ‘belonging’ is about an emotional attachment of ‘feeling at home⁴’ (Yuval-Davies, 2011: 10). Indeed, identity can be described as a transition, always reshaping itself “through the combined process of being and becoming, belonging and longing to

⁴ ‘Home’, in this context, is to be understood as an on-going project, which implies some sort of hope for the future, in a ‘home’ regarded as a ‘safe place’ (Yuval-Davies, 2011: 10).

belong” (ibid., 15). Belonging, thus, is not only about social locations and the construction of individual or collective identities, but also about the ways these are addressed and valued by oneself and by the others, which gives way to the so-called politics of belonging. “The politics of belonging involves [...] the inclusion or exclusion of particular people, social categories and groupings within these boundaries by those who have the power to do this” (ibid., 18).

Ethnic groups suggest a series of boundaries regarding who can and cannot belong according to certain heterogeneous parameters, such as: the right birth-place, conforming to specific cultural practices, language, and behaving in sexually correct ways. Moreover, very often, the ‘cultural stuff’ provides the necessary identification for being able to cross ethnic boundaries or being excluded (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005: 3). In contexts where ethnicity is a social determinant, those who “do not belong have to make a choice — to leave the country, to accept discrimination as inherent in the situation, or to endeavour to change the situation to be more equitable” (Deng, 1995: 14-15).

Nevertheless, in order to turn a heterogeneous group of people into an institutionalized nation, giving them a sense of identity, a certain symbolic framework is required. Through such symbolic solidarity, which can take the form of a feeling of nostalgia for an idealized way of life, people create a shared history, which enhances their ethnic consciousness and their perception of difference from others. Such creation of boundaries between the self and the other is a relevant aspect of building the ethnic identity (Mosely Lesch, 1998: 5).

Thus, ethnic communities with a sense of common identity have a series of features: a collective name, a myth of common origin, common historical memories, differentiating elements of common culture, a bond with a specific ‘homeland’, and a sense of solidarity within the population (Smith, 1991: 21). It is, however, the attachments and associations, rather than residence in the land that has more weight for ethnic identification, establishing, thus, ‘where we belong’ (ibid., 23). Thus, belonging or being appointed a member of an ethnic group often implies that one cannot belong to other groups. In other words, membership is exclusive. In practice, however, individuals may belong to different ethnic groups, which can be the source of internal conflict and may involve identity shifts in different contexts (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005: 4).

2.4 ETHNIC NATION AND SEPARATISM

There is, thus, a close link between any attempt to create a civic and territorial national identity and movements aiming to separate a specific ethnic community from such civic nation, and shape it into a new ethnic nation⁵. The harder the leaders of the new states struggle to create an integrated territorial nation out of a poly-ethnic medley and the greater the economic and cultural differences are between the different ethnic communities or the regions where they are located, the bigger the chances of ethnic dissent and secessionist attempts (Smith, 1991: 134).

Most ethnic separatist movements after the Second World War have taken place in the new African and Asian states for two main reasons. First, it was the colonial state that brought many distant ethnic communities together under a single political jurisdiction, increasing, thus, the chances of conflict over centrally controlled resources. Second, it was during the decolonization process that ethnic secessionist movements emerged, challenging both the civic order of the future state and its territorial national identity (Smith, 1991: 131).

Separatist ethno-nationalisms, such as the case of South Sudan, seek autonomy or secession from states whose boundaries and rationale come from the colonial legacy. The primary source of their disillusionment is the plural nature of the post-colonial state itself and its fragile legitimacy. In most cases, as it happened in South Sudan, economic unfairness becomes the catalysts of rebellion, when the new state fails to favour certain ethnic communities at the expense of others. Thus, fierce political competition between ethnically defined constituencies hardens the boundaries and enhances the self-awareness of ethnic communities, which in case of repeated failures may drive the defeated community to resort to secession, especially where its leaders have internalized negative stereotypes (Smith, 1991: 133).

In general, the path to ethnic separatism is explained through a combination of economic interest and group anxiety. However, in most cases, group anxiety outweighs the perceived economic gains. Nevertheless, while there are many other intervening factors (such as: the severity of ethnic discrimination or civil representation, among others), perhaps the most powerful factor, influencing the chances of secession, is the

⁵ In this context, and even though every nation contains civic and ethnic elements in varying degrees, ‘civic nations’ are those whose uniting elements are common territory, laws and institutions, whereas in ‘ethnic nations’ the glue holding them together is common descent, vernacular language, religion, and traditions (Smith, 1991: 9-13).

determination and power of the controlling élites in the new state to resist ethnic-secessionist movements, often with considerable force (Smith, 1991: 135). In cases such as in South Sudan, the endemic instability of the post-colonial state enhanced protracted regional and ethnic conflicts, which have strengthened the sense of ethnic identity and the aspirations for a separate ethno-national identity. Ethnic mobilization, thus, is a possible result of the coercive nature of the post-colonial state in its attempts to integrate a poly-ethnic society into a ‘territorial nation’ (ibid., 137).

In any case, while self-government generally leads to a nation’s dignity, in that political sovereignty can constitute a shield against persecution, and help minority groups who suffer from a majority’s neglect or indifference (Heath Wellman, 2005: 111), it is unclear that ‘minority problems’ can be solved by secession, since in many cases secession will create new minority problems (Norman, 2006: 185). Indeed, “secession is a remedy of last resort in bitterly divided societies where there is no other sustainable hope for peace, security and democratic cooperation between central authorities and their regional minorities.” (ibid.).

Ethnicity, thus, can be understood as a politicised social action, whereby elements of real cultural differences are politicised in the context of group interaction and hence serve as an object of group mobilization (Malesevic: 2006: 27-28). While for some it has an ‘elemental’ or ‘nature-given’ quality, for others, it is seen as ‘situational’, in that belonging to an ethnic group depends on attitudes, perceptions and feelings, which are transitory and changeable, depending on the particular situation of the individual (Smith, 1991: 20). For the former, ethnic groups are based on long-standing links, highlighting the residence in a given territory, a common language, religion, or skin colour. Such markers of sameness are fundamental to social groups, whose solidarity derives from the bloodline. Thus, similar social groups assume particular cultural features that are included in their sense of nationhood (Mosely Lesch, 1998: 4). For the latter, however, ethnic identity is an attitude that can be shaped and reshaped, especially for instrumental reasons, such as to mobilize masses with a particular political goal (ibid.). In this sense, “language, culture, history, and religion are not fixed factors that serve as preconditions for nationhood, but rather are tools used to imagine the nation” (ibid., 5).

2.5 NATION-BUILDING

As it has been seen before, national identity comprises both cultural and political identity, thus, any attempt to forge a national identity is also a political action with political consequences, such as the need to redraw the geopolitical map (Smith, 1991: 99). National aspirations normally combine other non-national economic, social or political issues, which usually end up empowering the movement. It is not, however, that nationalism enhances such issues and interests, but rather, that neglected or marginalized ethnic communities combine both their national and non-national complaints and aspirations, so that at some point, there is a given population pursuing a single set of interests (ibid., 145).

“Through the rediscovery of an ethnic past and the promise of collective restoration of the former golden age, national identity and nationalism have succeeded in arousing and inspiring ethnic communities and populations of all classes, regions, genders and religions, to claim their rights as ‘nations’, territorial communities of culturally and historically cognate citizens, in a world of free and equal nations” (Smith, 1991: 170).

As history shows, in the name of ‘national identity’ people have surrendered their own liberties and restrained those of others, stepping on civil and religious rights of ethnic, racial, and religious minorities whom the nation could not absorb (Smith, 1991: 17). It is no wonder, thus, that throughout the years, governments have developed and used a series of tools to shape most national identities (Norman, 2006: 45), such as: official language policy; rules for immigration and naturalization (acquiring citizenship); core curriculums in schools; compulsory military service; adopting national symbols and holidays; renaming streets, towns, and buildings; control of the national media; or promotion of sports in international competitions (ibid., 46-47).

As it might be grasped from the former sections, nationalism helps to create national identity and supports nation-building projects (Smith, 1991: 71). In other words, nationalists try to achieve both statehood and nationhood. On the one hand, the goal of sovereign statehood, ‘state-building’, often translates in revolutionary or anti-colonial warfare, whereby nationalism and militarism usually go hand in hand. On the other hand, the goal of nationhood, ‘nation-building’, translates in imagining a national history, inventing traditions, and constructing community through symbols (Nagel, 1998: 247). ‘Nation-building’ has been traditionally defined as the deliberate forging of identities, which implies either creating a nation out of some other form of community, or making an existing national identity stronger. However, this definition omits the fact that many times a

national identity already exists, and political actors are trying to shape it, by addressing the values and beliefs that characterize such national identity, as well as the sentiments that nurture it (Norman, 2006: 33).

Smith points out two main ways of building nations outside Europe. First, there is the so-called ‘dominant ethnic community’ model, where the culture of the new state’s dominant ethnic community becomes the basis of the new national political identity. Even though other cultures continue to flourish – as it happened with the Catholic, non-Arab, and black South Sudanese in post-colonial Sudan -, the identity of the new political community is shaped by the historic culture of its dominant ethnic community (Smith, 1991: 110). Thus, the nation-building process is not so much one of ‘invention’ but of ‘reconstructing’ the ethnic core and integrating its culture with the requirements of a modern state and the needs of other minorities (ibid., 111). The second way to create civic, territorial nations applies to cases with no acknowledged dominant ethnic community, and it consists in creating a supra-ethnic ‘political culture’ for the new political community (ibid., 112).

Sudan, as many other non-western states, started out as a European colony, where both cultural and political identities were lacking. Therefore, any identity that a colonial population possessed was the product of the changes introduced by the colonial power (Smith, 1991: 106). Thus, some of the most widespread consequences of colonialism were: the overseas foreign ethnic basis of the colonial state and its administrative élites, whereby the colonial state was a mixture of a foreign executive instrument in a culturally different political community; the creation of administrative boundaries that hardly ever considered ethnic boundaries and the inclusion of previously separate ethnic communities within the same political system; the growth of a territorial patriotism; the development of professional and educated strata in each colony (ibid., 107); and the depreciation of indigenous peoples (ibid., 108).

Thus, when talking about the ‘invention of nations’ from colonies, two main aspects should be considered: first, the ‘sanctity’ of the colonies as the basis of the new civic-territorial nation; and, second, the presence of a dominant ethnic community whose culture and political identity shapes the character of the state, the regime, and therefore the emerging nation (Smith, 1991: 114).

2.5.1 WOMEN'S ROLE IN NATION-BUILDING PROCESSES

Drawing on Anderson's definition of nations as 'imagined communities' or, in other words, systems of cultural representation where people imagine a shared identification with an extended community, nations are not only an illusion of the mind, but also “historical and institutional practices through which social difference is invented and performed” (McClintock, 1993: 61). Indeed, nations are based on powerful constructions of gender, whereby they give women and men unequal access to the rights and resources of the nation-state, limiting and legitimizing peoples' access to such resources (ibid.).

In nation-building processes there is the essential need to create a sense of 'we-ness' or strong national identity feeling amongst the citizens, which requires the establishment of borders and exclusion. Indeed, one of the goals aim for the state mobilisation around national values is to make its members respond to the call in times of war against 'them'. Although such call is usually directed to the male members of society, women are equally significant when it comes to bear the burdens of the home (Palmberg, 1999: 16). Indeed, as argued by Nira Yuval-Davies, “inclusion or exclusion is often not mutual, depending on the power positionality and normative values of the social actors” (2011: 17)

It could be argued that the strength of many ideologies is based in the 'naturalness' with which they are accepted, such as the case of nationalism. However, narrating the nation is a socially constructed process, marked by the co-existence of acts of affiliation and exclusion (Toivanen, 1994: 68). Indeed, together with ethnicity and race, one of the most important exclusionary mechanisms in the nation and the national community is that based on gender difference. Such gender difference is used to define women as marginal within the nation, while they are simultaneously made to bear the symbolic meanings of the group. Thus, “while women are made to bear the symbolic meanings of the violated Motherland, national agency, that is, leadership and citizenship are defined as distinctively masculine” (Toivanen, 1994: 69). Similarly, McClintock argues that “women are typically construed as the symbolic bearers of the nation, but are denied any direct relation to national agency” (1993: 62).

The conceptualization of the links between women and the state has normally focused on citizenship and how it constructs men and women differently (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005: 80). Women experience citizenship, and maybe nationhood, differently from men. Women are not expected to defend their country, run or represent their country.

Women’s presence in male-dominated institutions seems unwelcome, unless they play supporting roles. Given these, and many other, differences in men’s and women’s conception of the nation, it is obvious that there is a ‘gender gap’ dividing men and women on many political issues. The link between masculinity and nationalism shapes the feelings and thoughts of both men and women (Nagel, 1998: 261).

In the last couple of centuries, given the close link between ideologies of masculinity, colonialism, imperialism, militarism and nationalism, nationalist politics seems to be the ‘perfect’ setting for ‘accomplishing’ masculinity. First, the national state is essentially a masculine institution, visible in a series of features such as: a hierarchical authority structure, the male domination in high decision-making positions, the female subordinate division of labour, and the legal regulation by male of most female rights, labour and sexuality. Second, nationalism is constructed to emphasize masculine cultural themes, like: like honour, patriotism, cowardice, bravery and duty (Nagel, 1998: 251).

Women, however, occupy a distinct role in nationalist culture and discourse; one that reflects a masculinist definition of women’s proper place in the nation. Some authors, such as Yuval-Davis and Anthias have identified five ways of female participation in ethnic, national, and state processes: (a) as biological producers of members of ethnic collectivities; (b) as reproducers of the limits of ethnic/national groups, through a ‘proper’ feminine behaviour; (c) as the participants in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and the transmitters of its culture; (d) as signifiers of ethnic/national differences; and (e) as active participants in national, economic, political and military conflicts (Nagel, 1998: 252-253).

In these situations, sometimes women try to represent nationalism through traditional roles assigned to them by nationalists - supporting their husbands, raising their children and performing as symbols of national honour -, exploiting both nationalist or oppressor patriarchal views of women’s roles so as to help in the nationalist struggle (Nagel, 1998: 253).

Even though some women participate more directly in nationalist movements, most of them take a more indirect role, such as recruiting support for the nationalist cause because they are not seen as threatening as their male counterparts. Nevertheless, despite their contribution to many nationalist struggles, once national independence is won, many

feminist nationalists find themselves under the pressure of institutionalized patriarchy (Nagel, 1998: 253).

The nation-state secures “a controlling metaphor for its existence in the unitary and hierarchical structure of the patriarchal family [whereby] the step from embracing these figures of the male-headed national family and the feminine domestic space, to endorsing concepts of passive state-mothers, is a relatively easy one to take” (Boehmer, 2005: 32). The stress on women’s maternal role suggests that nations are imagined as domestic genealogies, where women are to be confined to the private sphere, whereas men can occupy the public realm of the nation (Toivanen, 1994: 70). In other words, “national liberation signifies male liberation” (ibid.).

Nationalism is political by definition, and it is linked to the state and its institutions, which have been historically dominated by men (Nagel, 1998: 248). Thus, it could be said that the culture and ideology of hegemonic masculinity go together with the culture and ideology of hegemonic nationalism (ibid., 249). Indeed, nationalism has typically emerged from masculinized memories and hopes, relegating women to minor and symbolic roles in nationalist movements and conflicts, be it as the ideal of nationhood -to be exalted and defended -, or as the booty or spoils of war - to be denigrated and humiliated. Thus, men become the real actors defending their freedom, their homeland, and their women (ibid., 244). Women, however, do play an active role in the making (and unmaking) of states, be it as citizens, activists, leaders, or simply as members of the nation, only that such roles have usually been written by men, for men, and about men, so that women are only supporting actors whose roles reflect masculine notions of women’s proper ‘place’ (Nagel, 1998 : 243). Indeed, by dressing and behaving ‘properly’, and by entering into legitimate marriages, they reproduce the symbolic and legal boundaries of the collectivity (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005: 20). Besides the biological function of giving birth to and rearing the new members of the collectivity, women have other important roles, such as: reproducers of the boundaries of ethnic or national groups; participating in the ideological reproduction of the collectivity and transmitting its culture; symbols of ethnic or national differences; as participants in national, economic, political, and military struggles. At the economic level, however, ethnic minority women, constructed as having limited rights to citizenship, and through racialization, can be positioned in particularly disadvantageous positions in the labour market (ibid., 81).

Indeed, all nationalism tends to be conservative, namely, ‘patriarchal’. This is partly caused by the fact that nationalists are usually ‘retraditionalisers’, embracing, thus, usually patriarchal traditions as a basis for nation-building and cultural renewal. Indeed, many nationalists tend to tie together the nation to a family, where men and women have ‘natural’ and differentiated roles to play. While women may be politically subordinated, they play an important symbolic role as the mothers of the nation (Nagel, 1998: 254).

However, despite these gender-based inequalities, “patriotism is supposed to affect everyone similarly, whether from upper or lower classes, man or woman” (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 2005: 23). This imagined unity, which divides the world between ‘us’ and ‘them’, is maintained and reproduced by a system of the so-called ‘border guards’, which are closely linked to specific cultural dressing and behavioural codes and a series of customs, and language (ibid.).

2.6 CONCLUSION

This Chapter provided the reader with the necessary theoretical framework on the issue of nation building and the main concepts linked to it, such as: nationalism, ethnic/national identity, and the politics of belonging in the construction of a nation, as well as women’s role in such nation-building processes. This theoretical introduction is aimed to help the reader to better understand the next Chapter, where the particular case of the nation-building process in Sudan is analyzed.

CHAPTER 3: SUDAN, A NEVER-ENDING ‘WAR OF VISIONS’?

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 3 deals mainly with the concept of identity in Sudan, before and after the separation of the country. All along different periods in the history of the country, the Sudanese identity has been built around opposing ideas: Arabs vs. non-Arabs, North vs. South, or Muslims vs. Christians, which has inevitably led to a never ending ‘War of Visions’, as expressed by Francis Deng. Thus, the first part of this Chapter provides a background of the evolution of North-South relations in Sudan, touching on the protracted conflict and one of its main consequences: the displacement and (sometimes eventually) settlement of peoples from the war-ridden South in the northern capital city, Khartoum. The second part, however, addresses the issues of nation-building and national identity after the separation of the country, which, despite the past experiences, seem to be leading both countries towards the creation of new opposing politics of identity.

3.1 EVOLUTION OF NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS IN SUDAN

Highlighting the most prominent elements in the Sudanese conflict can illustrate not only the complexities of the former nation's situation (Deng, 1995: 9), but also the current challenges faced by both nations: RoS and RoSS. On the one hand, there is the historical process that dichotomized the country into North and South and the polarization that afflicted the country with a crisis of national identity, which led the parties to adopt extreme positions, represented by Islamic fundamentalism in the North and a radical counterforce in the South (ibid., 9). On the other hand, such dichotomization was paired with decades of important mixed waves of southern Sudanese displaced and economic migrants to Khartoum (African Rights, 1995: 2). Many of these people remained in the North, settling within their own communities (El-Nager, 2011: 2). Indeed, as it shall be seen in this Chapter, it was not only single men who moved from the South to the North, but also single women and widows, as well as whole families and communities, which posed a challenge for both the northern host community and the southern migrants or displaced.

The existence of non-Arab communities in the North, partially assimilated by their conversion to Islam and/or adoption of Arabic as the common language, should be pointed out. Since in Sudan Islam and Arabic are viewed as closely intertwined, such groups have been somehow ‘adopted’ by the dominant Arab groups as ‘orphans’, redeemed from their original status of black slaves. However, these non-Arab tribes of the North increasingly realized they had much in common with their non-Arab southern compatriots, creating, thus, a bond between them, which opposes a simple North-South dichotomy (Deng, 1995: 4). Full acceptance, however, was not automatic and racial stratification persisted throughout the years. The darker the colour of the skin, the less Arab ancestry and the bigger the chances of being looked down on as of slave origin. Even though in current times northerners are more discreet about this issue, it is important to bear in mind that calling the southern Sudanese ‘slaves’ or *abeed* has always been a common practice (Deng, 1995: 5).

3.1.1 THE NORTH-SOUTH CONFLICT

Right until the 9th of July 2011, Sudan used to be not only the largest African country, with an area of over 2,500,000 square kilometres, but also one of the most diverse ones (Benesova, 2004: 2), comprising some 40 million people divided in more than 500 different tribes, each one with its own culture and language (Rout Biel, 2010: 29). Indeed, Sudan’s geographical location and historical heritage turned it into an ideal meeting point of the Arab and the sub-Saharan worlds (Benesova, 2004: 2). Indeed, it could be argued that the historical process separating the Arab Muslim North and the African South has its roots in the Arabization and Islamization of the North and the Southern resistance to those forces (Deng, 1995: 9).

While a detailed account of such process is out of the scope of this research, it should suffice to point out that the Sudanese interaction with the Middle East dates back thousands of years before Christ. Arab traders of gold, ivory and other commodities entered Sudan via Egypt and settled among the indigenous population, bringing with them a superior material wealth status that the Sudanese sought to associate with. This situation, combined with the liberal assimilationist Arab-Islamic tradition, led to universal brotherhood and made such traders an appealing class for intermarriage with the leading Sudanese families (*ibid.*, 9). Such Arabization process intensified after the dawn of Islam in the seventh century and the Arab Muslim invasion of Sudan, which led to a series of

accords that established remote Arab controls over the country, while at the same time left the Sudanese in relative peace and independence. In contrast, however, the Arab settlement in the southern regions was discouraged by natural and climate barriers, and the few Arabs who engaged in slave raids were not interested in Arabizing and Islamizing the southerners, since their becoming Muslims would have protected them from slavery (ibid., 10).

The Sudanese struggle, and more specifically the southern Sudanese struggle, against foreign occupation dates back to 1821, when Muhammad Ali, the viceroy of the Ottoman Sultan in Egypt, invaded Sudan in search of slaves and ivory, and ended in 2011, when southern Sudan gained its independence (Madut Jok, 2012: 7). During the so-called Turkiyya period (1820–81) joint Turkish and Egyptian forces took over the northern regions of Sudan, using this area as a base of operations for their incursions into the south. Interestingly, however, an early North-South joint reaction against foreign domination had a unifying effect on the country (Deng, 1995: 10), which ended up in a successful revolt that brought Muhammad Ahmed al-Mahdi to power in what was known as the Mahdiyya period (1881–98) (ibid., 7). While al-Mahdi used Islam as a tool to raise support in the North, the South saw religion as a tool for liberation and opposition to the foreign enemies. However, when the Mahdist government gained power, religion turned into a divisive element as slave raids continued in the South until colonial intervention (Deng, 1995: 11).

It was in 1898 that the Egyptians were joined by the British and came into power again with the signature of the Condominium Agreement that provided for their joint sovereignty (Benesova, 2004: 2-3). It could be argued that the British-dominated Anglo-Egyptian condominium (1899-1955) nominally unified the region, drawing the modern borders of the country⁶. However, the separate administration of North and South, reinforced Arabism and Islam in the North, while in the South it encouraged development along indigenous African lines and introduced Christian missionary education (Deng, 1995: 11). Additionally, interaction between ‘northerners’ and ‘southerners’ was strongly discouraged with the implementation of the so-called ‘Closed Doors Ordinance’ (Benesova, 2004: 3).

⁶ Here ‘the modern borders of the country’ refer to the borders before the separation on July 9th 2011.

Actually, one of the main aims of colonial rule in the region was the establishment and maintenance of law and order, whereby the ‘divide and rule’ principle was applied. While the colonial administration invested in the political, socio-economic, and cultural development of the North (Deng, 1995: 11), the South remained not only isolated and undeveloped, but it was also divided into three regions, each assigned to a different missionary society (Benesova, 2004: 3). Such administration of both regions left open the option that the South could eventually be annexed to one of the East African colonies (Deng, 1995: 11). Even though nine years before independence, the British decided to reverse the policy of separate development, they did not establish the necessary arrangements that would protect the South in a united Sudan. Indeed, ever since independence, attempts to dominate, Islamize, and Arabize the South were the main characteristic of the successive Sudanese governments, which continuously faced the southern resistance to Arab-Muslim domination and assimilation through, what Francis Deng calls, a civil war of visions (*ibid.*, 11).

Such war of visions between the successive governments in Khartoum and liberation movements in the South started in 1955, shortly before independence was declared on January 1, 1956 (Deng, 1995: 11). At this point, the main concern of the North was to amend the divisive effect of the separatist colonial policies, seeking the unity of the country by pursuing the forced assimilation of the South through Arabization and Islamization. The South, who saw this situation as replacing the British colonialism with an Arab one, intensified its resistance, first in a political claim for a federal arrangement and later in an unorganized armed struggle for secession (*ibid.*, 12).

Even though after the British independence Sudan began as a parliamentary democracy, a military coup in 1958 gave way to a military dictatorship (Benesova, 2004: 3), which together with the callousness with which such assimilation policies were pursued in the South turned the conflict into an actual civil war in the 1960s, which culminated with the civilian overthrowing of the military regime in 1964 and the relaxation of the oppressive policies toward the South. However, with the return of democracy, the traditional political parties assumed control and resumed the assimilation policies with greater repression, which resulted in an increase of political instability. This situation lasted until 1969, when another military coup, under the leadership of Jaafar Muhammad Nimeiri, seized power (Deng, 1995: 12).

In 1972 Nimeiri's government negotiated with the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM) the Addis Ababa Agreement, which granted autonomy to the southern region (Deng, 1995: 12) composed of the three provinces of Equatoria, Bahr al Ghazal, and Upper Nile (Varma, 2011: 4), and granted recognition to the pluralistic nature of Sudanese society (Benesova, 2004: 4). Nevertheless, the regime remained under pressure from conservative fundamentalist elements, which somehow led Nimeiri to gradually move towards the imposition of the *Shari'a* (Islamic law) (Deng, 1995: 12), to the re-definition of the boundaries of the autonomous South in order to access the newly discovered oil deposits, the declaration of an Islamic State, and the termination of the autonomous status of southern regions (Varma, 2011: 5), which eventually culminated in the abrogation of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1983 (Deng, 1995: 13). This situation triggered the formation of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and its military wing, the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA), “whose declared objective was the creation of a new, secular, democratic, and pluralistic Sudan” (ibid., 13).

After two years of hostilities, a popular *intifada* (uprising) led to Nimeiri's demise in 1985 and gave way to a transitional government, which was also unable to reach a settlement with the SPLM-SPLA. The war in the South moved northward, into other non-Arab areas, such as: southern Kordofan, southern Blue Nile, and the western region of Darfur, and even though the imposition of *Shari'a* caught most of the public attention, the conflict actually became more racial, which adding up to the famines caused by droughts and the use of food as a weapon (Deng, 1995: 13) resulted in a heavy human toll of over 1.9 million lives and around 4 million IDPs another civil war, which would last for over twenty years (Benesova, 2004: 4).

After Nimeiri's overthrow, the Muslim Brotherhood (*Ikhwan al Muslimeen*), a radical religious group, reorganized itself into a political party, the NIF, which won the third largest number of seats in the parliamentary elections of 1986. The group's Islamic national agenda was endorsed by General Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir, who, in alliance with the NIF, seized power in 1989, widening the cleavage with the SPLM-SPLA. This coup d'état was seen by the SPLM-SPLA as an Islamist move by the NIF, secretly committed to the division of the country along religious lines (Deng, 1995: 16). Ever since seizing power in 1989, the government in Khartoum built on exclusion policies and fought to control political and economic resources, as well as deeper socio-cultural forms of belonging; namely, the basis of Sudanese-ness in an attempt to subdue the country under a narrowly

defined Sudanese identity, which led to the violent reaction of numerous groups (IRRI, 2012: 5).

Thus, religion became a highly divisive factor for separation, even within the SPLM-SPLA, which had been committed to unity in a united, pluralistic, democratic Sudan (Deng, 1995: 13). Nevertheless, the SPLM-SPLA agreed to participate with the government in peace talks about preserving the unity of the country, adopting a federal system of government, and correcting regional inequities in economic and social development. Such talks, however, appeared to be mere rhetoric (*ibid.*, 16). Indeed, it has been argued that fighting for equality within the framework of unity could have been a tactic aimed at separation as the ultimate goal (*ibid.*, 13). Actually, most political movements in the South have consistently called for secession from the North, and the overwhelming majority of southerners have always opted for separation. Therefore, stated goal of the SPLM-SPLA, namely, preserving the unity of the country by creating a “new Sudan” free from any discrimination based on race, ethnicity, religion, culture or gender, has been perceived as inconsistent (*ibid.*, 19-20).

After almost 50 years of struggle, two civil wars (1955-72 and 1983-2005), and a series of failed agreements, which led to the total loss of 2.5 million lives (Varma, 2011: 1) and the internal displacement of 5 million people, Sudan reached a key moment in its history in January 9, 2005, when, after almost 20 years of peace negotiations, the CPA was signed between the Government of Sudan (GoS) and the SPLM/A (Grawert, 2010: 1). Besides containing arrangements⁷ for the sharing of powers and for the distribution of oil resources, the CPA asserted the principle of self-determination for southern Sudan after a 6-year transitional period (CPA, 2005: chapters II and III). Although the CPA ostensibly ended the North-South conflict, and was expected to create a new socio-political transformation, its practical implementation adopted the same old dichotomies, failing to address the root causes of the conflict (Sikainga, 2011: 16). Indeed, by late 2010, when the CPA was about to enter its final phase, a series of important issues, such as: future arrangements on citizenship and nationality, oil and water management, currency, assets and liabilities, and security issues and international treaties, were still to be settled (International Crisis Group, 2010: 1).

⁷ It should be mentioned that the CPA's negotiation process excluded other political parties and civil society organisations, including women's. The CPA is gender blind, for gender inequality was never considered as a factor in security or in the sharing of wealth and power (Aldehaib, 2010: 7).

In the 9 January 2011 Referendum for self-determination, an overwhelming 99% of southern Sudanese voted for separation (Bützer, 2011:5). After the formal secession on July 9, 2011, a 9-month transitional period was established, during which southern Sudanese should either move to RoSS or stay in RoS as foreigners, whereby they should adjust their legal status by April 8, 2012 (HRW, 2012).

The peace process in both RoS and RoSS highly depends on the willingness of their governors. So far, neither the Islamist regime in Khartoum nor the Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS) have shown any genuine interest whatsoever in protecting their population. Instead, their foremost priority seems to be consolidating their own power at any price⁸; while the northern regime has often proved its bad intentions, the GoSS is struggling to overcome underlying problems, which are leading the country to misgovernment and corruption (Bützer, 2011: 3).

3.1.2 SOUTHERN SUDANESE IN KHARTOUM: CHANGING IDENTITIES

Displacement is deeply rooted in Sudan. Over decades, the centralized political power and economic investment in Khartoum and its periphery, together with the neglect of rural areas, have drawn thousands migrants to the Northern cities, whose cheap labour provided this area with prosperity (African Rights, 1995: 2). During the first Sudanese civil war around 800,000 people were internally displaced, amongst whom there were many secondary-school students, who continued their higher education in the north, where they later settled professionally (El-Nager, 2011: 2). Indeed, while the patterns of migration to the North before the 1980 were mainly based on cheap, un-skilled, menial jobs, in time, many of these migrants became better established, despite the negative social attitudes, and many of them became smallholders or owners of small businesses (African Rights, 1995: 9). During the peace period (1972-1983), many southern Sudanese, attracted by urban facilities such as education or health services, moved to Khartoum as labour migrants to work in the agriculture and the construction sectors. Nevertheless, it was with the resumption of the civil war in 1983 and the recurrent environmental hazards in the Western and Eastern regions, that forced migration as a nation-wide phenomenon acquired huge dimensions. Indeed, between 1983 and 1991, around 3 million people were

⁸ From January until August 2012, RoSS shut down all of its oil production, with a significant impact for both countries. While in RoS inflation and cuts in fuel and sugar subsidies have triggered public protests, in RoSS the Gross Domestic Product was envisaged to shrink by 70% in 2012 as a direct result of the shutdown. While the initial decision to cease production was greeted by patriotic enthusiasm, post-independence development shows mixed feelings regarding such decision (Ploch Blanchard, 2012: 8, 10).

estimated to have been displaced from the south, some 1.8 million of whom took refuge in Greater Khartoum (El-Nager, 2011: 2).

With the signature of the CPA in 2005, the war stopped being the cause for displacement; however, new trends appeared. By the end of 2008, some 2 million refugees and IDPs had returned to the places of origin, which in some cases translated in the outbreak of tribal and local conflicts between returnees and residents over scarce resources and services. This situation, thus, led to secondary movements towards their place of displacement (frequently Khartoum) (IDMC, 2010: 17). While the exact number of IDPs in Khartoum has always been disputed, in late 2010 Greater Khartoum area continued to host between 600,000 (GoS figures) and 1.5 million (UN figures) IDPs coming from areas in or bordering the South (IDMCb, 2011)⁹.

One of the main reasons for this uncertain numbers is that in Khartoum, and other urban areas, IDPs were not secluded in camps, but lived dispersed in the city, often becoming undistinguishable from the ‘urban poor’ (ibid). Actually, there seems to be a lack of consensus on the definition of an IDP, in that some argue that people displaced to Greater Khartoum resided there for so long that they can no longer be considered IDPs (ibid., 2010: 7). While the definition of an IDP¹⁰ implies a coercive movement within the national borders of one’s country, there is usually no clear distinction between forced and economic migrants in some particular situations. For instance, in contexts of unequal access to resources and protracted crisis it becomes hard to distinguish who is a direct or an indirect victim of the conflict (de Geffroy, 2007: 3-4). Indeed, even though after the CPA many displaced southern Sudanese returned to the south, others, having lived all their lives in Khartoum, now consider themselves permanent residents and have no wish to return to their ‘homes’ in the RoSS (ibid, 2011). Thus, it could be said that, after many years, places of displacement have become their home, where they have grown used to urban lifestyles, established community links, developed livelihoods, and become dependent on education and medical services. Additionally, many of them experience culture shock upon arrival in the RoSS, especially if they have spent most of their lives in

⁹ According to the latest update provided by OCHA, on March 6, 2013: “some 40,000 people are stranded at 40 different departure points across Khartoum, waiting for a truck, bus or a barge to take them south.”

¹⁰ According to the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement (Introduction, para. 2), IDPs are “persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border.”

an urban environment and have been educated in Arabic (IDMC, 2010: 10). Indeed, “socio-cultural and identity changes are crucial issues in decision making processes of IDPs” (de Geffroy, 2007: 15).

For the purposes of this research, it is worth mentioning that traditional leadership within the social group and the household were challenged: women and children got emancipated and in many cases men lost their role as bread winners, many people had to learn Arabic, whereby most of the children studied in Arabic, and grew unable to write or speak their mother tongue. For southern Sudanese living in Khartoum, it is not so much assimilation into North Sudanese identity, but rather the creation of a new identity of Southerners living in the North; “an identity different from Northerners’ as well as from their fathers’ identity” (de Geffroy, 2007: 15). Interestingly, the many IDPs and migrants in Khartoum State were and still are women, and their role always proved to be central in maintaining livelihoods. Some of them actually succeeded to secure a job and benefit from governmental opportunities for owning lands for permanent settlement (El-Nager, 2011: 2).

Thus, talking about southern Sudanese in Khartoum is not only limited to vulnerable IDPs, but talking about a very heterogeneous group, whose needs and wishes to return or stay cannot be assessed in the same way. It is precisely in this context that this research shall focus on analysing the current socioeconomic and legal situation of a specific group of southern Sudanese living in Khartoum, namely, a young generation of female students and workers, most of them born in the capital city, whose wishes to leave or remain in the RoS are not only affected by their particular situation in the country, but also by their gender and identity. Through a series of interviews with these women, as well as academicians, activists, and staff from international organizations, a series of key common aspects emerged, which seemed to play an important role in shaping the decision of these women to stay or leave: the legal status of the southern Sudanese staying in Khartoum and its socioeconomic implications, the importance of identity in the building of a new nation state, and the role of gender.

3.2. SUDAN: NATION-BUILDING AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

Before the separation, Sudan comprised a 40 million population divided in more than 500 different tribes, each one with its own culture and language. Ethnically, the country was divided between Arabs and Africans/Non-Arabs (80% of the population). Religiously, it was

made up by Muslims, Christians and believers of African religions (Rout Biel, 2010: 29). Throughout the years, as the lines of conflict intensified, racial, religious, and linguistic categories became strongly politicized and the basis for important power relations (Mosely Lesch, 1998: 3).

Right after Sudan's independence in 1956, the conflict between North and South started, due to a series of intertwined root causes, such as: the peripheral regions' resistance to the political and economic control by Khartoum's central government, claims for an equal distribution of the wealth generated by natural resources, or the recognition of socio-cultural diversity (IDMC, 2010: 15). Even though the conflicts in Sudan have usually been portrayed as either a continuous confrontation between simplistic (and frequently falsely constructed) binary social categories: geographically (between the North and South); ethnically (between Arabs and Africans); religiously (Muslims and Christian/non-Muslim) (IRRI, 2012: 5); or as the results of an artificially divided country in colonial times (Johnson, 2003: xiii), the complexity and cultural diversity of Sudan, makes it difficult to explain the north-south conflict only in ethnic, cultural or racial terms (ibid, 2003: 1-2). “The way in which identities have been constructed, manipulated, and designated either as superior or inferior, has led to chronic instability and heartbreaking violence” (IRRI, 2012: 5).

From 1956 the official policy of the Khartoum government tried to homogenize Sudan, reduce any diversity, and make an Arab country out of it, which was seen by South Sudanese as an Arabization project and one continuum of colonization, this time, however, of the Arab North over the African South (Madut Jok, 2012: 8). While the Arabized Sudanese elite from the North, who assumed the political, economic, and cultural power after independence, and managed the country's wealth and power amongst themselves, tried to associate themselves with the Arab world (Rout Biel, 2010: 29), the southerners, who identified themselves as Africans, and sometimes as Christians, did not accept the Arabization and Islamization policies imposed by the North (ibid., 30). It can be said, however, that many northerners genuinely assumed that their identity was ‘The National Identity’ of Sudan, and what prevailed in the South was a distorted image imposed by the British to keep the country divided. Since it was common believe in the North that Arabization and Islamization would somehow succeed and reintegrate the country, the government hurried to accelerate such cultural integration through different measures, (Deng, 1995: 35), including coercive unity measures, using explicit violence and other tactics, such as the propagation of an Arab and Islamic culture in the media (Madut Jok,

2012: 7). As a result, southern Sudanese and other peoples from peripheral areas became second-class citizens in their own country, and felt how this cultural and ethnic exclusion translated in the exclusion from basic services and political power (ibid., 8).

It can be said that the cultural, religious, historical, and ethnic diversity between northern and southern Sudan has been politicized for so long and in such ways that opposing identities have been stressed throughout the years (Rout Biel, 2010: 30). In the North and the South, identity issues have moved from the realm of self-perception to the politically contested stage of national symbolism with the implications of sharing power, wealth, and national values (Deng, 1995: 4). Thus, southern people saw an urgent need to forge a ‘unity of convenience’ or ‘unity of purpose’ (Madut Jok, 2012: 8), namely, a unity driven by the need to deal with the experiences imposed by the Arab-dominated Khartoum, which already existed in the colonial period, when the South had been purposely neglected in favour of the developed North (ibid.).

In the peace negotiations that put an end to the war in 2005, the main issue at stake was the South self-determination. There are many challenges that the new nation has to face in order to address the aspirations of the people, who fought in the war, voted for independence, and expected an independence dividend. The question at stake now is whether the independence will actually prove to be the solution for the problems South Sudan has been facing for over a half century, or it will end up disappointing people’s expectations (Madut Jok, 2012: 10).

3.2.1 A PROTRACTED CRISIS OF IDENTITY

For an ethnic inter-group conflict to happen, both opponents must have a sense of collective identity about themselves and their opponent, namely, each side must believe that the fight is between ‘us’ and ‘them’ (Kriesberg, 2010: 2). When trying to understand the roots of the Sudanese war, many have focused on the colonial powers, and their calculated moves to separate the peoples from the South and the North. Nevertheless, after more than fifty years of national rule, the problems seemed to aggravate. This led to an alternative approach to the issue, which shifted from the enemy ‘without’ to the enemy ‘within’, identifying the roots of the war as a conflict between the northern and southern identity (Al-Baqir al-Afifi Mukhtar, n.d. : 1). The historical evolution of the North-South conflict of identities shows a contradictory situation. “Self-perceptions in the North and in

the South have consolidated racial, cultural, and religious identities and attitudes that are basically sustained by confrontation and conflict” (Deng, 1995: 14).

The North, feeling that it is Arab and Muslim, has always sought to fashion the entire country on the basis of their Arab-Islamic identity (Deng, 1995: 6), resisting any attempts by non-Arab Sudanese to identify Sudan with black Africa, and trying to assimilate the South through Arabization and Islamization policies (Al-Baqir al-Afifi Mukhtar, n.d.: 2). Although the North managed to a certain extent to assimilate the non-Arab communities in the North, the South, with a colonial legacy of separate development, has always resisted the racial, cultural, and religious assimilation into the Northern Arab-Islamic pattern (Deng, 1995: 6).

In the formation of social identities, there is a core or in-group, representing the desired social identity, and a peripheral or marginal group, which has to adjust in order to identify with the model. The former is privileged and has the power to legitimize or de-legitimize the latter (Al-Baqir al-Afifi Mukhtar, n.d.: 6). The tension between these two groups may lay dormant in peaceful times, where the umbrella of identity seems to embrace every social group sharing the nation. However, in times of conflicts the centre frequently abuses the power of recognition (ibid., 7).

It could be said that social identities imply three interacting elements. First, there is the group’s perception of itself. Second, there is the others’ perception of the group. And third, there is the (mis-)recognition of the group by the center of identity (Al-Baqir al-Afifi Mukhtar, n.d.: 9). When these three elements interact contradictorily, for instance when the legitimizing powers do not recognize the community’s definition of itself, then paradoxes of identity emerge and a crisis of identity menaces to appear (ibid., 10).

Indeed, the identities of North and South in Sudan have evolved into sharply contrasting racial, cultural, and religious self-perceptions, and they are both characterized by different standards of living and varying levels of economic, social, and cultural development (Deng, 1995: 22). Time has proved that the differences between the North and the South were so wide and deep, that problems based on race, religion, culture, and ethnicity have eventually undermined the once-sought project of a unified Sudan and ended up in the partition of the country. The challenge that both parties have to face and deal with now is the realization that friendly and cooperative relations are essential to regional security and

economic growth for both countries without the domination of one by the other (ibid., 23).

It could be reasonable to think that, now that the country has separated in two, there should be room for these two contesting identities to develop separately in a peaceful and inclusive way. It is precisely in post-secessionist periods that national identities tend to be emphasized and shaped through several means, such as: exclusionist nationality laws, inflammatory media, or language policies. However, is self-determination enough to keep a country together as a nation and create a feeling of national identity and comradeship among the citizens of both countries? Can it be said that after the separation both Sudan and South Sudan have finally become countries with one single identity? Even though it could be said that the separation of South Sudan is relatively recent, so far the answers to these questions are far from being positive. As it shall be seen, a wide array of issues between the two countries are still impregnated with suspicion and pending to be solved in a sensible and coordinated way. Additionally, both countries seem to be on the way of committing the same homogenizing policies that sunk them in one of the longest conflicts in the current world.

3.2.2 UNITY OF CONVENIENCE – ‘US’ AGAINST WHOM, NOW?

As pointed out before, it could be argued that South Sudan’s history of struggle against oppression became a unifying force and a feeling shared by all southerners (Madut Jok, 2012: 8). Nevertheless, ever since Sudan came into existence, the country was indeed a cultural melting pot. Not only did the peoples from the southern have differentiated from those in the north, but the differences among the several southern groups were also palpable. Nevertheless, such differences seemed to be outnumbered by a series of commonalities, such as: modes of production and livelihood, religious and cultural traditions (ibid., 7).

This historical line is meant to be used as a tool to assert the claim to oneness of all southern Sudanese through shared experiences, and thus prevent and counterweigh any possible claim that a country as diverse as South Sudan has no base upon which to build a sense of nationhood. In any case, “unity among southern Sudanese historically has been based more on how [culturally, religiously, linguistically, ethnically and racially] different they are from northerners than on the commonalities among them” (Madut Jok, 2012: 7). Indeed, “without the North, [the South] would not have developed the unity of purpose

that, though still precarious, has characterized all rebel movements despite chronic tribal rivalries and divisiveness” (Deng, 1995: 14).

It could be argued that the real shaping of the southern Sudanese identity was the second North-South war (1983–2005). Among all the grievances that led to such war, there were: the protests against the application of the *sharia* by President Nimeiri; the redrawing of North-South borders to annex some newly discovered oil-rich areas to the North; the proposal of an oil refinery in Port Sudan instead of in areas of production in the South; and the plan to split the then-autonomous South in three weaker regions, abrogating the Addis Ababa Agreement, which had put an end to the first civil war (Madut Jok, 2012: 9). In other words, “being a South Sudanese was not only a matter of geography, but of cultural, ethnic, and racial connections, juxtaposed against the historical injustices done by colonial powers and the Khartoum government” (ibid.).

While the unity of purpose that kept the South together was a negative unity, namely, an opposition to the North, once the war between Sudan and South Sudan came to an end after the separation, chances are that old ethnic disputes within the country reappear, as it has been proved through a series of rebellions against the Juba government, based on the perception that political power in Juba has been dominated by a few ethnic groups, mainly the Dinka (Madut Jok, 2012: 10). Similarly, the current RoSS seems to be divided between those who physically fought in the war and seem to have a special right to government privileges, and those who did not and now feel excluded. Indeed, “the history of exclusion, which is the source of South Sudan’s hope for unity, also can provoke competing viewpoints among southerners” (ibid., 11).

Currently, RoSS can be basically referred to as a geographical expression. With more than sixty cultural and linguistic groups, each of which with a stronger feeling of citizenship in their tribes than in the nation, the main glue holding the country together is the history of its struggle against a common ‘enemy’: the North. It was such struggle that transcended ethnic boundaries, emphasizing the unity of purpose during the war, and fostered the general conviction about separate nationhood from the North (Madut Jok, 2012: 2).

3.2.3 NOW THAT ‘THEY’ ARE GONE...

While the secession of South Sudan created a new state, it also transformed the remnant RoS in many ways: demographically¹¹, geographically, linguistically, culturally, ethnically, and economically¹². Nevertheless, despite all those changes, RoS has not only failed in reaching an economic, political, and social stability, but still has the old patterns and mentality of violence and repression as main means of governance (Verjee, 2011: 35).

Almost two years after the secession of the South, and despite Governmental statements¹³ of a homogenized RoS, with the imposition of the *Sharia* Law and Arabic language, RoS remains a diverse country, with different peoples, traditions, and unresolved issues, such as the war in Darfur, which is far from over. With the targeting of Christian minorities in Khartoum, in April 2012, and the conflicts in South Kordofan and Blue Nile, Sudan is a country with a never-ending conflict over the meaning and authenticity of national identity. Even though it can be said that in the current context, one periphery has supplanted another, Khartoum is still the antagonist, and reacts to protests as it has always done historically: with coercion, co-option, or neglect (Verjee, 2011: 35).

“The present Northern Sudanese identity is the culmination of a complex historical process that at times entailed contradictions” (Deng, 2004: 6). Deng attributes the crisis of identity in Sudan mainly to two overlapping sets of discrepancies: the racial and cultural anomalies of Arabism, and the official perception of an Arab and Islamic identity in a context where most people are non-Arab (ibid., 1995: vii-viii). There are three main elements that can apply to the Sudanese crisis of identity. First, there is a disparity between the Sudanese’s self-perception of themselves and others’ perception of them. Thus, while they think of themselves as Arabs, most Arabs, especially in the Gulf, do not consider them as such, but rather as *abid* or slaves. While these “real Arabs” are at the core stage of this identity, and can legitimize or de-legitimize peripheries’ claims, northern Sudanese represent the peripheral Arab identity, hoping to be drawn to the centre, as a sign of recognition (Al-Baqir al-Afifi Mukhtar, n.d.: 11). Second, there is the northern

¹¹ According to the 2008 national census, in Sudan there were 39,154,490 inhabitants at the time. On South Sudan’s independence, in 2011, Sudan’s population dropped by more than a fifth (Verjee, 2011: 35-36).

¹² In 2011, GDP declined by 3.9 %. Oil cuts, as a result of the South’s secession, have been the cause of an important inflation in the country (Verjee, 2011: 36-37).

¹³ In December 2010, President al-Bashir stated: “... if South Sudan secedes, we will change the constitution and at that time there will be no time to speak of diversity of culture and ethnicity”. (Moszynski, 2011).

Sudanese “ambiguity” about identity, namely, are they considered Arabs, Sudanese Arabs, Black Africans? (ibid., 12). Finally, there are a series of “misfits” of identity. “While they believe that they are the descendants of an ‘Arab father’ and an ‘African mother’, they seem to identify with the father, albeit invisible, and despise the mother who is so visible in their features” (ibid., 13). Indeed, there is an obvious misfit in the Northern self between the body and the mind, the skin colour and the culture (ibid.).

The problem of the South-North war might be over after the secession. However, while the Southern problem with the North can be officially considered finished, the Northerners’ identity crisis is still a fact (Al-Baqir al-Afifi Mukhtar, n.d.: 45). Indeed, the long-standing North-South divide has left other peoples of the North, such as the Nuba, the Ingessana, and other non-Arab groups in Darfur, in a difficult position, because, even though they are geographically “Northerners”, they do not share equal access to the resources of the State (African Rights, 1995: 5).

3.2.4 PLAYING THE NATIONALITY CARD

As mentioned earlier in this Chapter, when the CPA was about to enter its final phase, by late 2010, a series of important issues were still to be settled, and citizenship was one of them (International Crisis Group, 2010: 1).

It was in 1957 that Sudan had its first Nationality Act, whereby a person was Sudanese if he or his father was born in Sudan, and he or his direct male ancestors had been resident in Sudan since the 1924. Naturalization was possible on a 10-year residence period and women married to Sudanese men could become naturalized based on two years residence (Manby, 2012b: 16). In 1993 a new Sudan Nationality Act (SNA) was drafted and enacted one year after, and remained in force in the RoS, with the amendments in 2005 (with the adoption of the Interim National Constitution), and in 2011 (with the secession of SS)(ibid.). The 1993 SNA main amendments were that: the required period for a resident in Sudan to become a naturalized Sudanese citizen was reduced to five years (SNA, 1994: Chapter 3 (1)(c)); and the applicable date for claiming nationality by birth based on domicile of a male ancestor moved to 1956 (ibid: Chapter 2 (1)(bii)). Nevertheless, gender discrimination in the transmission of nationality to children and to spouses remained (ibid., Chapter 2 (1)(bi)).

In 2005, within the framework of the CPA, an Interim National Constitution (INC) was adopted. Article 7 (2) of the new Constitution maintained the gender-neutral rules introduced in the 1998 Constitution for the transmission of nationality, while article 7(4) explicitly allowed dual nationality and article 7(3) delegated rules on naturalization to legislation. In 2005, the 1994 Sudan Nationality Law was amended, whereby for the first time gave the child of a Sudanese woman and non-Sudanese father the right to apply for nationality (SNA, 2005: Chapter 2, 4(3)).

Such was the situation until the January 2011 Referendum, when South Sudan voted for its secession from the RoS, officially obtaining its independence on the 9th July 2011 (Sikainga, 2011: 11), and implementing on the very same day the South Sudanese Nationality Act 2011 (SSNA). Under this act, and more specifically Section 8, attributes South Sudanese nationality by birth: to individuals born after the enforcement of such an act with one parent, grandparent or great-grandparent born in South Sudan, and to individuals belonging to one of the indigenous ethnic communities of South Sudan; to those who (or whose parents or grandparents) have been habitual residents of South Sudan since 1956; to those whose any parent was a South Sudanese National by birth or naturalization at the time of the birth of that person; and to deserted children of unknown parents (SSNA, 2011: Section 8). Section 10 of the law establishes the acquisition of nationality by naturalization on 10 years' residence and other conditions. As opposed to the SNA, Section 13 of the SSNA determines that a man or a woman married to a South Sudanese may acquire the spouse's nationality after five years' residence in South Sudan.

Nevertheless, as it happens in cases of state secession, the change of territorial sovereignty from the predecessor to the successor state entails several legal consequences for both sides, the predecessor state (RoS) and the successor state (RoSS) (Scherr, 2011: 100). Indeed, as stated by international law, in cases of state succession, both states must prevent statelessness (Manby, 2011: 39). On the one hand, the successor state shall attribute its nationality to persons with their habitual residence in its territory, as well as to those with an appropriate legal connection to the successor state. On the other hand, the predecessor State may withdraw the nationality of persons qualified to obtain the nationality of the Successor State, only after such persons have acquired the nationality of the Successor State (ILC Draft Articles, 1999: art.24 and 25).

In the case of Sudan, there ought to have been an agreement between the two countries to resolve the nationality status of those with a connection to both of them before the

official independence in July. Although the big number of southern Sudanese living in the North (be it as IDPs or as labour migrants)¹⁴, led to the establishment of a nine-month period of grace so that ‘Southerners’ living in RoS could regularize their status by the 8th of April 2012 (Manby, 2012a: 1), the lack of political will has led both sides to separately and uncoordinatedly pass laws to regulate the lingering nationality questions (Scherr, 2011: 100).

For instance, an important aspect to consider is that despite the fact that in Sudan dual citizenship has been allowed with any other country since 1993, one month after the enforcement of the SSNA in 2011, an amendment of the Article 10 (2) of the Sudanese Nationality Act 1994 on loss of nationality was passed, whereby “Sudanese nationality shall automatically be revoked if the person has acquired, *de jure* or *de facto*, the nationality of South Sudan”, had direct effects on a series of public policies and social programs in areas such as health care, education, and job access. These are, indeed, central aspects of state nationalism and the basis to strengthen the national community defined by the state, which usually comes with a discourse about collective identities with nation-building effects. Additionally, such programs involve mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion in order to build the ‘in-group’ of national community, creating bonds between citizens, and giving real-world existence to ‘imagined communities’ (Kpessa et al, 2011: 2118). In Sudan, deprivation of citizenship has proved to be a mechanism of exclusion in several socioeconomic areas, such as the impossibility to work in the public sector, property owning (since the Constitution protects the right to property for Sudanese nationals) (2005 Interim Constitution: Part II, section 43) or access to education and public health care, which is also restricted to nationals (*ibid*: sections 44 and 46).

This aspect is obvious in the new SSNA, which for the very first time introduces an ethnic definition into Sudanese nationality law, moving away from previous nationality definitions in the country, where it based on birth and residence in the country¹⁵.

¹⁴ During the first civil war (1956-1972), around 800,000 people were internally displaced in the country. Amongst them there were students, for instance, who continued their upper education and consequently established in the North. During the peace period 1972-1983, many Southerners, attracted by urban facilities such as education or health services, migrated to the North as labour migrants. It was in 1983, with the resumption of civil war, that massive forced flows started to occur. Between 1983 and 1991, some 3 million people were estimated to have fled the South, 1.8 million of whom settled in Greater Khartoum (El-Nager, 2011).

¹⁵ See Chapter III, art. (1)(b) of the new SSNA and Chapter II, art. 4.(1), (2), (3), and (4) of the SNA, 2005.

Moreover, it assumes that South Sudanese citizenship is awarded automatically to those eligible even if they live outside of RoSS and/or have no wish to obtain it (Scherr, 2011: 101). It can be argued that, while the broad provisions of the SSNA reduce the possibility of statelessness for those resident in RoSS, and it is probably the most viable way to grant nationality in this case (mainly due to bureaucracy issues and the problems of obtaining civil documentation of birth and residence), the situation is more complicated for those ethnically Southerners living in the North. Indeed, those who actually ‘look’ southern Sudanese but live in the North and have no wish to obtain the Southern citizenship or have weak connections with the South, are not provided with any explicit procedure to renounce the Southern nationality and retain the Sudanese one (Manby, 2012a: 2).

Moreover, the SNA does not provide any right of appeal against a decision to withdraw Sudanese nationality. While there is the possibility to apply for an administrative appeal or a judicial review or to challenge such decision before the Constitutional Court, most of these processes are likely to be inaccessible to most affected individuals (Manby, 2012b: 31).

The Amendment 10(2) to the SNA 2011 contradicts Article 15 of the ILC Draft Articles, 1999, in that it discriminates people on grounds of national origin, and also violates Article 25 of the same instrument, in that it automatically withdraws the nationality even to those who have only de facto the nationality of RoSS, even if that person has not acquired (or is not willing to acquire) de jure the nationality of the successor state. Moreover, it does not respect the issues of habitual residence and appropriate connection states in the same article. This situation could translate in the loss of citizenship of many people with only weak links to RoSS (and strong ties in the North), and of those not being able to prove their right to Southern nationality due to their weak ties to SS. The amendment to the SNA implies that a person with one Sudanese and one South Sudanese parent will lose their Sudanese nationality, which conflicts with the Section 7(2) of the 2005 INC.

Since the separation, both RoS and RoSS have implemented contradictory Nationality Acts, whereby citizenship is based on ethnic and tribal affiliation, instead of on inclusive and non-discriminatory criteria, which would avoid rendering many people vulnerable and stateless. Indeed, the insistence of RoS on granting single nationality to southern Sudanese, while allowing double citizenship to other nationalities, is in clear contravention to non-discriminatory criteria, as established in the ILC Draft Articles, for instance. Instead of basing citizenship issues on ethnic affiliation, both countries should consider other more

viable possibilities, such as the previously mentioned stake-holder principle or *jus nexi*. Besides the legal dimension, the often arbitrary deprivation of citizenship poses additional socioeconomic hardships which undermine human security. As it appears, both Governments have been using each other’s citizens living in their territories as a set of cards to be played according to the political situation at the higher tops. The transportation problems, the denial of job opportunities and property owning, the inflammatory media, as well as the restrictions to access to education and public health care, have been arbitrarily applied since the separation.

It could be argued that this situation has not only had an important socioeconomic impact on individuals, but a general negative impact on both countries. While the RoSS is rich in natural resources, which are scarce in the North, the RoS not only counts with the necessary infrastructure to make use of such resources, but also with the necessary human and material capital (namely, Universities, hospitals, schools, roads), which up till now, are still very scarce in the South.

3.3 CONCLUSION

This Chapter has provided the reader with the necessary background on the protracted crisis of identities Sudan has been facing since time immemorial as well as with the current situation in both countries, whereby new identities are being shaped in a context where citizenship and nationality are used as exclusionary tools. Bearing this in mind, the following Chapter gives an account of the approach and methods used in this dissertation, before moving on to the next Chapter, where the fieldwork findings are analyzed.

CHAPTER 4: APPROACH AND METHODS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter serves the purpose of establishing not only the methodology followed in this research, but also of determining both the settings and the sample group. After justifying the selection of the city of Khartoum as the main setting of this research, as well as the specific sample group (a group of young and educated southern Sudanese women living in Khartoum), Chapter 4 gives an account of the methodology used in this qualitative research, namely, Grounded Theory, as well as the interviewing techniques utilized throughout the research.

4.1 SETTINGS

The city of greater Khartoum is the location of the fieldwork conducted in this research. More specifically, interviews were conducted in the three main cities making up greater Khartoum: Omdurman (the traditional cultural, economic, and political centre), Khartoum North (industrial and residential area), and Khartoum (the capital city) (Tønnessen, 2011: 67). Besides being the greatest and most populated urban centre in the country, greater Khartoum is also the heart of the country’s religious, political, economical, and educational life (ibid.). On the one hand, it is the home of the majority of the country’s skilled and highly educated people, and despite the scarce natural resources of the area, it is where most industrial development in the country takes place. On the other hand, however, poverty and unemployment, especially among the educated youngsters, are widespread in the city. Such decrease of job opportunities, together with the numerous IDPs has deepened both social and economic insecurity, which, in turn, has led the government to pour resources into the military, the police and the intelligence, rather than improving public services, such as health or education (ibid., 69).

Given time constraints and security concerns¹⁶, greater Khartoum was the only setting explored in this research. Even though at the very early stages this geographical boundaries were considered quite an important hindering for the quality of the final results

¹⁶ Due to the tense political situation in the country during the research period (15/07/2012-30/11/2012), travelling freely to certain areas was deemed relatively unsafe and time consuming, due to permit requirements, which would have hindered the data collection and the final results.

of the research, as the fieldwork was conducted and unexpected issues started to emerge, such as the important role of education and employment, confining the research to the capital city, which is actually the socio-economic and cultural hub of the country and the region, became not only a useful but also a sensible demarcation.

4.2 SAMPLE GROUP AND INTERVIEWS

Indeed, Khartoum has traditionally attracted thousands of the most heterogeneous groups of people: national and foreign labour migrants, IDPs, and refugees, among others. Drawing on the evolution of North-South relations in Sudan explained in Chapter 3, southern Sudanese still living in Khartoum are far from being a homogeneous group with similar needs and expectations. Indeed, their heterogeneity is based on a series of factors, such as: economic, legal, and marital status, educational level, age, gender, reasons that led them to move to Khartoum, and other personal traits. For these reasons, trying to assess the situation of every southern Sudanese living in Khartoum in the same study, would not only require years of research and several written volumes, but would also run the risk of generalizing the situation of these people, which would be pointless in a qualitative dissertation, such as this one.

It is for these reasons that the study group addressed in this research confines to a group of young, relatively highly educated southern Sudanese women living in greater Khartoum. The decision to focus the research on this particular group stems from personal and practical reasons. Before deciding on a research topic, it is important for every researcher to establish the limits of such research after reflecting on practicalities, such as research volume, available time, and viability (in this case, security and mobility limitations, as mentioned before). In this particular case, there were several aspects to be taken into consideration. On the one hand, for many years Sudan has been a conflict-ridden country. Even after the CPA in 2005 and the subsequent secession of the South in 2011, both countries still face numerous and problematic issues, both within and across borders. On the other hand, southern Sudanese living in the RoS, and particularly in Khartoum, are a highly politicized and hence securitised issue, especially when it comes to men, which are considered a security threat, and therefore face quite a delicate situation in the RoS. Southern Sudanese women, however, while facing other challenges, were not considered a security concern, which made them more accessible for this research.

As previously mentioned, the characteristic heterogeneity of the southern Sudanese living in Khartoum was something to be considered and addressed from the very beginning. While accessing southern women was relatively easy, regardless of their situation, after having spent one month in Khartoum and having had the chance to informally talk to women living different situations and coming from different backgrounds, the differences existing between them were so acute that trying to cover them all would have not been doable. Thus, after long considering all the aspects, and taking advantage of being conducting an internship at Ahfad University for Women, which put me in touch with many southern Sudanese students, I decided to narrow my sample group to young, relatively highly educated southern Sudanese women living in greater Khartoum.

It is important to highlight, though, that despite the gender perspective adopted in this dissertation, the aim of this research is not to give an account of the women's situation as compared to that of men's, but to explore these women's experiences, feelings and expectations and various challenges facing them at the dawn of the separation.

During a five-month stay in Khartoum, extensive research and data collection was conducted between July and November 2012. Throughout this period, following the so-called snowball sampling methods¹⁷, 24 interviews were carried out in the three cities making up greater Khartoum (see Bibliography and Appendix I for details). Most of such interviews, which ranged from 40 minutes to one and a half hours, were conducted in English, recorded, and transcribed. However, and at the request of some of the interviewees, Arabic was spoken and notes were taken in some interviews, instead of recording the conversation. It is important to point out that the quotations from the interviews used in this dissertation (most of them in Chapter 5), have been transcribed as faithfully as possible to the original version delivered by the interviewees, in order not to miss the emotional and personal aspects of each intervention. Therefore, some grammatical incoherencies (normal in the oral discourse) can be found in some of these quotations. Only in some cases, where grammatical mistakes hindered the fluent understanding of the statement, some minor and purely grammatical corrections have been made to the original versions.

¹⁷ Snowball sampling is understood as a technique for gathering research subjects, whereby an initial subject provides the names and contacts of other actors, who may, at the same time, open possibilities for a web of contacts (Atkinson and Flint: 2004).

While most women were interviewed only once, mainly because their student status for the following years did not give them much flexibility, such as indefinitely moving to RoSS or starting working (unless they would drop their studies), three of these women (Gloria, Christine, and Josephina) were interviewed twice, mainly because at the time of the first interview they were in a ‘transitional period’ trying or hoping to change their current situation, be it because they had finished studying, or because they were seeking to secure a job in RoSS before moving there.

Due to the methodological approach used to conduct this research, namely, Grounded Theory (see Section 4.2), all interviews were conducted in a semi-structured way. It should be pointed out that, being aware of the possible bias that could result in using this type of interviews (Boyce and Neale, 2006: 3), a narrative-interview approach was also considered appropriate for this context. However, the fact of the researcher being a complete foreigner to the interviewees seemed to be a hindrance to such an approach, in that when it was tried, the interviewees answered very briefly, avoiding details. Semi-structured interviews, however, permitted a much more flexible approach. Additionally, the fact of starting the interviews more as informal conversations seemed to create a distended and relaxed effect in most interviewees (ibid.). Moreover, this type of interviewing allows for focusing the conversation towards the research topics, while at the same time allows for flexibility and spontaneous questions when new issues emerge (Bryman, 2006: 320).

Besides the interviews with the research target group, legal documents (such as Nationality Acts) and interviews with experts and academicians were also conducted and analysed. Since an important aspect of grounded theory is analysing the data as it is collected, after each interview, personal impressions or relevant thoughts and reflections were recorded in a diary for further reflection on the topic, and possible introduction in forthcoming interviews. The outcomes of informal conversations and observations were also noted in the same diary. Additionally, the data collected was reviewed weekly, whereby a memo with the most outstanding emerging topics was also regularly updated.

4.2 GROUNDED THEORY

After considering the nature of the field of research and the attempt to conduct an in-depth analysis of an unexplored phenomenon, the current study is based on a qualitative approach –more specifically, on grounded theory methods- because it shall provide the

opportunity to stay open for research subjects and methods, so that unexpected information can take part in the emerging theory, whereby hypothesis, instead of being made in advance, can be changed during the research. Indeed, when examining socio-cultural and behavioural topics, qualitative methods are more helpful, since they permit a closer contact with the subjects of research, who at the same time provide their own personal perceptions of a particular social phenomenon (Bützer, 2011: 141-142).

As explained before, Sudan is a conflict-ridden country, where peace between North and South seems to be hanging by a thread that can be broken by any of the highly complex and changeable issues undermining both countries' stability. As a result, this research took place in an evolving and changing context, namely during the months before and after the signature of the Addis Ababa Agreement 2012, which contained a clause on the Four Freedoms Agreement, including the 'Framework Agreement on the Status of Nationals of the Other State and Related Matters', which was formalized by the GoS and the GoSS on 27 September 2012. It is due to these unfolding situations without yet a clear shape that a long-term concept of the situation of southern Sudanese in the RoS is hard to grasp, and it is precisely the current changeability of events in both countries and the challenges this situation implies, that has been reflected in this research.

For this reason, grounded theory was considered to be the most appropriate method in this context, since it provides the researcher with a certain margin of flexibility to adapt and delimit the research as the data is collected and analyzed (Charmaz, 2006: 25-26). Indeed, one of the main characteristics of grounded theory is that the researcher does not start with a clear-cut research question, but with an area of interest, which becomes more and more specific with the development of the research itself (Corbin and Strauss, 1990: 419). By adopting grounded theory methods, a relatively unknown field can be approached in a more open manner, whereby participants' selection, data collection and data analysis are conducted at the same time. Indeed, it is through the collection, coding, and analysis of data that the final research question emerges (Bützer, 2011: 156).

The first analytic step in grounded theory is coding, which means “categorizing segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarizes and accounts for each piece of data, [...] in order to begin an analytic accounting of them” (Charmaz, 2006: 43). In other words, coding can be understood as the link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain such data (ibid., 46).

Coding consists of at least two phases: initial coding and focused coding. As for the former, segments of data are studied (in this case: sentences and segments), whereas in the focused coding, the most useful codes are selected and tested against extensive data (Charmaz, 2006:42). The main goal of the initial coding is to remain open to all possible theoretical directions indicated by the collected data. Later on, the focused coding shall develop the most salient categories in large groups of data, which shall lead to theoretical integration (ibid., 46).

As the initial coding develops, a question should be asked: which theoretical categories do the statements indicate? Indeed, telling news can be filled with dilemmas, hesitations, and explanations. “Telling the news can open the self to view, risk emotional costs, and force questions about relationships” (Charmaz, 2006: 45). Indeed, what people tell, when they tell it, and the way they tell it matter all the same (ibid.). The use of language is very important and reflects point of view and values. Since the researcher creates their codes, they might think that such codes capture the empirical reality, but it is still the researcher’s views and understandings. Nevertheless, the researcher should go back to their codes and try to understand their participants’ views from their perspectives, and most importantly, “stick closely to the data” (ibid., 47). During the initial coding codes are created by understanding accounts, feelings, stories and the participants’ points of view, rather than applying preconceived codes or categories to the data (ibid., 46). As part and parcel of an emergent method of conducting research, during the initial grounded theory coding the researcher might realize that there is a lack of needed data. Indeed, making ‘discoveries’ about the worlds under study and conceptualizing them is what grounded theory is about. The advantage of this method is that, from the very early stages of the research, the researcher may learn about gaps in their data, and thus, locate sources of such data and gather them (ibid., 48). With the initial coding the researcher “gains distance from [their] preconceptions and [their] participants’ taken-for-granted assumptions about the material so that [they] can see it in new light” (ibid., 55).

Focused coding, however, means using the most significant or frequent codes to analyze which initial codes make the most analytic sense to categorize the available data in a complete manner (Charmaz, 2006: 57).

Thus, drawing of the above aspects of grounded theory, instead of starting from any hypothesis, the present research started with a more general question related to the legal status of southern Sudanese still living in the RoS. As the interviews developed, the results

started to point out not so much to strictly legal issues, but more towards matters of identity, patriotism, and other challenges affecting the decision to stay in or leave Khartoum. The initial coding of the interviews to southern Sudanese women indicated that the decision to stay in the RoS or go to the RoSS was not only based on practical aspects, such as economic situation, social links, or services/facilities in both countries, but also on a deeper, and sometimes contradictory, sense of belonging and patriotism as well as on the fact of being a woman. Such aspects, which were initially not planned to study, arose in most interviews, and through the focused coding, a series of categories started to emerge.

While such categories overlapped many times, in order to analyze the results and give a clear account of them, they were classified in two main sections. On the one hand, the different challenges, opportunities, and coping strategies faced by the interviewed women living in Khartoum are analyzed. On the other hand, the different challenges, opportunities and coping strategies faced by the same women when considering going to RoSS are also addressed and analyzed.

4.3 CONCLUSION

Chapter 4 has been aimed to justify not only the methodology followed, but also the selection of the setting and the sample group in this research. Thus, both the analysis of the conducted interviews and the review of several recent reports give way to the next Chapter, where the fieldwork has been thoroughly analyzed and organized accordingly to provide the answers to the main questions asked in the introduction of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 5: “WE’RE ALL CHILDREN OF THE SAME FATHER, BUT THEN WE’VE BEEN SEPARATED”

5.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter 5 contains the main findings obtained from the fieldwork conducted, as explained in the previous chapter. In order to facilitate the reading and understanding of the situation, the Chapter is divided in two main sections. Each section deals with the different challenges and opportunities that this group of women have to face, regardless of the decision they take: staying in Khartoum or going to RoSS. Additionally, in each of the two sections, the different coping strategies used by these women are also described.

5.1 SEPARATED CHILDREN OF THE SAME FATHER

Almost every southern Sudanese is quick to declare their Southern citizenship, and it seems obvious that they are ready to work and fight for it. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether they all refer to the same South, or the different *Souths* envisioned by each ethnic group (Madut Jok, 2012: 10). As it can be grasped from the fieldwork conducted for this research, however, just as it is currently happening in both countries, the interviewed women showed clear internal identity challenges, where their perceptions and ‘visions of home’ may not correspond with reality.

Both the CPA and the Referendum for independence had a great impact on the Sudanese in general, to a greater extent on the lives of some two million southern Sudanese living in Khartoum at that time (Bützer, 2011: 2). Intimidating and aggressive suggestions made by senior northern officials regarding their uncertain status in Khartoum, should the South decide to secede, led to mass return movements. Nevertheless, the lack of services, development and overall security in the current RoSS turned the ‘returning’ to the South into not such an easy decision to make (ibid., 3).

As pointed out in Chapter 3, southern Sudanese living in Khartoum are a heterogeneous group facing a series of opportunities and challenges, related to health, education, or employment opportunities, amongst others, which shape their decision to stay or leave. Interestingly, their unique identity - which has been shaped after having lived all their lives in the urbanized city of Khartoum within the context of traditional southern families who,

to a lesser or higher extent, socialized them into the southern traditions and values - turns the decision to stay or leave into a very complex one, as very well expressed by Christine: *“it’s like we’re all children of the same father but then we’ve been separated”*.

5.2 BETTER THE DEVIL YOU KNOW...?

The splitting of Sudan and the consequent deprivation of citizenship rights for those southern Sudanese living in RoS undermines human security and makes people face additional socioeconomic hardships, such as: denial of job opportunities in the formal market (many of these people have lost their jobs in the public and, to a high extent, in the private sector); property owning (since the Constitution protects the right to property for Sudanese nationals (2005 Interim Constitution: Part II, section 43)); or access to education and public health care, which is also restricted to nationals (*ibid.*, sections 44 and 46). It can be said, thus, that this deprivation of rights, which adds up to the high politicization of the issue of southern Sudanese in RoS, places them in an even worse position than refugees, because while there are international instruments protecting the rights of the latter, southern Sudanese living in Khartoum can be considered to be in a sort of political and ever-changing ‘limbo’. As stated by Gloria: *“I feel like I’m a refugee here: I cannot go my country because there are no opportunities there, and here my chances are limited, just like a refugee.”*

It could be argued that this new legal status and the socioeconomic consequences attached to it, have a deeper impact for those who, despite being ethnically southern Sudanese, were born and raised in Khartoum, as it happens with the case study group of this research. For some of these women, ‘returning’ to the South makes little sense, since most of them have never been there. Indeed, the separation suddenly turned them into foreigners in what used to be their country and separated them from their families, most of whom moved to RoSS for different reasons. Therefore, it could be said that these women’s feelings of belonging are hard to ascertain, because even though they have always lived in Khartoum, with all the implications it entails, they also grew up in families with strong traditions and ties to South Sudan, whereby the socialization process has an important (if not decisive) role in their decision-making process.

5.2.1 CHALLENGES

The southern Sudanese women interviewed for this dissertation touched on a series of challenges they faced in Khartoum. While some of these challenges were already present before the separation (such as feelings of discrimination or hard economic situation), it was especially afterwards that they intensified and new ones appeared, in particular, those related with their citizenship status.

Even though many of these challenges are interconnected and have repercussions on one another, they have been classified in seven aspects, in order to provide a clearer insight of them. They are: feelings of insecurity; paperwork and legal status; property issues; employment and economic issues, mobility limitations; family links and belonging; and discrimination, harassment and social exclusion.

FEELINGS OF INSECURITY

Arbitrary Legal System

It could be argued that, according to the respondents, their feelings, and personal experiences, the GoS is characterized mainly by arbitrary laws. In other words: a changing and unpredictable legislation, which translates in human insecurity. As Dr. Al-Baqir Al-Afif, then director of Al Khatim Adlan Center for Enlightenment and Human Development (KACE)¹⁸, pointed out, the Sudanese legal system is not based on justice, objectivity, or common sense, but on Governmental whims, which usually use people as a set of cards in, what could be described as, a North-South political game. According to some respondents, it is this changing and unpredictable situation that creates a feeling of insecurity and mistrust among people.

It should be pointed out, however, that such arbitrariness is seen by some people, such as Gloria, as somehow ‘advantageous’, in that the whole situation depends not only on what the law says but “*on who you know*”, whereby those having acquaintances, friends, or colleagues before the separation, are still treated as Sudanese citizens in many circumstances, in what the respondent describes as a sympathetic feeling towards them. Nevertheless, such corrupt political and administrative system, where things are done depending on contacts and how much you are ready to pay for it, constitutes a clear

¹⁸ The center was suddenly closed by the Humanitarian Aid Commission (HAC) on December 12, 2012 (Sudan Tribune, 2013).

source of uneasiness for the majority. Situations ranging from having to bribe authorities to cross borders (Kuei), or needing personal contacts to obtain the necessary paperwork on time to enrol University (Apiu), leads to what Dr. Al-Baqir calls, a paralegal system, whereby no one can be sure of what is going to happen next. This situation answers the amazingly generalized unawareness on laws, new status, agreements affecting citizenship and rights, which, in turn, have led many people to take uninformed or ill-informed decisions, especially related with the selling of property or with travelling without the necessary documents to be able to return.

Inflammatory Media

National media, which usually becomes a governmental tool to strengthen national identity (see Chapter 2), was also considered by all the women as a means of increasing insecurity for southerners living in the RoS. Indeed, most interviewees claimed that the media discourse in RoS enhanced differences, racism, and insecurity, encouraging people to hurriedly leave RoS: “*The media in the North said that: ‘We don’t want any black people to stay here anymore’, ‘They can’t even get any injection in the hospital, we will not help them’*” (Elisabeth). Thus, as Gloria acknowledges, media has been used as a tool to politicise and securitize the southern Sudanese issue, scaring people to leave quickly in order to fulfil a clear political agenda. Interestingly enough, even though most respondents claimed to feel safe and socially accepted within each one’s communities of northern Sudanese neighbours or colleagues, the inflammatory media, openly displaying the threatening discourse of political leaders, seemed to have the necessary power override such feelings and create an insecure atmosphere (El-Nager, Interview on 11/08/12). Indeed, while most respondents claimed that within their direct social circle, at work or University, they felt safe and included, a clear-cut line between the society and government cannot be not clearly drawn. As other studies shown, many interviewees try to distinguish between society and government (Büztner, 2011: 213), and even though according to most of them “*the whole problem comes from the Government, not civilians*” (Kuei), society is usually the context where mistreatment happens.

PAPERWORK AND LEGAL STATUS

It could be said that the issuing of the necessary papers to southern Sudanese living in RoS (e.g. visa, passport, or residence permit) is subject not only to the above-mentioned arbitrariness but also to the people’s knowledge in legal aspects. Despite the fact that in

earlier in 2012, Sudanese authorities announced that those southern Sudanese staying in the RoS would be treated as foreigners and should, therefore, adjust their legal status by April 8th 2012 (HRW, 2012: 1), the experiences of the interviewed people vary from this theoretical deadline. Indeed, as on the 5th of August 2012, Gloria claimed: *“My citizenship is on process. Now I have the South Sudanese Registration Card. That is enough to make things easy, so I can be identified”*. Anne’s experience, however, was much more complicated, especially after her visiting RoSS in April 2012. While she left RoS without a visa, when she wanted to go back to pursue her studies, she found out that she had to obtain a entry visa to RoS, and that the only possible way to do it, at that time, was exclusively from Khartoum through a long, complicated, and costly process. This instances the situation of many women, who are trapped because of lack of information and clarity, unaffordable costs, complications of legal status and official and travel documents, which even though they are available and can be legally obtained and paid for, they may no longer be valid in both parts of the country.

Even though all interviewees were aware of their new documentation needs, only a few seemed to be sure of what documents they actually needed, since there are wide and unclear varieties of ID possibilities for southern Sudanese in the RoS. Indeed, while most of them were in the same situation (students in Khartoum) they seemed to hold different permits: some of them had a visa (with different validity); some others had no passport (because they had not left the RoS after the separation); some of them still had and used their former Sudanese ID, although they are *de facto* no longer Sudanese; only some of them had a registration card. This situation is directly linked to the former section, whereby in an unorganized and arbitrary system, having one or another ID form, or even no ID at all, is not considered a problem: *“No, I don’t need that. I got the residence permit first so I didn’t feel like I needed that card. I don’t know if I need it”* (Apiu). However, especially in moments of political distress, as it has happened in the past, it can increase insecurity and be used as a tool to randomly decide who has certain rights and who does not: *“They are not harassed for a permit. [...] But when there is a tension between the leaders, some of them may be harassed. It is a reaction to the political dialogue”* (El-Nager, Interview on 11/08/12).

It has to be pointed out, that although these situations of uncertainty, are perceived by the respondents as the exclusive responsibility of the authorities of RoS, the GoSS is also to be held accountable for such situation, in that it is the responsible one for informing its own

citizens on such issues. Indeed, due to political tensions, on March 13th 2011, RoSS's ruling party suspended negotiations with RoS about many post-secession arrangements, including citizenship rights, whereby many people's decision on staying or leaving, was totally uninformed, particularly regarding their legal status and rights (IRIN, 2012: 1)).

It could be said that it is the arbitrariness and the lack of political will on both parties regarding the legal requirements to stay, leave, and re-entry RoS that add up to the before-mentioned insecurity in people's lives, which has a clear impact, not only in the expenses incur but also in the limitation of maintaining family and other personal relations between the two countries, as it shall be seen in the upcoming sections.

PROPERTY ISSUES

The splitting of Sudan and the consequent deprivation of citizenship rights for those southern Sudanese living in RoS, puts non-citizens under additional socioeconomic pressure, not only in the labour market, but also in the field of property owning, since the Constitution protects the right to acquire property for Sudanese nationals (2005 Interim Constitution: Part II, section 43).

Indeed, most respondents highlighted the problems related to owning property in the RoS after, and even before the separation. Such was the case of Gloria, who was stopped from the process of acquiring her property, even before the Referendum: *“I can't own anything here, like buying a house like a citizen. If I want to apply for a loan, they will not give it to me, because I am not a citizen. [...] I started the process [but] when they said people are going to vote for separation, [...] then they stopped it”*. Similarly, Dr. Al-Baqir pointed out the denial of the issuing of a specific type of certificates that enable Southerners to sell their properties and their houses, and the consequences that this implies for many of them, namely, being forced to sell it illegally and much cheaper.

Additionally, the previously mentioned media propaganda and the alarmism promoted by both Governments before the Referendum led many southern Sudanese to sell their property hoping to move to the South as soon as the voting took place. Indeed, before the official separation, many returns to the South were fuelled by a series of factors, including uncertainty about citizenship, labour, and property rights (IRIN, 2012: 1)).

It should be pointed out, however, that even though selling and acquiring property is restricted to southern Sudanese, those who owned a property before the separation are

allowed to keep it, as it is the case of many interviewees, who either live in their former parent's house, such as Kuei, or rent it and use it as a source of income, such as it is the case of Josephina.

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC ISSUES

Another problem faced by southern Sudanese still living in Khartoum after the separation of the country, is the impossibility of finding a job, especially in the public sector. As Dr. Al-Baqir states, even in the private sector, the opportunities for Southerners are extremely limited, unless they have contacts and are very good qualified, as it is the case of Christine, who, after hearing from her nurse peers who returned to RoSS, that they could not find a job there, she decided to stay in Khartoum working for a private hospital. In addition to the legal barriers, there are important social barriers, whereby a racist public attitude, enhanced by an aggressive media towards Southerners, makes it very difficult for them to find a job: *“Sometimes they call me to cover a duty at the hospital and then there is someone who says: ‘What is this Southerner doing here again?’ And then the matron told him: ‘It is us who are in need of her, because there is no one to cover the duty’”* (Christine).

Nevertheless, restricted employment opportunities do not seem to be new for many, in that the difficulty for southern Sudanese to find a job in the North existed even before the separation, and depended on ‘who you know’: *“Finding a job now it’s difficult, and it’s important to have your father or some relative working in the Government”* (Nab3a).

It is precisely the employment situation of the head of the family (mostly the father), the one determining the fate of the whole family. For instance, while in most cases, the father's employment in Khartoum (mostly at Universities or governmental bodies) was the main reason for the whole family to follow him, now it is also the father's unemployment in RoS one of the reasons for them to go to the RoSS. Such was the case of Livia, whose father moved in Khartoum with the whole family to work as a driver until he was dismissed in 2008 and then moved to Juba, where he has the same job for the Ministry of Education. In this exceptional case, however, while the whole family followed him, Livia decided to stay in Khartoum, not only to finish her education, but also to stay. Some of the interviewees clearly stated that the family decision to leave Khartoum was totally on the father, regardless of the feelings of other family members: *“Then my father got a job in Juba and my brother was accepted in Juba University. [...] Then there was me and my mum, and my mum she*

wanted to stay here. She wanted, but for her children, for her husband, for all this she had to go there” (Anne).

Finally, and closely related to employment, one of the aspects influencing many people’s decision to stay in Khartoum is the fact of being pending to be given their pensions, or to obtain financial support from some Sudanese organization, such as it is the case of Gloria, who due to her disability gets helps from an Islamic organization in Khartoum.

PUBLIC SERVICES AND FACILITIES

Public services and facilities, especially education and health, can be considered both a challenge and an important opportunity conditioning the decision to go to RoSS or stay in Khartoum.

Regarding education, it should be pointed out that public education¹⁹ is free only for the citizens of RoS, which has deprived many southern Sudanese children from entering schools: “*This year they did not allow my aunt’s children to go to school. When my aunt went to the administration they said they had instructions from higher not to allow them to register*” (Winny). However, this exclusionary policy does not apply in Universities, where all students, citizens and non-citizens are allowed to join. Thus, while a restricted access to primary education constitutes an important challenge for some women, especially those with young children, the possibility of accessing to a higher education in Khartoum translates in important opportunities for many women, as it shall be seen in the coming section.

When it comes to health care services, as stated in Article 46 of the Interim Constitution of RoS²⁰, non-citizens have no right to get free medical care. Additionally, the main concern of some of the interviewees was the suspicion constructed around the reliability of such care, especially after the aggressive statements of important Governmental personalities in the public media: “*We will clean Khartoum from the ‘black plastic bags’*” (Hovil, 2013: 6). Similarly, Winny pointed out how in some occasions medical examinations have been biased and used as a means to expel southern Sudanese from RoS

¹⁹ Upon Article 44 (1) of the Sudan Interim Constitution: “Education is a right for every citizen and the State shall provide access to education without discrimination as to religion, race, ethnicity, gender or disability.”

²⁰ “The State shall promote public health, establish, rehabilitate, develop basic medical and diagnostic institutions, provide free primary health care and emergency services for all citizens”

when applying for legal documents, on the grounds of suffering from some particular disease.

The case of Gloria, as a disabled person, turns out to be more complicated. Before the Referendum, she applied for the Government Fund to cover her treatment in Germany and after carrying out most of the process, she was stopped from completing her application and joining the program in March 2011, namely, four months before the actual Referendum, and when she was still a citizen, which is in contradiction with the Constitution.

MOBILITY LIMITATIONS

Regarding transportation to RoSS, the problems faced by the interviewees varied depending on their financial possibilities to afford a flight to Juba. Even though it was not the case of any of the interviewed women, due to the importance and the impact of the situation, it should be pointed out that between October and January 2011, the GoSS invested 60 million Sudanese Pounds (some US\$21.5 million) to transport over 200,000 people to RoSS. However, when the money ran out, there were still more than 120,000 people who, after having sold their property, found themselves stranded in RoS. The only hope for those unable to afford a ticket, was (and still is for many of them) to be moved through the intervention of the GoSS or international organizations. (IRIN, 2011: 1).

The transportation problems worsened even more and acquired greater dimensions when, in January 2012, commercial flights between Khartoum and Juba were completely stopped as a result of the existing tensions between the countries. It was only on September 11th 2012 that such flights resumed (Sudan Tribune, 2012). This situation, however, affected not only stranded people ‘waiting’ to be transferred to the RoSS, but most of the interviewed women, who only counted with a limited budget (if any) to afford a regular ticket to Juba to visit their families and relatives. As Anne stated: “*Now the way is closed from South to North so we have to go through Kenya or Addis Ababa and then come to Khartoum, and that’s so expensive*”.

Nevertheless, despite the resumption of the flights between the two countries, problems related to abundant and expensive paperwork still remain. Interestingly, getting to travel to the RoSS is relatively easy (concerning permits and documentation). However, as Anne explains, the difficulties arise when trying to return to Khartoum to resume studies or work:

“I went on April [to Juba]. So I stayed with my family, and the day I was coming back they said there’s no way to be coming here. I didn’t have the visa, and they said that if I wanna go back, I have to do the visa from Khartoum here, so it’s not allowed to make a visa there at the Embassy of Sudan [...]. A friend of my sister, she was here in Khartoum, did all these things for me [...]. It was a long process. [...] I lost hope. I thought I’m not gonna finish my studies and I started crying. But then they brought for me the visa. My mum said ‘you must not come until you finish the University’, cause those people are changing their mind, you know” (Anne).

Through Anne’s experience the interconnectedness of different factors and their impact on the social links is instanced. On the one hand, the political agenda of ‘sending’ the southern Sudanese to the RoSS is achieved by hindering the access to the necessary paperwork to return to Khartoum, which increases the feeling of insecurity of those managing to make it to the RoS. On the other hand, such tensions and expenses result in the separation from their families for long and unforeseeable periods of time which not only has an effect on the social links but also on the feelings of loneliness, isolation and therefore insecurity and vulnerability.

FAMILY LINKS AND BELONGING

Most interviewees mentioned the feeling of loneliness exacerbated by the problems of transport and communication between the two countries. Indeed, the insecurity and the lack of knowledge related to the necessary legal documents, translates in many cases in the fear of moving freely and then being unable to return, as seen in the previous section. It should be pointed out, however, that many interviewees were not completely alone in Khartoum, in that some uncles, aunts, or siblings (in fewer cases), lived also in the city, which proves the importance of extended families. Nevertheless, it seems that it was the nuclear family the one exercising the greatest influence in their decisions. It could be said, thus, that this situation, hindering regular contact with direct family, can be the source of an increased feeling of wanting to return and feeling isolated in a country they used to belong to.

Aware of all these constraints, on 13 March 2012, both GoS and GoSS committed to a long-awaited “Framework Agreement on the Status of Nationals of the Other State and Related Matters”, which, similarly to the ‘Four Freedoms Agreement’ with Egypt, provided that the nationals of each state shall enjoy in the other state the freedoms of: residence, movement, economic activity and property rights (Manby, 2012b: 37). In other words, upon the signature and implementation of this instrument, many of the challenges stated

by these women (fearing travelling to RoSS to visit their families, receiving money from RoSS, or being able to work in the formal market in Khartoum), would have disappeared, or at least decreased, which for some of them might have translated in deciding to stay in Khartoum for a longer period of time.

However, while the signing of such agreement was due to take place in Juba on 3 April 2012, the ongoing tensions and the eruption of military clashes between the armed forces of the two states, postponed the signature of the agreement (Manby, 2012a: 1). It was only on the 27th of September 2012 that such agreement was formalized, granting nationals of RoS and RoSS the above-mentioned freedoms in both States, and thus encourage positive interaction between the peoples and build social and economic ties to enhance relations between both States (OCHA, 2012: 1). The implementation and results of this agreement on both sides, however, did not happen until March 2013 (OCHA, 2013: 1).

Even though the overall believe was that the separation was for the better and a victory for the people of the South, in that now they feel independent and respected and they own a country that they can develop (Winyi), sentiments of nostalgia and sadness regarding the separation were palpable all along many interviews, which are a proof of the confused feelings these women have to go through: “*Before the separation it was ok, we were all together, even those of the Northern Sudan they will love the Southern Sudanese, but within these days, it’s difficult*” (Suzanne). In this regards, even though from the interviews it can be gathered that life in Khartoum was difficult even before the secession, the South’s independence has intensified many of the problems people were facing, which instances Norman’s arguments in Chapter 2, whereby in many cases secession is the source of new minority problems (2006: 185). Especially, for those people with mixed parents, such as Naba3, or with close ties to both countries, the separation was described as a forced break up:

“I feel very sad, because now you need visas to go and visit your relatives, communicating with them is not that easy... I cannot choose in between the north or the south. I have family in both places. I still have the hope that if he have a change of Government, both countries will unite again” (Naba3).

DISCRIMINATION, HARASSMENT AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION

When it comes to the issues of discrimination and harassment, it could be argued that they are very subjective, in that in many occasions they depend highly on personal

perceptions. For instance, while verbal displays of discrimination in the streets are not given importance by Christine or Suzanne, from Emmanuela’s perspective, it is a problem that causes her a lot of fears and insecurity in the streets. However, it could be gathered from many respondents that such displays of discrimination never came from Sudanese people working or studying with them, who, on the contrary, were even considered protective and supporting: “*Some of [the neighbours] knock on the door and greet us. The relationship is good because we have been here even before we entered the University in Omdurman. [...]. The problem is on the road*” (Rita). Indeed, while at a local level, relationships between southern Sudanese and Sudanese are, at times, based on kindness and hospitality towards each other, life in public spaces and public transport is full of discriminatory and harassing situations, with statements such as: “*Still you’re staying here? Why you didn’t go to your country? Now we’re free from those Southerners*” (Anne).

Many interviewed women suggested that harassment acquires an additional dimension for southern Sudanese females, when it comes to the dressing codes. The GoS imposed strict dress restrictions on women, regardless of their religious or cultural background, incorporated into law under Section 152 of the 1991 Sudan Penal Code, which prohibits the wearing of clothes ‘contrary to public morals’. While many northern Sudanese women reacted against this policy, the greatest victims were non-Arab women from South Sudan and Nuba Mountains, who had to dress in a particular way, which is not part of their culture (African Rights, 1995: 24). In 1994, for instance, there was a campaign to enforce respect for the dress code, which authorised ordinary citizens to arrest women who allegedly did not comply with it. This encouraged men to harass women in the street and public places (ibid., 25). Women, thus, are the ones mostly affected by the strict Muslim dress codes, not only established by law, but also by society, especially after the signature of the CPA. Even though, in theory southern Sudanese women are given much more freedom of choice, many of the interviewed women still adhere to the Muslim codes out of worry of sanctions by society (Bützner, 2011: 219), whereby it can be grasped that higher visibility results in a higher vulnerability.

Many of the interviewees claimed having experienced some sort of discriminatory or bullying acts in their daily lives in Khartoum related to dressing codes. Interestingly, while for some women, such incidents were not considered a major discriminatory problem: “*The problem with the clothes is not a problem for me*” (Apiu), others felt intimidated, to the point of living within the limits of what is considered safe for them, namely, the University

and the dorm: “*I’m afraid, I’m afraid, I’m afraid, that’s why I don’t wanna go outside, I just stay here, go to University and then I stay here’. If I went to Khartoum I would wear a scarf, and a shirt till here [pointing at her ankles] ...*” (Emmanuela).

Even though most interviewees referred to this issue as a problem and important cause of distress, only two of them, however, claimed to have faced direct incidents with authorities in public spaces regarding their dressing: “*I was once wearing trousers and the police stopped me and told me that I had to apologize in written and say that I never would wear trousers again*” (Delight). Or as Emmanuela explains: “*One day I went to the supermarket, and I was wearing jeans like this, and I put a scarf here [wrapped around her shoulders] and a policeman said: ‘Why do you wear this clothing? You put the scarf in your head! Do you think you’re in your country?’*” Although some women claimed to have heard of similar incidents happening to friends, none of them personally experienced problems with authorities. Indeed, when they were asked directly whether they felt any sort of discrimination, besides some verbal comments on the road, almost none of them had experienced major discriminatory or harassing acts from civilians or authorities.

Here it should be pointed out that the issue of marginalisation and discrimination in Sudan, in this particular case when it comes to women, is a generalized problem affecting most ordinary people, not limited to particular regions or ethnic groups²¹. The relationship between the state and its people, even if they belong to the group of ‘privileged Arabs’ is deplorable, so it should be kept in mind that when referring to the particular situation of this research group, many other groups stand this feeling of marginalisation (Bützer, 2011: 205).

As seen in Chapter 3, despite the partial assimilation of non-Arab communities in the North, full acceptance was not automatic and racial stratification persisted until current time, where, even though northerners are more discreet about this issue, calling the southern Sudanese ‘slaves’ or *abeed* is a common practice (Deng, 1995: 5). As Dr. El-Nager explains, in many cases, using these words to refer to southern Sudanese is only ‘a way of speaking’, which does not translate in mistreating them when it comes to practice:

²¹ In 2009, some Arab women were imprisoned for demonstrating against charges of indecent clothing pressed against Lubna Hussein, a Sudanese journalist (Bützer, 2011: 205). After imprisonment, one of the women declared: “*I want to leave Sudan. This country is not for us, it is for them*” (Bützer, 2011: 206).

“We, Sudanese, in our culture we have some discrimination [...] against other religions, against people by colour, although we’re all different ranges of black, but still, we discriminate against each other, we cannot deny it. But it’s not discrimination with consequences” (Samia El-Nager, Interview on 11/08/12).

Indeed, some of the interviewed experts, such as Bilqees Ismail, claimed that violent acts of discrimination between Northerners and Southerners had been very rare, and they were mostly linked with the socio-economic status, because since Southerners cannot work, they have been moved to poverty, so discrimination is linked to their social status and situation, becoming more targeted by suspicious authorities. Similarly, Dr. Munzoul Assal (Interview on 2/08/12) claimed that, although discrimination is not a preoccupying issue, the economic hardships they face, actually worsen the situation. It could be said, thus, that even though poverty in RoS is not exclusive to southern Sudanese, the politicization of the economic crisis has encouraged the hatred towards southerners. As two of the respondent experts claimed, there is obvious racial discrimination²² in Sudan (El-Nager, Interview on 11/08/12 and Al-Baqir, Interview on 6/08/12), but could be said that it is a racism generally understood “as an ideology which relates social inequality with specific characteristics of human beings, such as skin colour and religion, and through this explains, justifies and propagates differences” (Bützner, 2011: 223). Additionally, as claimed by the academician Dr. El-Nager (Interview on 11/08/12), discrimination in Sudan (particularly verbal harassment) is culturally rooted, but it is not a general trend and it comes highly from uneducated and politicized people:

“We can discriminate and violate people verbally, but when it comes to the everyday life, no. Because you can find Southerners living in a small hut in a very rich area, and you can find the family interacting with the other rich families, going with them... Although they might be providing services, but you feel it is not on a discriminatory basis”.

5.2.2 OPPORTUNITIES

Even though the challenges faced by these women in Khartoum are evident and should not be rested importance, as pointed out by most of these women, living in the capital city of RoS also offers a series of opportunities, mainly related to education, employment and their situation as women in a Muslim society.

²² Understood as when “someone is treated less favourably on grounds of group membership signified by skin colour, ‘race’, national or ethnic origin and so they find their access to scarce resources or opportunities restricted or denied.” (Bolaffi et al., 2003: 260)

PUBLIC SERVICES AND FACILITIES

It can be said that public services, especially hospitals and schools are of significant concern when it comes to take the decision of going to RoSS or staying in Khartoum. In spite of the challenges experienced by southern Sudanese living in Khartoum, the education and health system in this city seems to be far better than in RoSS according to most interviewees, where there is not only an important lack of infrastructure but also of qualified staff.

When it comes to education, all students, regardless of their nationality, are allowed access higher education and enrol Universities in RoS, which seems to be a decisive factor in the decision-making process on when to go to RoSS. Indeed, higher education seems to be one of the strongest motives for most women to stay or even purposely move to Khartoum, as it is the case of Susan. Interestingly, however, most of the interviewees had brothers or male relatives also studying at Universities, but none of them did it in RoS. Some of them, such as Emmanuela, related this fact to security issues:

“I have my brothers at Neelen University and me at Ahfad University. When we went to the South my father told me to come but he refused that my brothers came too, because of the situation here: I’m a girl, and I will stay home, I will go to University and then I will come back. But they told us that boys here... they want boys, they collect all the southern boys to go to the militia”.

When it comes to health issues, despite the fact that primary health care and emergency services are only free for citizens and thus, southern Sudanese have to pay higher fees, both the infrastructure and the qualified staff in Khartoum’s hospitals seem to play an important role for some of the interviewed women, especially when comparing it to the situation in RoSS, where poor infrastructure and the lack of qualified staff are an important concern. Moreover, for some of the interviewed women, the fact of having contacts in Khartoum results in their being treated as nationals when it comes to receiving treatment and services, as stated by Gloria:

“Sudan is a very unique country. When you know people before, and they know that you’ve separated, and they know that you’ve been doing this service here before you became a foreigner, they still can render that service to you. They will just charge me the way it used to be.”

WOMEN AS WEAK AND APOLITICAL SUBJECTS

Indeed, while the difficulties experienced in RoS, such as verbal discriminatory comments in the streets or the lack of religious and cultural freedoms resulting from the *Sharia*' Law and the Public Order Law, seem to amount to enough reasons for some of them to leave, for some others, it is precisely the Islamic culture, which labels women as weak and vulnerable, that gives them better protection and more freedom to chose to stay and live in RoS as compared to their male counterparts: *“It’s easier in that the Northerners in their religion [...] women are almost holy, so we don’t get harassed, but boys actually do”* (Kuei).

On the one hand, most of them indicated that being a woman in Khartoum was *much easier*, because they were not considered fifth columnists or a security threat, as it happened to men, and thereby they did not face the problem of being harassed or ‘caught’ by the police or militias: *“For boys it’s more difficult. After the independence, you had to keep them inside, because if they saw them, they would take them”* (Winny). Women, as expressed by some, are treated with sympathy as apolitical subjects, because *“in the Islamic perspective, women are the weaker”* (Gloria). Through these statements, the assumed and internalized gender-role division in the nation-building process discussed in Chapter 2 is exemplified.

On the other hand, many of these women seemed to have an undervalued picture of females in general, describing women as helpless and in constant need of support: *“It’s difficult for both. For the girls now, there are no families, all of them went, and if you face some problem there is no one to help you”* (Rita). Their male counterparts, however, were seen as the main important pillars in the building of RoSS: *“If the country has boys that means the country will survive. The boys are helping the country. If they take the boys that means you can’t re-do it”* (Winny), or *“It’s difficult for boys, more than girls, because you know, boys will be the Governors of the future, so most of my friends, the police took them”* (Delight). The ‘naturalness’ with which this gendered construction of a nation is taken for granted, exemplify Toivanen’s argument that: *“leadership and citizenship are defined as distinctively masculine”* (1994: 69).

Given these differences in women’s conception of the nation, there is an obvious ‘gender gap’ between men and women on political and nation-building issues. Indeed, the respondent’s answers lead to confirm Nagel’s argumentation that the link between masculinity and nationalism shapes people’s feelings and thoughts, whereby women

experience citizenship and nationhood differently from men, in that they are not expected to defend, run, or represent their country, unless it is by playing supporting roles, such as in building up the labour market (1998: 261).

For example, in situations of military occupation or political transition, as it was the case in Sudan, male nationalists seen on the street alone or in groups are often targets of arbitrary arrest or detention. Women, on the other hand, are seen as apolitical beings, and therefore less likely to be seen as dangerous or suspicious.

“You know, women normally, in the Islamic perspective, women are the weaker [...] people, and normally they sympathize with them. [...] With men no, there is no sympathy. [...] they can come and take them just like that. Ask them what are they doing here. Because they are considered criminals” (Gloria).

INFORMAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

It can be said, that the separation exacerbated the unemployment among southern Sudanese in RoS, which has led some people to work in the informal and the illegal market, which, interestingly, is much easier for women than for men, since they are much more likely to engage in activities such as: selling tea, food and drinks, doing domestic work or brewing alcohol. Indeed, some of the interviewed women, such as Suzanne or Christine, made a living in Khartoum by offering their services in an informal way to NGOs, schools, or even hospitals. Curiously, the fact of being subject to exploitation by engaging in the informal market, especially in the case of women, was not seen as a problem by most of them. Only a few of the interviewed women saw this situation (namely, women having easier access to the informal market and becoming the main bread-winners) as a clear disadvantage, in that they can be over-exploited while lacking all sort of rights:

“It’s harder for women, because they are the breadwinners, and when they become unemployed then they start working in the illegal market, doing whatever they can for their children. Then, they are exploited and mistreated” (Naba).

In general, however, as stated by Suzanne or Elisabeth, amongst others, being able to work as housemaids or even alcohol brewers, in order to get an income and send children to school, had a strong enough weight in their final decision to stay in Khartoum. As it can be grasped from the interviews, being a woman in Khartoum opens to the door to a wider informal employment market as compared to men:

“It has been easier for the women, really, because in the informal sector there is more space for women than for young chaps, because the young chaps they don’t have skills, but women they have different alternatives, all these things related to domestic activities, so they have better opportunities as compared to the young men” (El-Nager, Interview on 11/08/12).

Indeed, many IDPs and migrants in Khartoum State were and still are women, and their role always proved to be central in maintaining livelihoods. Some of them actually succeeded to secure a job and benefit from governmental opportunities for owning lands for permanent settlement (El-Nager, Interview on 11/08/12, 2011: 2), as it is the case of some of the interviewees:

“My parents came to Khartoum as refugees in 1987 because of the war and they lived at a refugee camp in Haj Youssef until in 1990 the Government gave them the place and they built a house there. My mother found a job as a teacher in Khartoum” (Josephina).

5.2.3 COPING STRATEGIES

The above-mentioned securitization of southern Sudanese in Khartoum and the spread feeling of insecurity have led many women to adopt a series of coping strategies to adjust to the challenge of becoming a foreigner rather than a marginalized citizen. Thus, most interviewees claimed to live in a sort of seclusion, leaving the house as little as possible, in order to avoid any possible confrontation with police or people in the streets: *“I’m just staying here [in the dorm, right opposite the University], from here to University” (Emmanuela).* Similarly, they seem to live in constant suspicion of whom they talk to:

“Now you have to be careful with whom you talk [...]. Because the Government at some point might say that the people coming from the South to Khartoum are spies, so we should be careful with that, not to go to places and not engage yourself in that sort of situations” (Apiu).

This situation of insecurity has also led many of the interviewed women to adopt a low-visibility profile. Indeed, after the separation, the feeling of being in a foreign country has made some southern Sudanese women more willing to dress according to the RoS codes out of their free will and in order to avoid problems. Now, since they have their own country with their own identity, being in RoS is understood as having to adjust to the challenge of becoming a foreigner rather than a marginalized citizen, as it was the case before, which now leads them to dress according to Islamic codes.

“Now I dress more respectfully than I used to. I always wear skirt, I don’t have any trousers [...]. When they said that the laws are going to be pure Islamic I thought: ‘Ok, you have to respect that’ because this is not my country anymore and I don’t have rights in that way...” (Apiu).

5.3 THAN THE DEVIL YOU DON'T?

While collective euphoria followed the independence of South Sudan in July 2011, the history of a protracted violent conflict is still very recent, and the practical abilities of the new country as a nation-state are yet to be proved (Madut Jok, 2012: 2) in a post-independence period that has had and still has different effects on men and women (Mustafa Ali, 2012: 2). Indeed, the secession of the South put an end to decades of conflict and socioeconomic and political marginalization inflicted by the successive governments in Khartoum, which affected women in several gender-specific ways (ibid., 1). On the one hand, the long years of conflict and displacement resulted in a series of changes in gender roles and social norms, which together with a relative political support for gender equality within the GoSS may favour women’s situation in RoSS. On the other hand, however, as stated by many interviewees, the country faces multiple and urgent priorities, such as: lack of security, dreadful infrastructure, poor human resources and basic educational and health services and surging tribalism, and favouritism.

RoSS’s development challenges are large, especially given the low literacy rates in the government and civil service. Conflict and population displacement, inflows of returnees and refugees, and different environmental hazards place hinder RoSS’s limited resources and increase humanitarian needs (Ploch Blanchard, 2012: 17).

While nation building has strong components related to shared customs and values, it should not be forgotten that it is also a matter of physical reconstruction, service provision, and wealth distribution. Indeed, while people are considered the most important assets in nation-building projects, the country’s wealth and services are to be invested in fostering values in younger generation and feelings of a civic citizenship (Madut Jok, 2012: 11-12).

Within the secessionist context and the whole discourse on southern Sudanese liberation from oppression and exploitation, the reality of women in the current RoSS raises questions about the meaning of peace and liberation. Are ‘peace’ and ‘liberation’ achieved

if women continue to be oppressed and marginalized? What do peace and liberation really mean, and why should women experience them differently to men? (Aldehaib, 2010: 2).

5.3.1 CHALLENGES

RoSS emerged in 2011 as the world’s newest country and the one with the lowest human development indicators in the world, with sparse infrastructural facilities and very low literacy rates²³. Even though RoSS is rich in natural resources and agricultural potential, with only one paved highway, running less than 200km from Juba to the Ugandan border, the country is still facing important challenges (Ploch Blanchard, 2012: 16). With over eight million inhabitants and more than 60 ethnic groups, it is facing the challenging task of building a nation state, within a context of millions of displaced people, internal and external conflict, food insecurity, a stagnant economy, and a tribal population that includes several competing ethnicities and identities (Reynolds, 2012: 1).

FEELINGS OF INSECURITY AND DISAPPOINTMENT

As it happened in RoS, inflammatory media in RoSS was the source of insecurities for those southern Sudansese living in RoS: “*During the Referendum time, media in the South [...] made a lot of pressure and stress on the Southerners. Some people even sold their houses and their furniture... There was propaganda that we’d be killed here [...]*” (Elisabeth).

Corruption in RoSS seems to be a highly preoccupying factor undermining human security. Indeed, according to some experts, the situation in RoSS might be even worse than in RoS because of three main reasons: corruption, weak economy, and weak security (tribal conflicts and Governmental harassment) (Munzoul Assal, Interview on 2/08/12). Adding up to the concerns of women such as Apiu, recent reports show that the country faces emergent tribal security threats, particularly in the area of armed cattle raids and violent disputes over land and water rights, which claims thousands of lives annually (Ploch Blanchard, 2012: 19).

Additionally, militias remain active in some parts of the country, complicating stabilization efforts. As part of its reconciliation efforts with some political and armed groups, the military of RoSS has absorbed thousands of fighters from the militias (Ploch Blanchard, 2012: 19). Indeed, recent research shows that people believe that internal insecurity

²³Only 27% of the population are literate, of whom women make up 16% (Ploch Blanchard, 2012: 2)

problems caused by local militias, rebel movements, and tribal warfare, are the biggest threat to the new nation (Madut Jok, 2012: 3). Clashes between those who fought in the war and returnees, are an obvious cause of distress and insecurity for many interviewees, such as Naba, who claims: *“those who went to the war now think they have more rights than the rest of the people, so there are clashes between those uneducated who fought and those educated who left and now are back”*.

As it happens in many post conflict settings, violence against women seems to have increased in RoSS after the war finished. There are several reasons that seem to underpin this situation, such as: the prevalence of small arms, the excessive drinking of alcohol, and the “hyper-masculinity created by men’s experiences as combatants” (Aldehaib, 2010: 2). Another important factor is that the formal (civil law) and the informal (customary law) justice systems fail to address such problem, which indirectly sends a message that this is an acceptable behaviour towards women (ibid.).

Even though most interviewees referred to the separation as something positive for ‘The Nation’, only a few, such as Suzanne or Naba3, referred to it as something negative for the people, especially those southerners still living in Khartoum: *“I think it’s for the worse, because now there’s no rule of law protecting southern Sudanese people living in the North, there’s not freedom of religion, etc.”* (Naba3). Similarly, Suzanne touched on the issue of both Governments having rushed the separation too much, whereby many southern Sudanese have been left stranded all over the region, after massively voting for an over-rated separation, whose direct consequences on people’s lives they never reached to understand completely.

Strong feelings of disappointment with the separation were also stated by some respondents such as Christine, who, two years after the independence, still perceives the same problems and obstacles in RoSS. Naba3 also adheres to this opinion, claiming that the situation in RoSS is far from being good and that internal problems will hinder the development of the country, even though people’s patriotism and ignorance prevents them from seeing what is happening. This point view, as well as Gloria’s, seems to be based more in real facts than in hopes and expectations:

“When the separation happened I was scared [...]. The idea was good, the aims or objectives of the separation were supposed to be positive. They said that we would get our rights as citizens that we would not be anymore second class citizens... but I was scared that they did not comply with what they were saying. Now I don’t feel good. The situation is the same; the opportunities

they wanted to offer to the South Sudanese are not there. I feel like I'm a refugee here: I cannot go my country because there are no opportunities there, and here my chances are limited, just like a refugee” (Gloria).

EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC ISSUES

The employment situation in RoSS seems to raise mixed feelings amongst the interviewees. While in general there is the feeling that the economic situation is hard, in RoSS, only a few interviewees admit it to be harder than in Khartoum: “*The economic situation of my family is not good, but it's working. Here it was a bit better*” (Delight). More specifically, job opportunities seem to be especially hard for those southern Sudanese who, after having lived in Khartoum most of their lives, now wish to go to RoSS. Many respondents, such as Kuei, were aware of this situation and even referred to themselves as returnees: “*Southern people they don't like us, returnees*”. Thus, it could be said that socio-cultural and identity changes turn a successful ‘return’ in the South into a challenge.

Indeed, in RoSS there seems to be the dilemma between ‘rewarding’ those who stayed and fought, or adopting a more objective position and putting the right person in the right post, which would inevitably pose the risk that many of those illiterate who fought in the war go back to join the militias.

Similarly, as it happens in RoS, the same trend seems to be taking place in RoSS, where the only people employed are those with relatives in the Government (Kuei). Indeed, chances to obtain a job are highly dependent on the contacts one has and the tribe one belongs to: “*In the South there are no jobs [...]. I have so many relatives and friends with Master degrees, even PhD degrees, who do not find a job in South Sudan. In the South there is tribalism, and jobs are monopolized by the Dinka, who are also the majority*” (Gloria). In one way or another, the history of exclusion haunting Sudan can (again) provoke competing viewpoints among southerners (Madut Jok, 2012: 11).

Another challenge feared by some interviewees when it comes to finding a job in RoSS is the linguistic one. Children of southern Sudanese families, born and raised in the north, have studied in Arabic, whereas in the South, English is the teaching language (de Geffroy, 2007: 18). As stated by some women, the fact of having been educated in Arabic seems to play a negative role in the current RoSS, where, even though Arabic is widely spoken, English is now the official language. “*Those who come from Uganda are studying in English, and*

the job in the South is in English, so here, you're studying in Arabic, so it's difficult to find a job” (Anne).

However, even though it could be said, that the expectation to find good professional job opportunities in RoSS was positive in general among the interviewees, especially among those still studying, almost none of these expectations were based on personal experiences, but on hopes, propaganda, and mouth-to-mouth information. Indeed, as explained by some women who were enrolled in the labour market at the time of the interview, finding jobs in RoSS is not as easy as it might seem:

“There is no work in the South. I know this colleague of mine, she used to work in Bahri Hospital, and she was fired after the separation because it's a public hospital, so she went to the South. It's been now one year and she has not found a job. She's trying to come back to the North now, but it's not easy” (Christine).

Thus, while there seems to be the extended believe that women with a higher education can easily find a job in RoSS, several interviewees, whose mothers used to work as nurses or teachers in Sudan, after returning to RoSS they have not been able to find a job: *“My mother was a nurse here, but now she's not working [in RoSS], she could not find a job yet” (Wendy).* This situation draws back to the economic issues discussed in the previous section, whereby the decision to go to RoSS is mostly taken by the father of the household, regardless of the feelings and employment situation of other family members, especially the mother, which has led many women to go from being the main breadwinners in Khartoum (by working as nurses, for instance) to becoming housewives back in RoSS.

From Urban To Rural?

Southern Sudanese, who, for whatever reason, moved to Khartoum, had to learn to live new environment, which usually implied a change from rural to urban life. In many instances, it was women alone, or complete families, those moving to the North, settling in their own communities made up mainly of southern Sudanese, which gave rise to many identities and conceptions of being a southern Sudanese:

“We [southern Sudanese] think differently, dress differently, live differently. I've lived in an area with South Sudanese people only. I only met North Sudanese people in secondary school and at University, but before that I never knew them, I only saw them on television. We didn't have any relation with them. My parents knew some at work only” (Josephina).

Thus, many interviewees, finishing a Master Degree in Khartoum, are willing to go to RoSS and work in Juba. However, as ‘African Economic Outlook’ (2012) shows, there has been a massive inflow of southern Sudanese into urban areas, such as Juba, which has resulted in an increase of unemployment among the youth. Indeed, professionals, such as nurses, are needed in more remote and sometimes conflictive areas, where the extremely poor conditions and low wages serve as deterrents to apply (BBC, 2012).

PUBLIC SERVICES AND FACILITIES

As seen in the previous section, public services are seen by many women as a strong motive to remain in Khartoum. When it comes to hospitals in RoSS, poor infrastructure and services are a concern for women such as Josephina, “*Hospitals are only the building, if you are ok and you go to the hospital in Juba you die*” or Gloria, whose disability would be unbearable in RoSS.

Additionally, many respondents highlighted the poor education facilities in RoSS, whereby their male counterparts were sent abroad to pursue their higher education. Other interviewees, however, pointed out that in RoSS it is quite common to find people thinking that women’s education is immoral: “[Women] *can’t be independent, always have to have men to take care of them, to be responsible for them, the father or the husband. Some people say that women education is immoral.*” (Kuei).

Additionally, the lack of infrastructure and professionals has led many respondents to remain in Khartoum in order to pursue their education. For instance, Rita mentioned how, after transferring Juba University to RoSS they closed it in order to adapt the new curriculum, leaving hundreds of students, such as her brothers, out of education for an unforeseeable period of time.

The overall public system in RoSS seems to be weakened as a result of the hard working conditions professionals have to cope with. Thus, facing low wages, together with tribalism and a hierarchic system, many of these professionals have eventually moved abroad or started working for the private sector:

“I know many journalists who used to work here, and then they left to the South to work for their country in the national channels, but then they offered them very poor salaries, so they decided to work for private channels, so the national media has very poor quality” (Gloria).

DISCRIMINATION AND IDENTITY ISSUES

Culturally diverse countries also face the challenge of finding symbols for their people, which can transcend their ethnic, linguistic, and political differences. At the moment, in RoSS there is a lack of an indigenous national language, which despite not being an insurmountable hindering to the country's development as a nation, it can certainly slow down such process by increasing the feelings of exclusion, domination, and favouritism (Madut Jok, 2012: 5).

As mentioned in Chapter 2, for decades, the southern Sudanese identity has been politically constructed in direct opposition to whatever represented the northern Sudanese identity, becoming, thus, a fight between ‘us’ and ‘them’. While this ‘technique’ might have been useful in uniting southern people during the long struggle for independence, once such independence has been reached, following the same approach might not only be inadequate, but also dangerous (Kriesberg, 2010: 9). Indeed, if there is no ‘other’, ‘the other’ has to be created. The danger of this relies on the fact that the hostility might be transferred, from the ‘Arabs’ to other ‘outsiders’, such as people coming or returning from other countries (Ashworth, 2012: 2) or other areas of Sudan.

The unique identity of southern Sudanese born and raised in Khartoum has, thus, a negative impact when returning to RoSS not only when it comes to find a job, as seen before, but also in the daily life. As Delight claims, they are frequently considered and called Arab traitors or ‘jallaba’ for having left the country instead of defended it. “*Southern people they don't like us, returnees. I don't know what's the problem exactly, but they call us Arab. We're not familiar with their traditions*” (Kuei). Indeed, socio-cultural and identity changes may hinder the reintegration process for the receiving community and the returnees (de Geffroy, 2007: 18), who are often considered traitors, especially if they come from Khartoum, and are accused of being Arabicized (de Geffroy, 2007: 18).

“When you move to the South, sometimes we used to speak Arabic [...] they tell us: ‘Why do you come with Arabic words? Why do you speak Arabic? This is not our way.’ They criticize us all the time, even if we know the culture and we know the language. And they don't like us for us to talk in Arabic [...] and that's why they used to criticize those who came from Khartoum” (Rita).

A tribal and hierarchic system seems to be rooting in RoSS, whereby those who fought in the war in the South (normally uneducated) are given more chances than those returnees (normally from RoS and educated). Thus, it could be argued that one of the main current

political preoccupations in RoSS is not simply the long anticipated independent statehood, but how to turn the country into a viable nation; in other words, how to turn its ethnic and cultural diversity into a useful asset which unifies the country and translate in the representation of all ethnic nationalities (Madut Jok, 2012: 3).

For GoSS, the main foundations of the new country are fourfold: political unity, a strong military, a strong economy and services, and an active civil society (Madut Jok, 2012: 11). While, state building “focuses on economic development, upgrading the capacity of human resources, an effective security apparatus, responsible fiscal policy, efficient service delivery, and general infrastructure”, nation building refers to a “national political project that would produce a sense of national unity and collective national identity with an eye to preventing discord along ethnic lines, especially as tribal violence and its ongoing destructive legacies remain part of a collective memory among South Sudanese” (Madut Jok, 2012: 4). Thus, a nation-building project should focus on citizens, fostering a strong sense of national over tribal membership. Indeed, any feeling of exclusion from the national platform, media, government programs, and access to services should not be permitted (Madut Jok, 2012: 4).

Tribalism, nepotism, corruption, exclusion on ethnic, age, or gender grounds, lack of meritocracy in hiring, etc. are some of the forces stated by many southern Sudanese who fear the transformation of the state into a viable nation (Madut Jok, 2012: 3).

When diversity is not celebrated as a source of strength and enrichment of the human endeavour and used as a discourse of togetherness, there is a risk of falling into a discourse of hegemony, exclusion, and assumptions of homogeneity, which turns diversity into a hazard. Seeing diversity as threat means condemning difference and position otherness as a justification for stigmatization (Madut Jok, 2012: 5).

The current discourse reflected in the policies of GoSS is inclusive and there has been a collective agreement to begin constructing the nation’s identity in the face of the fact that the lack of unifying symbols in an ethnically and culturally diverse state is a hindering to national unity. Historically and also given the strong ethnic loyalties in South Sudan, the currently widespread suspicion of ethnicity-based exclusion from the national platform can be considered as the most significant enemy of the country’s cohesion, national loyalty, and citizen pride. Since it was precisely this feeling of exclusion that triggered South Sudan’s wish to secede from Sudan, the authorities try not to practice the same policies,

even though at the same time some government officials have engaged in exclusionary practices, mostly based on ethnic differences (Madut Jok, 2012: 5).

TRADITIONAL VALUES

In 2005, following the CPA, the new Interim Constitution of South Sudan was enacted. According to such a document, the source of law in RoSS is custom and tradition. Thus, customary law is regarded as the main body of law, similar to the *Sharia* in RoS. Even though customary law is a basic component of southern Sudanese cultural identity, institutionalizing such law in a highly patriarchal state might legitimize the continued perpetuation of the violation of women’s rights (Aldehaib, 2010: 7).

In RoSS, women from rural and urban areas participated in different ways in the liberation struggle. In the post-conflict period, such change in gender roles and social relations meant that husbands were often not able to play their traditional roles as breadwinners and family heads, which has frequently translated into insecurity, frustration, and alcohol addiction (Aldehaib, 2010: 5). Indeed, such advances in the traditional gender roles that tend to happen during conflict, might move backwards once the conflict is over. There are a series of key challenges that can limit women’s social, economic, and political empowerment, and affect women in different ways depending on the state they come from and their ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds (Mustafa Ali, 2012: 2).

Therefore, concerns about patriarchy and sexist cultural norms in RoSS seem to play a role in women’s decisions. Indeed, a study conducted by Liv Tønnessen in 2007 revealed that the “traditional family laws provide fewer women’s civil rights than Islamic family law” and “changing the gendered structure of traditional family laws from within will be more difficult for southern Sudanese women than changing Islamic family law from within will be for northern Sudanese women”(2007:1). Additionally, some recent research conducted in RoSS revealed an overall acceptance of violence against women as well as unequal norms between men and women (Scott *et al.*, 2013: 1).

As the study conducted by Tønnessen showed, southern Sudanese living in Khartoum seem to restore to the traditional courts when it comes to family matters. Even though, in general, southern Sudanese believe in a ‘secular’ state, they tend to stick to their traditional laws when it comes to rights and duties within the family, where it is usually the father the one resolving the matters. Beyond the family, the parties of a dispute go to the local sultan to sort out the issue, which is a clear sign of state control as a consequence of

the lack of standardization and codification of those traditional laws (more than 50 different ones among the southern Sudanese), which are actually transmitted orally from generation to generation and follow a similar patriarchal and gendered structure (2007: 6). All of these laws, however, are inconsistent with women’s rights, and they basically deal with issues such as marriage, divorce, custody of children and inheritance. Therefore, customary law undermines women’s personal security and perpetuates harmful traditions (such as: forced and arranged marriage, forced wife inheritance and bride price) within the family, which relegate women to a lesser status (ibid.,7).

Besides the precarious situation women face on daily basis, ranging from domestic violence to rape, there is an extreme lack of rights for women in the southern Sudanese traditions, which encourage practices such as: the dowry system, forced marriages (Tran, 2012), wife inheritance and unequal property ownership laws (ReliefWeb, 2012: 1). Although the law promotes women’s participation in decision making, the level of literacy and real opportunities afforded to women remain very low (ibid.). Additionally, cultural traditions and the perceived low status of women in society, whereby men tend to control their lives, prevents them in many cases from making a difference in developing their society, as Kuei mentions: “*Our society as Southerners puts a lot of pressure on women. [Women] can’t be independent, they always have to have men to take care of them, to be responsible, the father or the husband*”. Thus, even though the return of many qualified women to southern Sudan after its independence has the potential to play an important role in the political, economic and cultural development, reality seems to still be too far from the theory (Gender Concerns International, 2012: 2).

It is at the turnout of these events that some of the interviewees referred to the fact that the burdens of being a Christian southern Sudanese woman in northern Sudan are not so different from being so in the South, where the challenges stem both from conservative Christian values and from a traditional tribal system: “*In our traditional tribes, women do not have the right to be free. My brother will control my life as it happened in Khartoum*” (Josephine). Similarly, the same interviewee stated her fears of the family acceptance of her current relationship with a Dinka boy, while she belongs to the Shuluk tribe.

The civil wars affected both Sudanese men and women. While in war times women played a significant role, now they also have a central role in southern Sudanese society, even though reality shows that “their post-conflict status is among the lowest of all groups in RoSS, regardless of ethnic background” (AWID, 2012). In spite of the fact that nowadays a

lot is demanded from southern Sudanese women, very little legal, economic and political recognition has been given to them (ibid., 2012). The Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan (TCRoSS) refers explicitly to equal rights for men and women (Chapter II, Section 16) and it also includes an Affirmative Action Clause for women, which stipulates that at least 25 percent of seats and positions in each legislative and each executive organ of the state has to be allocated to women (Chapter III, Section 109 (3)). Nevertheless, only one out of the ten states making up RoSS has a female governor; among the seven Presidential Advisors, only one is a woman; among the 15 members on the Austerity Measures Committee, none of them is a woman, etc. Thus, it could be said that the challenge of gender parity in RoSS is not so much in the constitution but more in the political will and the implementation of the rights provided for (AWID, 2012).

LACK OF SOCIAL NETWORKS AND DIFFERENT SOCIALIZATION DEGREES

It could be argued that the nature and degree of socialization as southern Sudanese is also an important factor for most interviewees. Indeed, since most women were born in Khartoum or moved there with their southern Sudanese families at a very early age, one of the greatest fears expressed by many was the lack of social links in RoSS, besides their direct family. While for some of them the family socialization process into southern traditions was quite strong, whereby some of them describe their only relation with northerners as being merely professionals, for others their circle of friends is rather a mixture of northerners and southerners. Additionally, even though many of their southern peers are in RoSS, some can already foresee the fact that they are not going to see each other again due to communication and road problems in RoSS: *“In the South [friends] won’t be in the same place. In Khartoum you can meet in Bahri in Omburdam, but when you come back some will stay in Juba, some in Malakal, so you will never meet them again”* (Elisabeth).

This is closely linked with the lack of knowledge of social formalities and traditions amongst the young southern Sudanese, for whom moving to the RoSS is a frustrating experience, which might even take them socially backwards: *“because they don’t know anything about the South, they don’t even know the language”* (Elisabeth).

In the interviews conducted, social identity (in the shape of peer and family pressure) seems to conflict with, and sometimes override, the personal wishes and fears of the challenges to be found when returning, as Emmanuela put it: *“Because we’re South Sudanese,*

we are supposed to move to our country”. As one of the interviewees explained, the socialization process can affect one’s personal decision, despite the difficulties:

“The socialization process from the families and relatives... can influence the way you think. [...] It will be very difficult. I have to adjust to the new situation; I have no friends, have to start from the beginning, from zero?... It will be very difficult, but I have to” (Elizabeth).

5.3.2 OPPORTUNITIES

It could be said that RoSS, free of religious extremism (although with strong traditional values), has great potential to achieve gender equality and women’s rights, to which the government has expressed its commitment (Mustafa Ali, 2012: 1). Nevertheless, in order to make the most of such potential, the above-mentioned social and cultural practices harmful to women and leading to social exclusion on tribal and identity grounds should be overcome.

Despite the existing challenges in RoSS, there are a series of factors that seem to play an important role in shaping these women’s decisions when it comes to stay or ‘return’.

POLITICAL WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION

Ever since the signing of the CPA, South Sudan committed to ensuring women’s participation through a quota system, in order to ensure gender equality in government (Mustafa Ali, 2013: 3). Thus, women’s participation is a right stated in the South Sudan’s transitional constitution, which can lead to improve relations between the state and local communities. The 2011 transitional constitution of RoSS provides for a quota system with 25 percent representation for women at executive and legislative levels, and other similar provisions have resulted in women constituting 33 percent of South Sudan’s parliament at independence (ibid., 5). These improvements were stated by some women: *“Government has given women more rights than there used to be. They encourage women education and working and so on” (Apiu).*

It should not be forgotten, however, that several activists have described factors obstructing women’s political participation, such as the above-mentioned deep-rooted cultural practices and perceptions, that limit women’s access to education and relegate them to the private sphere (Mustafa Ali, 2013: 5).

FAMILY LINKS AND BELONGING

Family seems to play an important (if not decisive) role in shaping the decision to leave or stay. For instance, after mentioning a series of varied problems expected in RoSS, Emmanuela concludes that: *“But the most important thing is that you’re staying with your family.”* Moreover, many expressed their wishes to go to RoSS based on their families’ or fathers’ idea of ‘what has to be done’ rather than on their own: *“Then there was me and my mum, and my mum she wanted to stay here. She wanted, but for her children, for her husband, for all this she had to go there.”* (Anne), *“When we’re in South my father tells me to go and he refused that my brothers came [...]. Because we’re South Sudanese, we are supposed to move to our country”* (Emmanuela), *“It will be very difficult [but] your mother and your father, and your family they’ve all gone there, you cannot stay here alone, you have to be with your people.”* (Elisabeth)

The importance of such socialization process is reflected in the answers of many respondents in this research: *“I grew up in the North , even I don’t know the South [...]. My family tells me I’m from the South, and even I speak the language.”* (Winny) or *“They raise us in this way: the North will never be our place [...]. The socialization process from the families and relatives... can influence the way you think [...].”* (Elizabeth).

5.3.3 COPING STRATEGIES

As it can be grasped from almost every interview, there is a clear feeling of patriotism against all the odds. Despite the challenges expected if going to RoSS, most women seemed to be ready to go through personal ‘sacrifices’ in order to help developing ‘their’ brand new nation, underpinning, thus, Anderson’s idea of ‘nation-ness’ whereby “nations inspire love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love” (2006: 141), as pointed out in Chapter 2.

As mentioned earlier, almost every southern Sudanese is eager to claim their ‘Southernness’ and their pride of belonging to the new-born nation, as Anne claims: *“I have voted for separation and I’m proud to be a southern Sudanese girl. Even after the separation we don’t have what we need, but we’re gonna do our best to develop our country”*. Indeed, most respondents tried to see the separation as something positive, in that when Sudan was still one country, the South was clearly marginalized: *“My people were marginalized, they didn’t get health care, no service at all... Finally we have started to develop ourselves”* (Kuei), and dependant on the

North: *“People from the South depended on the North, but now that they’re separated they can develop the country”* (Rita).

Even though such claims are historically legitimized, the general tone of most interviewees was exaggeratedly optimistic, which can be understood as a coping strategy. Extolling and idealizing certain aspects of ‘home’ are present in many conversations, which contradict facts and reality. For instance, one of the interviewees referred to the cool and rainy climate in RoSS as a blessing, even though, as reports show, hard weather conditions are one of the main hindrances for road development in RoSS, which plays an invaluable role in the development of the whole country (UNOPS, 2011). Similarly, the same respondent claimed: *“People are always happy [...] even if there’s not food, but they’re still feeling so happy because they went back to their regions”* (Winny).

Following the same line, while many interviewees were aware of the separation’s economic and social impact for both countries, they always tried to find the positive part of it, especially for identity reasons:

“I think [the separation] was bad, but the good things that came out of separation were better than the bad things. The economic level is down now but it used to be the down before. Being an independent country means having your own rules and laws, you know getting to know what’s gonna happen in your country, and deciding what to do [...]” (Apiu).

The same respondent claimed how, now that they are two different countries, people want to bring the economic relationship back, in a context where *“each one will be in their part, the Northern in the North, the Southern in the South.”*

However, national identity in RoSS is still to be shaped. Moreover, the unique and somehow contradictory identity characterizing the southern Sudanese living in Khartoum, who have been born and raised in Khartoum within traditional southern Sudanese families, is clearly visible in the use of language many respondents do during the interviews. While most of the times, the respondents included themselves in the southern Sudanese ‘group’ by referring to it as ‘we’ or ‘us’, in many cases, their vision of themselves as belonging to RoSS or RoS was not clear, which was evident in the use of ‘they’ (and not ‘we’) to refer to southern Sudanese, as if they themselves did not belong in the group: *“People from the South depended on the North, but now that they’re separated they can develop the country”* (Rita), *“For Southerners, for all of their lives they’ve been dreaming to get back their country. Now*

they separated and even life is difficult but they can learn to stay there. They believe they will overcome the challenges” (Elisabeth).

Similarly, it seems that while for some respondents their ‘blackness’ is a unifying factor “... *we are all black , we respect each other, there you have freedom of religion, you feel like in your own country” (Winnie)* that seems to overcome any other sort of difference, recent report and other respondents claim that there is obvious discrimination in RoSS for those coming from Khartoum and speaking Arabic, besides the clashes between different ethnic groups.

It could be argued that this nationalistic feeling is based on a deep-rooted feeling of ‘belonging’ and a collective identity, which, as argued by Louis Kriesberg imply a sort of solidarity feeling, so that people feel injured when other people sharing their identity are injured or killed, to the point that they are sometimes even willing to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the group (2010: 2). As stated by some authors, “social identity may in some contexts function almost to the exclusion of personal identity” (Northrup, 1989: 66). This is usually the case in situations of inter-group conflict and discrimination, whereby when discriminatory actions are directed at you or members of your group, this is likely to enhance the importance of keeping and protecting the social identity (ibid).

It could be said that such patriotic feelings are mainly based in weak pretexts and nationalistic ideas of what ‘belonging to a country’ implies. First, when asked if and why they want to go to RoSS, most interviewees claimed that they wanted to ‘develop their country’. In this point, it could be said that their vision of ‘country’ refers only and exclusively to the capital city, Juba, as a reproduction of their up-till-now life in Khartoum. Indeed, as mentioned previously, it is the rural and inhospitable areas, with important lack of infrastructure and quite low salaries, the ones that need professionals and skilled people to develop them. However, most respondents claimed that they would seek to find a job in big cities, such as Juba or Malakal. Second, recurrent expressions of pride of being a southern Sudanese, “*I feel proud that I have my own country. Previously they treated us like we’re homeless, but now we’re proud that we have our own country, where we belong to, with our own government” (Delight)*, seem to be based on a socially instilled nationalist feeling, according to some interviewees, such as Naba3. Indeed, if comparing Delight’s statement with her own feelings (later on in the interview) and other respondents feelings of being discriminated and being called ‘traitors’ by some people in RoSS, besides the tribal hierarchies in the shape, this idealized thought of ‘having my own country’ could be easily challenged. Third, some respondents gave testimony of their mixed feelings regarding the

issue of belonging and wishes to return. Some of them, such as Elisabeth, referred to ‘having to go’ despite the difficulties expected there, whereby it could be implied that such desired are more based on the family’s decisions and expectations on what should be done, rather than on their own free will.

Additionally, nations are imagined political communities because their members will never know the majority of their co-nationals, who are, nevertheless, considered as relatives and close friends, objects of personal identification (ibid., 6), as expressed by some respondents: “...*there is a time when they begin to take our brothers, even not my brother, but as a South Sudanese I can see him as I my brother*” (Suzanne).

Indeed, as expressed by many interviewees, going back to one’s nation is worth any personal sacrifice, which is verbalized by many interviewees in this research: “[In South Sudan] *people are always happy. Sometimes, you know, even if there’s no food, but they’re still feeling so happy because they went back to their regions*” (Winny).

Interestingly, many interviewees referred to feelings of ‘freedom’ after the secession of South Sudan. However, despite the serious concerns expressed by some regarding the situation of women in a patriarchal and tribal society as it is RoSS, none of them referred to their gender as a determining identity feature. “*Our society as Southerners puts a lot of pressure on women [...], they can’t be independent, they always have to have men to take care of them, to be responsible for by the father or the husband*” (Kuei).

5.4 CONCLUSION

As it has been seen in this Chapter, the challenges and opportunities faced by this particular group of women, with a unique and complex identity, play an important role in shaping their personal decision to remain in Khartoum or ‘return’ to RoSS. Equally important is the fact that, during the reaching to their definitive decision, they have to adopt a series of coping strategies that make the situation more bearable, be it in the North or in the South.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The intention of this research has been to understand the challenges and opportunities faced by a specific group of southern Sudanese young educated women, most of them born in Khartoum, whose decision to go to RoSS or stay in Khartoum, has been and still is influenced not only by the political context and their legal status, but also by their life experiences in Khartoum, social pressure, feelings of belonging, conceptions of ‘home’, and their social economic and political expectations in RoSS. Through the different experiences narrated by the interviewees, this dissertation has revealed that these far from being a homogeneous group with clearly defined legal, social and economic rights/status. Most importantly, in constant to commonly held views, the research shows that rather than having a clear-cut identity, those women have developed a rather unique identity that can be characterised as transnational, since it goes beyond the historical demarcation of two opposing identities: the ‘northern Arabs’ versus the ‘southern Blacks’. In this respect, rather than providing a solution to the question of identity of southerners, the secession of the South seems to reveal new dimensions of identity complex, especially for southern women with links in both parts of their former state.

As it can be grasped from the women interviewed in this research, the separation of the country has put them in the situation of having to adjust to the challenge of becoming a foreigner rather than a marginalized citizen. Even though before the separation life in Khartoum was hard for the interviewed women, the separation was perceived as exacerbating this situation. In particular, the fact of not being a citizen of RoS anymore, has translated in a series of common challenges for themselves and their families, such as: requiring a visa to stay in Khartoum and a passport to travel to the south; losing their jobs; hastily selling their property in Khartoum; not being accepted in public schools and being charged as a foreigners for the use of public services; having to go through complicated, unclear and costly procedures in order to obtain the required paperwork in order to be able to travel anywhere; or fighting to obtain their pensions. Additionally, verbal harassment in the streets both by ordinary people and some police was assessed to undermine the feelings of security of many respondents in public spaces, who claimed to feel not even like foreigners, but like refugees without rights.

It could be said that, the different strategies these women use in order to face their new legal position as non-citizens in what used to be their country, vary from person to person, but there seems to be a pattern of ‘invisibility’. Bullying and harassment

experiences in public spaces, for instance, are deemed by most interviewees as intimidating enough to make them avoid travelling to the city centre or moving freely in public spaces, which leads them to live a ‘secluded life’: from the dorm to the University. Some others, however, argued to have become ‘immune’ to such bullying, which admittedly came from uneducated and ignorant people. Similarly, such feelings of insecurity regarding their mobility have also a negative impact in the maintenance of family links. Indeed, the ever changing legislation regarding travelling documents to move between Khartoum and Juba serves as a deterrent for many respondents to visit their families, which results in feelings of isolation and nostalgia.

Although the study did not involve southern Sudanese men who remained in Khartoum, the women who participated in this study have indicated that despite all the challenges they face in Khartoum, they feel better off compared to their brothers and male relatives, whose presence and movements have often being viewed with suspicion due to the increasing securitisation of southerners in the North.

While living in Khartoum is not free of challenges for the interviewed women, going to RoSS also seems to raise many challenges and concerns. On the one hand, even though most respondents had high expectations from the secession and seemed to be optimistic regarding finding an employment in a brand new developing country in need of professionals, low rights and opportunities (specially for women), generalized fears of favouritism, tribalism, and the high living expenses in RoSS seemed to overshadow such optimism to different degrees. On the other hand, while most respondents referred to southern Sudanese as ‘my people’ or ‘our people’, there was an obvious concern regarding the lack of social links in RoSS, which added up to the lack of cultural knowledge, ranging from social norms to the spoken language. Indeed, as indicated by many interviewees, the fact of speaking Arabic and coming from Khartoum often makes one vulnerable to being labelled and treated as a ‘traitor’ or *jallaba*. Moreover, being a woman in a traditionally tribal society as the one in RoSS is also a source of concern for those women. Indeed, clear expressions of national identity, whereby states ‘prove’ that ‘us’ are clearly differentiated from ‘them’ and which inevitably require internal homogenization, can be considered one of the main strategies nation-states restore to in order to prove their legitimization. Such strategies, however, can also undermine the cohesion of ethnically plural states, such as RoSS, and have devastating effects on the lives of those with mixed identities, such as the women in this study. Indeed, as very well expressed by Deng: “when ethnicity is a social determinant, those who do not belong have to make a choice — to

leave the country, to accept discrimination as inherent in the situation, or to endeavour to change the situation to be more equitable” (1995: 14-15).

Despite the challenges encountered in Khartoum, there seem to be several aspects influencing these women’s decision to stay and make such stay more durable, such as the fact of considering their time in Khartoum as ‘temporary’, whereby they are there only to fulfil a clear purpose, namely, education or monetary issues (obtaining pensions or salaries). However, while the respondent’s agency and freedom in their personal decision to stay in Khartoum for career purposes was strongly noticeable in all interviews, their decision to go to RoSS upon completion of such purposes did not seem to be based uniquely in their wishes and needs. As shown in Chapter 5, there are a series of aspects, such as family ties or peer pressure, that led most respondents to ‘have to go back’ to RoSS, even though they did not seem to be totally convinced of having to take such a decision. The long sought independence of South Sudan itself and their ‘duty’, therefore, to eventually go back to the south for the sake of their new nation and in order to develop their new ‘home’ country, together with the somehow superficial imaginaries of ‘home’ as an idealized place, were assessed as the main reasons on which they based their decisions to go to RoSS against all the odds.

Thus, it can be drawn that even though the southern secession might be seen to have led to achieve the nation’s dignity, in that having ‘one’s own country’ can constitute a shield for minorities against marginalization and discrimination (such as southern Sudanese in northern Sudan), it is not clear, however, whether within the new RoSS that ‘minority issues’ will be solved after the secession, or transformed into new discrimination patterns against a new constructed ‘them’. Indeed, secession appears to have created its own new minority groups, with possible double disadvantages for some women in both parts of the country, such as for those non-Dinka and raised-in-Khartoum women going to RoSS, or those Christian southern Sudanese remaining in Khartoum, amongst others. In a country as new as RoSS self-determination cannot be regarded as the ‘magical solution’ to keep the country together as a nation and create a feeling of national identity and comradeship among its citizens. RoSS remains a diverse country facing numerous challenges, as it is also the case of RoS; new identities are emerging and being shaped, and there is a risk of building them on the same dynamics of opposition, which might inevitably lead to tribalism. Finally, it should be pointed out that, despite the nationalistic discourse present in most interviews, enhancing the ‘freedom’ of the South, such quick assumptions of liberation and

independence should be seriously reconsidered, especially in a context like RoSS, where women continue to be oppressed and marginalized. Yet, those same women have great hopes and enormous potentials to contribute to better future for RoSS and its relationship with RoS.

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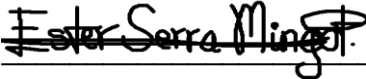
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- **INTERVIEWS** (See Appendix I):
 - ✓ DUNYANA – MA Student (Interview conducted on 22nd July 2012 in a classroom at Ahfad University, Omdurman) p.1
 - ✓ LIVIA - MA Student (Interview conducted on 24th July 2012 in a classroom at Ahfad University, Omdurman) p.1
 - ✓ DELIGHT - MA Student (Interview conducted on 29th July 2012 in a classroom at Ahfad University, Omdurman) p. 3

- ✓ SUSAN - MA Student (Interview conducted on 30th July 2012 in a classroom at Ahfad University, Omdurman) p. 5
- ✓ DR. MANZOUL ASSAL – Professor at Khartoum University (Interview conducted on 2nd of August 2012 in his office at Khartoum University) p.8
- ✓ CHRISTINE – Nurse (Interview conducted on 5th August 2012 at All Saints Cathedral) p.10
- ✓ GLORIA – NGO worker (Interview conducted on 5th August 2012 at All Saints Cathedral) p.12
- ✓ DR. AL-BAQIR AL-AFIF - Director of Al-Khatim Center for Enlightenment and Human Development (Interview conducted on 6th August 2012 in his office at Al-Khatim Centre) p.16
- ✓ DR. SAMIA EL-NAGER – Professor (Interview conducted on 11th of August 2012 in a classroom at Ahfad University, Omdurman) p.20
- ✓ SUZANNE – Irregular NGO worker (Interview conducted on 12th August 2012 in her house at Haj Youssef) p. 25
- ✓ BILQUEES ISMAIL - UNHCR Officer (Interview conducted on 14th August 2012 at her office in the UNHCR premises) p.30
- ✓ JOSEPHINE - MA Student (Interview conducted on 14th August 2012 in a restaurant in Khartoum) p.32
- ✓ EMMANUELA - MA Student (Interview conducted on 18th August 2012 in a classroom at Ahfad University, Omdurman) p.34
- ✓ KUEI - MA Student (Interview conducted on 25th August 2012 at Hajar dorm) p.37
- ✓ ELIZABETH – PhD Student (Interview conducted on 27th August 2012 in a classroom at Ahfad University, Omdurman) p.41
- ✓ ANALIA - MA Student (Interview conducted on 31st August 2012 in a classroom at Ahfad University, Omdurman) p.46
- ✓ EZEKIEL – Leader of a Compound Community (Interview conducted on 5th September 2012 in the compound at El-Ma3mura) p.48
- ✓ Second Group Interview with GLORIA and CHRISTINE (Interview conducted on 4th November 2012 at All Saints Cathedral) p.50
- ✓ RITA – PhD Student (Interview conducted on 10th September 2012 in a classroom at Ahfad University, Omdurman) p.52
- ✓ Group Interview with WINNY, ANNE, WENDY and VIANKA - MA Students (Interview conducted on 17th September 2012 in a classroom at Ahfad University, Omdurman) p.56
- ✓ APIU - MA Student (Interview conducted on 22nd September 2012 in Hajar dorm) p.63
- ✓ NABA3 – Unemployed (Interview conducted on 27th September 2012 in a restaurant in Khartoum) p.68

**EMMIR**European Master in **Migration and Intercultural Relations**

DECLARATION OF AUTHENTICITY**MM4I MA Dissertation****Declaration of authenticity**

I hereby declare that the dissertation submitted is my own and that all passages and ideas that are not mine have been fully and properly acknowledged. I am aware that I will fail the entire dissertation should I include passages and ideas from other sources and present them as if they were my own.

Name: ESTER SERRA MINGOTDate and Place: 29th June 2013, AlcoiSignature: 

APPENDIX I

CODED INTERVIEWS

DUNYANA (22ND JULY 2012)

[This interview was not recorded because it was held in a quite informal and improvised way, where no recording devices were available. The questions were very open and more conversational. No notes were taken in the spot. All the information was put in written immediately after the meeting, but since the first-hand account of the facts was not recorded, codes have not been used in this interview]

Today I went to the AUSSA center in Ahfad in order to get to know this association made up by SS girls. The person in charge told me that AUSSA was not working because from the 350 SS students they had last year, many of them had left, and the current numbers were not 100% final, since many girls, who had gone back to the South, were willing to return for her studies.

Quite by chance, a SS girl came into the office and we were informally introduced. She agrees to have a quite informal conversation with me, in which, after explaining to her what my goals were, she told me a bit about her situation.

Duniana was born in Northern Sudan 23 years back from Southern Sudanese parents. Since her father was a professor at Juba University in Khartoum, he (and consequently the rest of the family) had to move to the South when the University was closed and moved to the South too. Since she was already studying at Ahfad, she decided to stay here by herself in order to finish her studies. At some point she went to the South and got her SS citizenship, and so she entered the North with a Visa and the letter from Ahfad. She told me that many of her friends were in the same situation, but since they had not received such letter from the University yet, they were waiting for it in the South, not being able to pursue their studies.

Despite having lived here all her life, when I asked about her wish to go or stay, she was very categorical: she wanted to leave. According to her, life here as a SS was very hard. Besides the social pressure and harassment, she talked to me about the difficulties of finding a job as a Southerner in the North. She also told me that she had the chance to get a Northern Sudan citizenship, but still, she preferred to be in the South.

LIVIA (24TH JULY 2012)

[This interview was not recorded according to the wishes of the interviewee]

Name, age, place of birth, studies, marital status: Livia – 27 - Tombora (South Sudan) – Psychology – single.	BORN IN SS
Religion: Christian	
Family origins: All her family originates from South Sudan.	FAMILY FROM SS
When did you come to Khartoum? Why? Did you come with your family? She came in Khartoum in 1988 with her family. Her father did not have a job in the South so we started working in Khartoum as a driver.	REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (FIND JOB)
Where is your family now? In Khartoum or in the South? Why? 4 years ago her father lost his job as a driver	REASON FOR MOVING TO SS

in Khartoum and they decided to move back to the South, where he found a job as a driver for the Ministry of Education. With her father, her mother and 2 of her brothers moved to Juba.	(FATHER LOST JOB IN NS) FAMILY FOLLOWING FATHER'S DECISION
What is the economical situation of your family in the South? Her father has a job so they can live quite well.	FAMILY ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SS (OK)
Why are you still here in Khartoum? She is finishing her degree in Psychology.	REASON FOR STAYING IN NS (STUDIES)
Are you alone in Khartoum? If so, how do you cope with it? Do they belong to associations? She has here 3 brothers and one sister. The brothers have SS citizenship and they work in the informal market. Her sister is married to a Nuba man, so she acquired the Northern Sudan (NS) citizenship. She does not belong to any SS association.	HAVING OTHER RELATIVES IN ESTABLISHED NS RELATIVES IN NS WORK IN INFORMAL MARKET BELONGING TO NO ASSOCIATION
Your friends here are from NS or SS? She has got friends from both nationalities.	MIXED CIRCLE OF FRIENDS
Can you get a job here? If not, how do you fund your studies? She says that finding a job is not an option because she has lectures most of the day. Moreover, the only chances she would have right now are informal jobs. Her uncle finances her studies, because she was not offered a scholarship.	NOT WORKING IN NS BECAUSE SHE STUDIES. UNCLE FINANCING HER STUDIES
Do you intend to go back to South Sudan? Why? No. She moved in Khartoum in 1988, when she was 3 years old, so she does not remember anything of the South, she has no social links there, besides her family, it is a foreign country to her, and the lack of development in health, education, facilities, etc. is not appealing to her.	WISH TO STAY IN NS HARDSHIPS EXPECTED IN SS: LACK OF SOCIAL LINKS FEELING SS IS A FOREIGN COUNTRY HARDSHIPS EXPECTED IN SS: LACK OF DEVELOPMENT AND FACILITIES
Which citizenship do you hold? SS citizenship, which she acquired 2 months ago.	SS CITIZENSHIP
Are you aware of your rights and legal situation here? She was aware of the fact that she was considered a foreigner now, and therefore needed a visa.	AWARE OF NEW LEGAL RIGHTS IN NS
Is there some kind of SS authority (Embassy, Consulate) where they inform you and help you with legal paperwork? Yes, there is an Embassy, dealing with issues of citizenship and visas.	
Do you have restrictions on mobility to go to the South and then come back to the North? Yes. First, there is the money matter. Apparently the Government has canceled flights from Khartoum to Juba and vice versa, so they have to go through Addis Ababa, or Nairobi, etc. whereby the flight fees become unaffordable. Second, besides the visa, they need a University document stating that they are here for study purposes only.	EXPENSIVE TRAVELLING COSTS MAIN CHALLENGES AFTER SEPARATION: MONEY AND PAPERWORK
Do you feel like you belong here in the NS society? Or do you feel some kind of discrimination? Can you give an example? Yes, she feels like she belongs in the North. She has experienced some sort of harassment or discriminatory behavior, especially in the streets: when some	FEELINGS OF BELONGING TO NS VERBAL DISCRIMINATION ON THE ROAD AND PUBLIC

people see them wearing trousers or somehow imply they are from the South, they shout at them: 'Go back to the South!'	TRANSPORT
Do you think you would be better off in South Sudan? No. If she manages to find a job in NS she would definitely stay.	WISH TO STAY IN NS IF SHE FINDS A JOB
Do you suffer from some kind of harassment from authorities (police and so on)? No	NO AUTHORITIES HARASSMENT
Can you describe, more or less, how your life was affected from the Referendum of independence in 2011? She has found more difficulties in money matters, especially when it comes to paperwork and with the possibility to travel to the South.	MAIN CHALLENGES AFTER SEPARATION: MONEY AND PAPERWORK

DELIGHT (29TH JULY 2012)

Name, age, place of birth, studies, marital status: Delight Ambrose Samuel – 21 – Pharmacy – Single.	BORN IN SS
Religion: Christian	
Family origins: My family is from South Sudan. We came here when my father is teaching at the University, but when the University went back to South Sudan, so we went back there, and now my family is there too. They moved last year, before the secession, in April or May...	PARENTS FROM SS REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (FATHER'S JOB) REASON FOR MOVING TO SS (FATHER'S JOB) WHOLE FAMILY FOLLOWS THE FATHER
When did you come to Khartoum? Why? Did you come with your family? In 1997, because my father worked here.	WHOLE FAMILY FOLLOWS THE FATHER
Where is your family now? In Khartoum or in the South? Why? My family is in Juba but my sister is here in Khartoum studying at University. She will go back when she finishes.	SOME RELATIVES STILL IN KHARTOUM
What is the economical situation of your family in the South? My father is still working at the same University. The economic situation of my family is not good, but it's working. Here was a bit better, but now the two countries are separate and they're suffering.	BAD CURRENT FAMILY ECONOMICAL SITUATION IN SS BAD CURRENT GENERAL ECONOMICAL SITUATION IN SS
Why are you still here in Khartoum? I am still studying at my 4 th year, so I still have another year, and then after, go back.	RETURN TO NS TO STUDY
Are you alone in Khartoum? If so, how do you cope with it? Do they belong to associations? I live in a hostel, in Hajar, sharing room with my sister. It is very expensive, I cannot cook, so I get the junk food, so I'm going fat. My father is sending me money every month. I cannot work because I have to finish my studies.	DAILY LIFE CHALLENGES IN NS NO WORK-ONLY STUDY

<p>Undergraduate students cannot find a job. In general is hard to find a job in Sudan, most of the people are not working. It's general [not only for SS], but now it's difficult for me from the South to find a job here. There's no job opportunities here, and sometimes they tell you 'go back to your country and get jobs there'. I do not belong to any association. AUSSA it's working, it's a social group, not political. I was part of it but just partly. I don't attend church.</p>	<p>DIFFICULTY TO FIND A JOB IN NS (GENERAL) DIFFICULTY TO FIND A JOB IN NS (HERDER FOR SOUTH SUDANESE) NO INVOLVEMENT TO ANY ASSOCIATION</p>
<p>Your friends here are from NS or SS? Most of my friends are from the North. Most of the friends from the South went back to the South.</p>	<p>MAJORITY OF NS FRIENDS MOST FRIENDS RETURNED TO SS</p>
<p>Do you feel integrated in the Khartoum society? Usually in society there is no big difference, but governmentally there is difference, like in Hajar I pay 500 SP because I am a foreigner. In April I paid 300SP but when I came in July they told me it was 500SP, like a foreigner. At the University I pay like a national because I enrolled before the separation, but for new people they will pay like foreigners. I do not get any scholarship.</p>	<p>GOOD INTEGRATION IN NS SOCIETY BEING A FOREIGNER IN NS CONSIDERED A NATIONAL AT THE UNIVERSITY</p>
<p>Do you intend to go back to South Sudan? Why? Of course. I miss my dad, and my mom. I miss my family.</p>	<p>WISH TO GO TO SS</p>
<p>Which are your expectations when you go back to the South? Yes, I will face some difficulties because I lived almost all my life here, from 1997, I was 5 y.o. when I came here, so all my friends are from here. So it will be difficult. I have been to the South, but for short times, one month or so, always with my family, so I don't have many friends. I think I will find a job, because of my studies. There are not many pharmacists so they need us.</p>	<p>CHALLENGES WHEN RETURNING TO SS FEELING OF BELONGING IN NS SEEING SS AS A FOREIGN COUNTRY GOOD EXPECTATION TO GET A JOB IN SS</p>
<p>Do you expect extra challenges as a woman? No, as a woman it is perfect. In South Sudan we share 50-50. At work and in society we have the same opportunities, except that domestic job is for women (cooking, cleaning).</p>	<p>BETTER SITUATION FOR WOMEN IN SS</p>
<p>Which citizenship do you hold? South Sudan. I changed it in June 2012 because they told me here that I had to change my passport. When I came from South Sudan they told me that I needed a visa for 100US\$.</p>	<p>CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP IN SS PAPERS REQUIRED TO RETURN</p>
<p>Do you feel like a foreigner here? After making me pay 500SP in Hajar, yes. I feel like a foreigner. In the society there are some difficulties. Some of my friends told me that when they went to the market here they told them: 'What are you doing here? Go back to the South?' but I never faced these problems, but my friends did.</p>	<p>BEING A FOREIGNER IN NS HARDSHIPS IN NS: SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION (NOT FACED PERSONALLY)</p>
<p>Is there some kind of SS authority (Embassy, Consulate) where they inform you and help you with legal paperwork? Yes, in Khartoum there is the Embassy from South Sudan.</p>	
<p>Do you have restrictions on mobility to go to the South and then come back to the North? Now I am working to get my residence permit for one year.</p>	

<p>You have to pay 400SP. It's just for students. I have to prove that I am students and bring papers from University. I travel by plane. They recently opened the flights between Khartoum and Juba. But when I came here, on the 4th of July I had to fly to Nairobi. I intend to go back next year maybe, when I finish. There's no restrictions as long as you have the visa.</p>	<p>PAPERWORK PROBLEMS TO RETURN TO NS</p> <p>EXPENSIVE TRAVELLING COSTS</p>
<p>Do you feel like you belong here in the NS society? Or do you feel some kind of discrimination? Can you give an example? Of course in the South. In the South I feel at home. In here I am afraid to wear trousers for example. It's difficult for you to wear trousers, because of the <i>sharia</i>. It's especial for us, because for you they know you're foreigners, but here for us we have to wear skirt. I once worn trousers and the police stopped me and told me that I had to apologize in written and say that I never would wear trousers again. That happened after the referendum.</p>	<p>FEELING OF BELONGING IN SS</p> <p>DRESSING CODE PROBLEMS IN NS</p> <p>HARDSHIPS IN NS: AUTHORITIES HARASSMENT</p>
<p>Do you think the situation of SS in the North is easier for boys than girls? <i>It's difficult for boys, more than girls, because you know, boys will be the Governors of the future, so most of my friends, the police take them. They take them to prison and they beat them for no reason. At that time there was still no visa. They prolonged their time after the Referendum in July and then till April 2012. At that time things were more restricted. We did not go out, especially at night, there was a lot of travel. Nowadays it is better of my friends the police took them to the prison and they beat them for not reason. At that time they did not have the visa. Now it is better, with all the arranged paperwork and things like that.</i></p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: HARDER FOR MALES</p>
<p>Do you suffer from some kind of harassment from authorities (police and so on)? The trouser's incident.</p>	
<p>Can you describe, more or less, how your life was affected from the Referendum of independence in 2011? <i>I feel proud that I have my own country. Previously they treated us like we're homeless, but now we're proud that we have our own country, where we belong to, with our own government. Previously they called us maids, that we have born to do that.</i></p>	<p>PATRIOTIC FEELING-HAVING MY OWN COUNTRY</p> <p>EXPERIENCES OF DICRIMINATION IN NS</p>
<p>Has you stay here in Khartoum changed your relationship with your family? When they are here I went from University back to my house, but they are all in the south, so hard to keep your emotions.</p>	<p>FEELING OF LONELINESS</p>
<p>Are returnees considered traitors? <i>Yes, they tell you that you must not leave the country, that they have to defend their country. My aunt experienced this. They called her 'jallaba' which means arab. You behave like arab, cheaters...</i></p>	<p>DISCRIMINATION OF RETURNEES IN SS</p>
<p>Social services in Khartoum, like doctors...: <i>I do not trust doctors here.</i></p>	<p>FEELING OF INSECURITY IN NS HOSPITALS.</p>

SUSAN (30TH JULY 2012)

Name, age and place of birth: Suzanne – 22 – Juba	BORN IN SS
Which is your religion? Christian	
What are your family origins? Where do they come from? They are from Lobonob Village, South of Juba.	PARENTS FROM SS
Where is your family now? Why did they move? When? They're in Juba. I'm just here alone, I'm just here for education, they're in Juba, they never came here.	PARENTS NEVER MOVED TO NS MOVED IN NS ALONE FOR STUDIES
When did you come to Khartoum then? In 2007, I came alone just for studies.	
What does your father do in Juba? He's working, he's working as a farmer.	PARENTS WORKING IN SS
And your mother? My mom's working in the market.	
Do you have brother's and sisters? Yeah, I have one brother and one sister. They're in Juba, also. We're 5, two died and we remained 3. Both of them are studying in Juba.	SIBLINGS STUDYING IN SS
What is the economical situation of your family in the South? Are they working? It's not fine, my father is farmer, and he's not working, he's working in the market, but during the peace time in Sudan they went to do agriculture in the village. But my mom is the only woman who is working in the market. Is the one sending me the money from Juba. 200 Sudanese Pounds a month.	BAD CURRENT FAMILY ECONOMICAL SITUATION IN SS MOTHER AS THE FAMILY BREAD- WINNER IN SS MOTHER SUPPORTING HER FINANCIALLY
With that money you pay for the accommodation? Yes, 30 Sudanese Pounds a month. In the hostel.	
How do you cope with being alone here? I'm not feeling good, because my mum is away, sometimes even there is no money, if these 200 finish, I don't have no one to sponsor me. Unless I have to wait till they get money and send it to me.	FAMILY SEPARATION ECONOMIC MONTHLY PROBLEMS IN NS
Do you work here? No, I just study.	
Do you want to move after you finish your studies? Yes, I want to go back to Juba.	WISH TO GO BACK TO SS
Your circle of friends in Khartoum, is it mainly South Sudanese or North Sudanese? In my hostel we're just people from the South, no people from the North. We're 20 girls. They're all studying in Ahfad.	MOSTLY SS FRIENDS
Do you belong to associations (like AUUSA) or any church? No, just our association AUUSA. It's our South Sudan Student Association. Like if you have a graduation ceremony we can contribute for the celebration of our graduation ceremony. And other activities. If there's something, the Government want to pay us, like this year they came to pay us. The Government of South Sudan, they came here and they met one of our lady here in AUUSA, then he took our list and he paid our money for fees. To all South	BELONGING TO ASSOCIATION (AUUSA)

Sudanese, just this year.	
Which citizenship do you hold? Since when? Why did you change it? South Sudan, even my passport, my origin is from South Sudan. I'm Bari by tribe. I changed it in Juba this April 2012.	CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP IN SS SS CITIZENSHIP SS PASSPORT HOLDER
What kind of identification do you need here besides the passport? I came with visa through Kenya. I have 1 month visa. It will expire this 13 th . They gave me one month only to make the residence permit. I will apply for the residence because I am going to be here for 2 years. I don't know how long is the residence permit for, I will have to see.	I-MONTH VISA HOLDER RESIDENCE PERMIT IN NS ON PROCESS
Do you also have this South Sudanese Registration Card? No, I don't know...	NO SS REGISTRATION CARD
Can you explain to me how was the process of changing your citizenship? In Juba it's easy, but here it's not. But mine, because I did it Juba. My friends in my hostel told me the process is a bit long.	CHANGING NATIONALITY: EASIER IN SS CHANGING NATIONALITY: HARDER IN NS
Are you aware of your rights and legal situation here as a non-national? Many of them you can see: 'When are you going to South Sudan?' just questioning, I'm not feeling like home, to be frank. I can find many challenges, in the streets, in the taxi, everywhere... For instance in the taxi, they corral you just for nothing, they tell you something wrong, like 'When are you going back to South Sudan?', and it's not their concern. Sometimes if you went to the road, they tell you things, maybe the way we wear is different from here.	HARDSHIPS IN NS: SOCIAL PREASSURE, HARASSMENT FEELING LIKE A FOREIGNER DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT
Do you think the changing of nationality has supposed some problems to you in the North (economic problems, excessive paperwork, any restriction)? No.	
Do you have restrictions on mobility to go to the South and then come back to the North? I don't think so, but, I don't know, but if I graduate I don't know if they will open this flight direct to Juba, but if you have to go to Nairobi, Kampala and Juba it's a lot of money. Even when I came here I came with 310. Even my father's got not money to pay. But just because I just want to come to University they just try their best so I can come. And I don't think so if I can go back to South, maybe until I finish the school.	EXPENSIVE TRAVELLING COSTS
Can you get a job here? If not, how do you fund your studies? No, I don't think so.	HARDSHIPS IN NS: JOB-FINDING
Do you feel like you belong here in the NS society or in the SS? Why? I belong in the South. Even I born there, I study there, my primary, my secondary, all in Juba. Just I came here for University. And after I finish it I will go back.	FEELING OF BELONGING IN SS WISH TO RETURN TO SS
Do you think your life would be better off in South Sudan? Which are the main challenges you expect to find if you return? Yes, in South I'm	BEING 'FREE' IN SS

<p><i>free, but here I cannot be free because it's not my country anymore. Many ladies of us, after they're graduated they go to the South and they can find a job. Unless maybe you don't apply, or if you fail the interview, but you can find a job.</i></p>	<p>NS IS NOT MY COUNTRY SO I DON'T FEEL FREE</p> <p>POSITIVE ABOUT FINDING A JOB IN SS AFTER GETTING HER NS DEGREE</p>
<p>Can you describe, more or less, how your life was affected from the Referendum of independence in 2011? There's a big change. By the time I came here in 2007, yes Khartoum is good, but after the separation there is a big change. As I say in the street, people they say things, and it's not my concern, this is politics, even I don't know. But before it's ok, it's not bad, before the separation.</p>	<p>WORSTENING OF THE SITUATION IN NS AFTER SEPARATION</p> <p>NO SOCIAL PREASSURE OR HARASSMENT BEFORE THE SEPARATION</p>
<p>From your perspective, do you think the situation as Southern Sudanese in Khartoum is easier for boys than for girls? Have you experienced some sexism? I can see both boys and girls, especially the boys. They go for the boys, because there is a time when they begin to take our brothers, even not my brother, but as a South Sudanese I can see him as I my brother. In the streets if they see them around, speaking, they take them. A brother to my friend, they take him, and they did not let him until the family of the boy paid 500 pounds to release him. I don't know why they take him, maybe there's politics, I don't know, just like that. Because when we asked the boy he said he had not done anything. These people come, and they don't know, they did not wear police clothes. But for us, for girls, they let us be ok.</p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: EASIER FOR FEMALES (BOYS ARE TAKEN RANDOMLY BY POLICE)</p>
<p>From your perspective, have you ever felt intimidated by the media advertising/information regarding SS in Khartoum? Can you give some example? Sometimes in the newspapers... for instance with the Abiey conflict, I feel it's my land.</p>	<p>NEGATIVE ROLE OF MEDIA</p>

DR. MANZOUL ASSAL (2ND OF AUGUST 2012)

[I met Dr. Manzoul Assal at University of Khartoum to talk about the possible publication of one of his articles on migration in the *Ahfad Journal* special issue on migration. I took advantage of the opportunity to ask him some questions about my research topic, on which he has extensive expertise.]

<p>After the CPA in 2005, did many SS started to return? Yes, there were a lot of campaigns by international organizations, such as the UN or the IOM, promoting and facilitating the return of SS, and also a lot of media propaganda. However, it could be said that there was a secondary displacement, since many people re-emigrated to the North, such as a female friend of Manzoul, who after seeing the underdeveloped and hard living-conditions in the South, decided to go back to the North again.</p>	<p>PROMOTING RETURNS TO SS AFTER CPA</p> <p>SECONDARY RETURNS TO NS AFTER EXPERIENCING HARSH CONDITIONS IN SS</p>
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<p>After the January 2011 Referendum for Independence, did people leave voluntarily or were they forced? No one was forced to leave. Most of them left voluntarily in big numbers. In Khartoum one can feel the decrease of Southern Sudanese.</p>	<p>NO FORCED RETURNS TO SS AFTER 2011 REFERENDUM</p> <p>MASSIVE RETURNS TO SS AFTER 2011 REFERENDUM</p>
<p>What about after the July 2011 official separation? Directly, no one was forced to leave. However, as foreigners, Southerners were not allowed to own immovable goods, such as land or houses. So, during the 9-month-period of grace (until the 9th of April 2012), many Southern Sudanese (who were still considered Sudanese, unless they changed their citizenship), sold their houses and lands. While some of them refused to sell their property here (which is permitted), they are not allowed to acquire any more immovable goods. Moreover, when it comes to acquiring visas and that kind of documents, the existing restriction might be seen a way for putting pressure on them to go.</p>	<p>ECONOMIC PRESSURE BY NS GOVERNMENT ON PROPERTY</p> <p>MASSIVE SELLING OF PROPERTY AND LAND AFTER 2011 REFERENDUM</p> <p>PAPERWORK PRESSURE, PUSHING SS PEOPLE TO LEAVE NS</p>
<p>Do you know about this kind of registration card? Yes, it is a Registration Card that stated to be issued to SS after the grace period. This card gives you rights because it determines your status. It's kind of a proof to show the Authorities that you've gone through all the necessary legal proceedings that avail your stay in Khartoum. However, there are still some problems with these issues, because people, for instance, with mixed parents are still in a kind of legal vacuum. Dual citizenship should be considered as an option SS, just as it happens with other nationalities, otherwise it can be considered discrimination.</p>	<p>REGISTRATION CARD DETERMINING ONE'S STATUS IN KHARTOUM</p> <p>CHILDREN OF MIXED PARENTS IN A LEGAL VACUUM</p> <p>CONSIDERING DUAL CITIZENSHIP AS AN OPTION</p>
<p>What happened to the IDP camps in Khartoum? The current status of the former camps is ambiguous. While many IDPs left, many others remained and became ordinary neighbours.</p>	<p>AMBIGUOUS STATUS OF IDPs IN KHARTOUM</p>
<p>What was and is the main problem of returning Southern Sudanese? Documentation is not a big problem anymore because there is a South Sudan Embassy in Khartoum dealing with that. The main problem is a financial one, mainly due to the flights between Juba Khartoum, which are not direct, so people have to travel through Nairobi or Addis Ababa. Moreover, there is the problem of insecurity in the South. It is a new country and its future is not clear. Many Southerners have lived here all their lives and they have no social links, no properties, nothing there...</p>	<p>SS EMBASSY DEALING WITH PAPERWORK</p> <p>EXPENSIVE TRAVELLING COSTS BETWEEN KHARTOUM AND JUBA</p> <p>UNCLEAR FUTURE FOR SS</p> <p>MANY SS PEOPLE LACK SOCIAL LINKS WITH SS</p>
<p>What happened to SS students at Khartoum University? Did they leave? Not all of them, many students stayed. However, SS employees at the University lost their jobs. Those working in Governmental bodies were all fired. In the private sector they can work, there is not much discrimination. Actually in the South it might be even worse finding a job, because of 3 main reasons:</p>	<p>SS STUDENTS REMAINED IN KHARTOUM</p> <p>SS CIVIL SERVANTS LOSING JOBS IN NS</p> <p>PRIVATE SECTOR IN NS STILL HIRING SS</p>

corruption, weak economy, and weak security (tribal conflicts and Governmental harassment).	DIFFICULTIES IN JOB-HUNTING IN SS MAIN HARDSHIPS IN SS: CORRUPTION, WEAK ECONOMY AND WEAK SECURITY
What's the current situation for SS in Khartoum right now? Is there discrimination? Which is their socio-economic situation? There is no important discrimination, but their economic situation is, in many cases, hard. Those who had the means to leave, left. But those who did not or did not want to, are facing important economic problems.	NO IMPORTANT DISCRIMINATION AGAINST SS IN KHARTOUM HARD ECONOMIC SITUATION FOR SS IN NS
What about women? In which way is their situation different to the men's? In general the Sudanese society is protective with women. Women are basically ignored.	GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: PROTECTIVE SOCIETY TOWARDS WOMEN; WOMEN ARE IGNORED.
What about the 2nd and 3rd generation of SS migrants / IDPs in Khartoum? Normally 2 nd generations tend to follow their parents.	SECOND GENERATIONS OF SS FOLLOWING FAMILY DECISIONS

CHRISTINE (5TH AUGUST 2012)

[This interview was taken at All Saints Cathedral. The interviewee was not comfortable with having the interview recorded.]

Name, age and place of birth: Christine – 55 years old – Juba - widow	BORN IN SS
Which is your religion? Christian, Protestant.	
What are your family origins? Where do they come from? All my family comes from Juba.	
When did you come to Khartoum? Why? I came to Khartoum in 1993 with my children because of the Civil War.	REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (CIVIL WAR)
Where is your family now? Why did they move? When? I am a widow, my husband died before we came here. I used to live with my nephews and my children, but now my nephews went back to the South and my children are abroad [one boy is married to a Sudanese woman and he lives in Norway, and one girls is studying tourism in the USA].	MOVING TO NS AS A WIDOW WITH CHILDREN ALL RELATIVES ARE GONE TO SS
Why didn't you move them? Because I worked here. I worked as a nurse in an AIDS control program both for Governmental and private centers. Now I am on a pension.	WORKING IN NS AS A NURSE BEING ON A PENSION
So, do you intend to move afterwards? Yes, but not now. I want to help developing my country.	WISH TO MOVE IN THE FUTURE WISHING TO DEVELOP SS

What is the economical situation of your family in the South? Are they working? [No direct family in the South]	
Are you alone in Khartoum? If so, how do you cope with it? [see question 5]	
Your circle of friends in Khartoum, is it mainly South Sudanese or North Sudanese? Most Southern Sudanese have now gone back to the South.	
Do you belong to associations (like AUUSA) or any church? Yes, I attend the Church and also I used to be part of the Women Action Group, but it's not working anymore.	BELONGING TO RELIGIOUS GROUP AND Women Action Group
Which citizenship do you hold? Since when? Why did you change it? South Sudanese, since April 2012. I changed it because I went to the South.	CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP (APRIL 2012) IN NS BECAUSE SHE TRAVELLED TO SS
What kind of identification do you need here besides the passport? We have the Southern Sudanese Registration Card. The Ministry of Interior issues it for free to know the number of Southern Sudanese living in the North. I still need to sort out my residence permit and my work permit, because sometimes I work when they call me.	SS REGISTRATION CARD HOLDER PENDING TO SOLVE HER RESIDENCE AND WORK PERMIT IN NS
Are you aware of your rights and legal situation here as a non-national? Yes	
Is there some kind of SS authority (Embassy, Consulate) where they inform you and help you with legal paperwork? Yes, the South Sudan Embassy in Khartoum.	
Do you think the changing of nationality has supposed some problems to you in the North (economic problems, excessive paperwork, any restriction)? Not at all.	NO PROBLEMS AFTER CHANGING HER NATIONALITY
Do you have restrictions on mobility to go to the South and then come back to the North? Yes, only economic problems, because the ticket is very expensive.	EXPENSIVE TRAVELLING COSTS
Did they own a house, for instance? What happened to it? No, I always rented a house. Those who owned a house before the separation can still have it as their property. However, now you cannot buy a house. In other countries they give houses for foreigners, but not here. Even if you were in the process to receive a house, they will stop the process and not give it to you.	POSSIBILITY TO KEEP PROPERTY IMPOSSIBILITY TO SELL PROPERTY NO SOCIAL HELP TO GET A HOUSE
Do you feel like you belong here in the NS society or in the SS? Why? In the South. Because I am among my people, not among foreigners.	FEELING OF BELONGING IN SS FEELING OF BEING A FOREIGNER IN NS
Do you think your life would be better off in South Sudan? Which are the main challenges you expect to find if you return? Yes, it will be better. Economic challenges.	HOPE TO GET A BETTER LIFE IN SS EXPECTING ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS IN SS

What is 'home' for you? South Sudan.	CONSIDERING HOME SS
Do you feel some kind of discrimination? Can you give an example? No, although sometimes they call me to cover a duty at the hospital and then there is someone who says: 'What is this Southerner doing here again?' And then the matron told him: 'It is us who are in need of her, because there is no one to cover the duty.'	VERBAL DISCRIMINATION AT WORK BEING DEFENDED BY HER COLLEAGUES
Do you suffer from some kind of harassment from authorities (police and so on)? No	NO AUTHORITIES HARASSMENT
Can you describe, more or less, how your life was affected from the Referendum of independence in 2011? People working for the Government had to stop working from the 20 th of June 2011. Some didn't even get their pensions.	LOSING JOBS AND PENSIONS
From your perspective, do you think the situation as Southern Sudanese in Khartoum is easier for boys than for girls? Have you experienced some sexism? It's the same	NO GENDERED SITUATION IN NS (IT'S HARD FOR BOTH)
From your perspective, have you ever felt intimidated by the media advertising/information regarding SS in Khartoum? Can you give some example? Maybe, not much.	

GLORIA (5TH AUGUST 2012)

Name, age, place of birth and marital status: Gloria – 37 years old – Rome - single	BORN IN ROME
Which is your religion? Christian Protestant	
What are your family origins? Where do they come from? My mum and dad are from South Sudan, but they got a scholarship and went to Italy to study. My mum was studying Domestic Sciences, or Women Studies now. She was in Cremona. My dad was studying Medicine, in Napoli. But then I was born in Rome.	PARENTS FROM SS
When did you come to Khartoum? Why? After Italy we went to the South, but then my mom brought us here for better education, because in the South there wasn't very very strong education. So my dad remained in the South working as a doctor and my mom was here with us. That's a couple of year ago... around 1978 or like that. My brother and I came with my mom. My mother did not work here, but she worked in the South when we were very small children.	REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (FURTHER EDUCATION) MOVING TO NS WITH THE MOTHER IN 1978 MOTHER NOT WORKING IN NS
Where is your family now? Why did they move? When? I lost my dad a couple of years ago, but my mom she's still alive, she's here with me. My father never moved to the North he stayed in the South because he was working for the Government and he moved from one region to another with the National Hospital. He passed money to my mother.	CURRENTLY LIVING WITH HER MOTHER IN NS FATHER ALWAYS REMINED IN SS WORKING TO SUSTAIN FAMILY
Why didn't you move them? I'm working at the Sudan Council of Churches (SCC) as a Disability Project	REASON FOR STAYING IN NS (WORK)

Coordinator.	
So, do you intend to move afterwards? Yes, I have, but not now. You know, with my current situation, I wasn't born like that actually. I got rheumatoid arthritis 7 years ago. So, I would prefer to have a job there first and then I can move down. I don't want to go and just stay idle.	MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT RETURNING TO SS IN THE FUTURE UNCERTAINTY ABOUT HOW TO COPE WITH HER DISABILITY IN SS UNCERTAINTY ABOUT FINDING A JOB IN SS
Do you think it's easy to find a job in the South right now? I can't say if it's easy or it's difficult, because some people they go and get a job, some don't. It depends. [Christine added: like us, if I go to the South I will not have a job]. Some people just go and then they have a job. And it even depends on which field actually.	FINDING A JOB IN SS DEPENDS ON PEOPLE
Do you think family/friend contacts can help to get a job? No, no, no...	
Are you alone in Khartoum? If so, how do you cope with it? No, I live with my mother. Most of my relatives have gone. They moved the year before last, and also last year, and even this year my cousin moved. Between 2010 and last year. My brother is in Adelaide in Australia.	SOME RELATIVES STILL IN KHARTOUM MOST RELATIVES AND FRIENDS MOVED TO SS
What's the economic situation of your relatives and friends who moved to the South? Some are working, some moved to the village, cultivating, and so on... None of my relatives re-returned to the North.	ALL RELATIVES HAVE A JOB IN SS
Your circle of friends in Khartoum, is it mainly South Sudanese or North Sudanese? I'm so social, I have many friends, I have very few Southerner friends remaining behind, and the rest are from here.	MIXED CIRCLE OF FRIENDS
Do you belong to associations (like AUUSA) or any church? Yes, to the Disabled Union.	BELONGING TO THE DISABLED UNION
LEGAL STATUS AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS	
Which citizenship do you hold? Since when? Why did you change it? My citizenship is on process. Now I have the South Sudanese Registration Card. That's enough to make things easy, so I can be identified.	CITIZENSHIP ON PROCESS SS REGISTRATION CARD HOLDER
What if you want to travel outside the country? They immediately issue the Travelling Documents. It's a paper and you can travel with it. If you don't have a passport and you want to travel, the Embassy will give you this travelling document, because you're going for good, you're not coming back.	LEAVING NS IS EASY, RETURNING IS THE DIFFICULT PART.
When did you start your application to get your passport? In June 2012. Before I was a bit busy.	
Are you aware of your rights and legal situation here as a non-national? Do you think the changing of nationality has supposed some problems to you in the North (economic problems, excessive paperwork, any restriction)? My rights are not the	

<p>same as before. The first thing is ownership. I can't own something here, like buying a house like a citizen. If I want to apply for a loan, they won't give me to me, because I am not a citizen. For disabled people you go up to University free of charge, because of the Disability Act, but if you're a foreigner, it's a bit tricky. They can do it, but I don't think you're entitled to that. I applied for these City Council Houses. Here if you want to apply for such a thing you have to be a citizen. So I applied for it. And in the law it says that to apply for it you have to be either married or divorcee or widow, and I'm not in these three categories. So when I went there I told them, I'm not in these three categories but I am disabled, it's a special case. So if I never get married this thing will help me to stay in my own place. So they gave me the form and I started the process. So, when they said people are going to vote for separation, I started the process actually, but then they stopped it. And the second one is, I have rheumatoid arthritis, and I applied for the Government Fund to cover my treatment in Germany, and I did all the processes. And I went to the Ministry of Foreign affairs, and I took the papers there and I had to wait for 2 weeks, so that they can process it for me, to go to Germany. That was in March (2011) and people are going to vote for separation in July (2011), so they stopped the process. I still had 3 months to be a citizen. And the third one, I applied for a loan in the Family Bank, that's where you apply for a loan to assist people. That was in January, and people were going to vote in July. I did all the process. There are two people, the bank manager did not accept, but the is another organization, an Islamic Organization, they call it the WANAZAQA, that means they actually assist people, poor people. There are two people in this, and the man refused, and said that this lady is going to be a foreigner, and then, the one who was my guarantee, the community leader [in Khartoum where you're in an area, there is the community leader, who is responsible for the problems in the area], he told him, you can guarantee my house. The man refused. The owner of the bank accepted, but the man refused, so I couldn't have my loan.</p>	<p>LOOSING RIGHTS AFTER SEPARATION</p> <p>LOOSING RIGHT TO OWNERSHIP</p> <p>LOOSING RIGHT FOR DISABLED SOCIAL HELP</p> <p>STOPPING APPLICATIONS FRO LOANS, SOCIAL HELP, ETC. BY SS BEFORE THE SEPARATION</p>
<p>Even our Southerners who are Councilors and Ambassadors and Diplomats abroad representing Sudan, they were brought before time, they were brought in April and the separation was in July. They were supposed to hand over on June 30th, they still had 3 months.</p>	<p>SS DIPLOMATICS LOST THEIR JOBS EVEN BEFORE SEPARATION</p>
<p>Do you have restrictions on mobility to go to the South and then come back to the North?</p>	
<p>Isn't it a problem for you, as a Southern Sudanese, to work here? No, you see, in the SCC we have a humanitarian wing called ERRADA (Emergency Relief Rehabilitation and Development Agency). It's not a problem, we are working for the interest of these people, not for the people in the South.</p>	<p>WORKING IN THE CHARITY/HUMANITARIAN FIELD IS NOT A PROBLEM.</p> <p>SS ARE WELCOME IN NS AS LONG AS THEY WORK FOR THEIR INTEREST</p>
<p>As a disabled person did you get some help from the Government? No. I have this motorbike for</p>	

<p>disabled, but it's not from the Government, it's from another organization, an Islamic organization. When it comes to humanitarian things they don't take into account the religion. Even before separation. This place is actually for Muslims. [She explains about 'ties' systems or <i>wanazaqá</i> systems]. When peace came to the South they used to help all Sudanese, regardless of the religion.</p>	<p>SS OBTAINING HELP FROM ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS</p> <p>IGNORING RELIGION AS A GROUND FOR DISCRIMINATION</p>
<p>Did your parents have some property here before leaving? Did they own a house, for instance? What happened to it? No, we've always been renting a house.</p>	
<p>SOCIAL ASPECTS AND PERSONAL PERCEPTIONS</p>	
<p>Do you feel like you belong here in the NS society or in the SS? Why? <i>I don't feel anything. Neither here nor there. I know I'm a Southerner, and I acknowledge my citizenship. If somebody asks I will say: 'I'm a Southerner' but feeling is different.</i></p>	<p>NEUTRAL FEELING OF BELONGING</p> <p>ACKNOWLEDGING THE SS CITIZENSHIP BUT FEELING NO EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT.</p>
<p>Do you think your life would be better off in South Sudan? Which are the main challenges you expect to find if you return? With my current situation it wouldn't be easy for me, because it's still a new, baby country. I love being with my people. I want to develop the place, but with my current situation, the South is still a new country, where they're not gonna have many facilities, especially in the field of medicine. So the problem is I wouldn't get the services I'm getting here, regarding my health.</p>	<p>CONCERNED ABOUT BEING A DISABLED IN SS</p> <p>WISHING TO DEVELOP THE COUNTRY</p> <p>CONCERN ABOUT THE LACK OF HEALTH FACILITIES.</p>
<p>Regarding your health here, do you have to pay as a foreigner? One thing with this country is... <i>Sudan is a very unique country. When you know people before, and they know that you've separated, and they know that you've been doing this service here before you became a foreigner, they still can render that service to you. They will just charge me the way it used to be. Maybe if I travel back and then come back, then it can happen. And it's the same people you know, you've been with them before for a couple of years [...] It's like sympathy.</i></p>	<p>KNOWING PEOPLE MAKES LIFE EASIER FOR SS IN NS</p> <p>BEING CHARGED AS A DISABLED NATIONAL OUT OF SYMPATHY</p>
<p>What is 'home' for you? Home is South, but actually with this health problem, I have my ID for insurance. It's a Health Insurance ID, which actually was produced for people who cannot afford to pay for themselves. For citizens of course. This ID is expiring in 2013. [...] Here, even if you're not working, this place I was talking about, the <i>wanazaqa</i>, they support families that cannot afford to pay for medical fees for themselves. So you apply, you fill a form. There is man, the community leader who endorse, that I acknowledge that I know this person, then they issue the card for 3 years. So I did that before the separation, you see. I did this through the Disabled Union. In other countries they support disabled people with money, they give them money every month. Here they help them for medications, so you can receive free medications. I have that one, and through me, my mom can have it also. After 2013 I cannot renew because I'm a foreigner. This is a grace period.</p>	<p>CONSIDERING HOME SS</p> <p>STILL USING A NS HEALTH INSURANCE UNTIL 2013</p>

Do you feel some kind of discrimination? Can you give an example? No, there's no discrimination.	NO FEELING OF DISCRIMINATION
Do you suffer from some kind of harassment from authorities (police and so on)? No.	NO HARASSMENT BY AUTHORITIES
Can you describe, more or less, how your life was affected from the Referendum of independence in 2011? I could not get access to go to Germany for my treatment, could not get access to get the house, or get access to get the loan from the bank.	LOSING ACCESS TO MEDICAL CARE AND LOANS AS THE MAIN PROBLEM
From your perspective, do you think the situation as Southern Sudanese in Khartoum is easier for boys than for girls? Have you experienced some sexism? <i>It's difficult for men. 'You know, women normally, in the Islamic perspective, women are the weaker [...] people, and normally they sympathize with them. Because of sympathy'. With men no, there is no sympathy. Even when they stated to issue this card, the main purpose was to protect men. Because they can come and take them just like that. Ask them what are they doing here. Because they are considered criminals, because men are more waiting for their pensions, insurance and all this, because they've been here working for a long time. [...] Sometimes they can come to a place where people are idle, because idleness brings criminality, they can just come and arrest them. But if you're in the street they can't just say STOP. But if you're in group and you're staying idle, they can come and say what's going on here?</i>	GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: HARDER FOR MALES GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: WOMEN ARE TREATED WITH SYMPATHY GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: MEN CAN BE TAKEN FOR SECURITY CONCERNS GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: MEN CONSIDERED CRIMINALS GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: MEN ARE THE ONES WAITING FOR PENSIONS
From your perspective, have you ever felt intimidated by the media advertising/information regarding SS in Khartoum? Can you give some example? <i>These advertisements had a very negative side-effects, because they started scaring people. Some people even sold their things, sold their houses, just in hurry, because people will start saying them: 'you'll be slaughtered, you'll be killed'. Only one newspaper, El-Intibah, is one of the bad newspapers, because the owner of the newspaper is the uncle of the President. He has been the one speaking negative about the Southerners, and people got scared. [...] It was all a political agenda.</i>	NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE MEDIA: SCARING PEOPLE MEDIA ENCOURAGING PEOPLE TO SELL PROPERTY POLITICIZED MEDIA

DR. AL-BAQIR AL-AFIF, DIRECTOR OF AL-KHATIM CENTER FOR
ENTLIGHTMENT AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT (6TH AUGUST 2012)

The Southerners are really subjected to what I describe as persecution and oppression and denial of rights. Those on the legal part, and of what I call paralegal. For instance, the denial of these certificates that enable the Southerners to sell their properties and their houses specifically, there is no law. I think there is oral directives, from the people on the top to the civil servants.	PERSECUTION AND DENIAL OF RIGHTS LEGAL VS. PARALEGAL SYSTEM IN NS
You mean there is no law stating that they should be denied this paper? No. But the consistency of these behavior in Governance department, that are specialized in issuing these	

<p>certificates shows that it is kind of an internal circular coming to them or probably, most probably, it's an internal circular by the Government that don't give them these, ok? So that they're not able to sell this, then they will be pressured to give away the property in cheap, because you go to those ready to take the risk and buy it, so then they will pay less. But who's the buyer, they're themselves the Government people, who come back again and tell you: 'If you very badly need to sell, I can take it from you so instead of 100 million, I give you 70 million.</p>	<p>LEGAL VS. PARALEGAL SYSTEM IN NS</p> <p>ECONOMIC PRESSURE BY NS GOVERNMENT (NOT ISSUING THE DOCUMENTS TO SELL PROPERTY LEGALLY)</p>
<p>But people who had a property here, were they forced to sell it or could they still keep it? They could keep it of course, but they are very scared, because if they don't sell and they just close it down, and rent it or whatever, then there may come a time when the Government might confiscate. Or this property, you know, they might issue a law, because you know this country, is not, there's no rule of law. So Government makes the laws or turns its whims into laws. That's why we have very bad laws. There's no laws based on justice, subjectivity or common sense, no. These are arbitrary laws <i>ad hoc</i> laws that are deemed towards a specific purpose, to affect specific people. So the Government has this idea of 'spoils of war' [property of the enemy that you can just take legally after you've defeated him]. This is the mentality of the Government, whether in war or in peace. If they define that you are the enemy, or the alien, or the outsider, then they can take your property. This is why the Southerners are stuck between the hammer and the hard rock.</p>	<p>ECONOMIC PRESSURE BY NS GOVERNMENT ON PROPERTY</p> <p>NO RULE OF LAW/ARBITRARY LAWS</p> <p>ECONOMIC PRESSURE BY NS GOVERNMENT ON PROPERTY</p>
<p>The other thing is the fact that a lot of Southerners who were born here and that are Sudanese by birth, and who live all their lives here and become Sudanese, common sense and the law and international law say that these people are entitled to the Sudanese nationality, unless they choose not to have it, but these people are not given the change. There are a lot of Southern women who are married to Northern men. These also are not given the Sudanese nationality. Many of them they left. Some people they left with their husbands, some of them they left alone, but they did not leave their husbands for good, the husbands can meet them in Juba, they can meet somewhere else. But the separation of the family took place, until they made the new arrangement. We are waiting for the law here to be amended in order to allow Northern husbands to bring back their wives.</p>	<p>NOT GIVING CHANCE TO CHOOSE ONE'S OWN NATIONALITY.</p> <p>FAMILY SEPARATION</p> <p>HOPING FOR FAMILY REUNIFICATION IN NS</p>
<p>Can't you be naturalized? Yes, this law is working, but it hasn't applied to the Southerners yet, because what the Government says: 'Well now, we consider all Southerners as aliens, until we regulate their presence and their state by the law'. It's as if they are in a transitional period in the eyes of the Government. Southerners have to wait until the Government enacts the laws regulating their presence in Sudan. But the Government is not in a hurry to process these laws... The Government is using them as one of the cards, to put pressure in the Government of the South, so it's like a political game with the South. The situation as I told you is about work rights, and compensations and money, property, then trying to take them out of the country. They gave them ultimatum, they defined a certain date after which their stay would not be legal and then as a result of the pressure by civil society and others,</p>	<p>WAITING THE REGULARIZATION OF THEIR LEGAL STATUS</p> <p>NS AND SS GOVERNMENT USING PEOPLE AS CARDS</p> <p>DEADLINE TO REGULARIZE SS</p>

<p>and the Southern Government, they keep postponing these deadline for Southerners. This is important because the Government is totally silent about its dealing with the Southerners. So now you don't find any news in the newspapers or in the media dealing with the South Southerners at the moment. Because the Government wants to work in silence, to do things secretly, not to focus on these areas, so they can have a free hand to handle and mishandle the Southerners and abuse their rights. As I told you, if you have someone who's been born here, who's had all his education here, who speaks Arabic or doesn't know English, becomes a Northerner in everything but the looks, and now you tell him that no, they're not more citizens, this defies common sense and law and justice and everything, and it indicates and reflects the ugly face of the Sudanese Government and the Islamic movement as a well, as a movement that is so exclusive, that hates the others, that lives in enmity and wards and confrontations with the others, and it represents that this movement theoretically is not qualified to establish a modern state in our global times. These are mentalities that belong to the dark ages, to the Middle Ages to the Medieval times, but living in the 21st century. This is the main problem as I can see it [...].</p>	<p>STATUS</p> <p>USING MEDIA TO SECURITIZE THE SS ISSUE</p> <p>BECOMING NS IN EVERYTHING BUT THE LOOKS</p> <p>NO RULE OF LAW/ARBITRARY LAWS</p>
<p>When it comes to legal paperwork or identification forms, some people they have their passports and visas, and some others have this card...? I think the cards are for those in transitional period. Those waiting for the mood of the Government to be right and enact the new laws, so...</p>	<p>NO RULE OF LAW/ARBITRARY LAWS</p>
<p>In the process to change the citizenship, is it complicated, expensive...? I'm not sure, I'm not familiar with this processes or with the fees.</p>	
<p>For those here, even if they have their Southern passport, can they get a residence permit? I am not sure about that.</p>	
<p>Can Southern Sudanese work in Khartoum? In practice is almost impossible. They fired them. The private sector, the opportunities for Southerners to work in the private sector are extremely limited unless it is an individual of very rare qualification, or with personal knowledge of the owners or the principal people who are running the business. In this case they can find a job. But of course, in addition to the legal barriers, there is a social barrier. There's racism in Sudan. This has increased recently by the harsh discourse of the Government against Southerners. If you see the media and the newspapers and the head campaign against the South and the Southerners, and we have also the social traditional bias and racist attitudes against Southern people. All this combined together make it very difficult for Southerners to find a job.</p>	<p>DIFFICULTY TO FIND A JOB IN NS (HARDER FOR SOUTH SUDANESE)</p> <p>FINDING JOBS THROUGH PERSONAL CONTACTS</p> <p>RACISM IN THE NS MEDIA</p>
<p>When it comes to the rights of accessing education, health services... how would you asses this? There is this statement by a Minister in high profile NCP leader, who's leading now the negotiations with South Sudan, who said that if South Sudan chooses to separate we will deny Southerners in the North medical services and we will not even give them a needle. So, generally medical and educational services, even</p>	<p>AGGRESSIVE AND DISCRIMINATORY POLITICAL DISCOURSE</p>

<p>Northerners cannot access them easily, because it's becoming very expensive, to extent that even in the emergency there are fees attached to it. If you go to a hospital in an emergency, they will not see you unless you pay. Even if you're a Northerner. So anything that's hard for Northerner will be ten or a million times more difficult for Southerners.</p>	<p>HIGH COST OF EDUCATION AND HEALTH FOR BOTH SS AND NS</p>
<p>Do you think the situation for Southerners is worse for men or women? It's bad for all, but for women the situation is even worse, because of the position of women in society in general. Because women are usually suspected by the law in Sudan. I mean, if you take the public order law targets specifically women (Southerners or Northerners). It tries women on the way they look, the way they dress, with whom they go... This law is discriminatory because it applies to women and it almost does not apply to men. A woman is guilty in the eyes of the law until she proves innocent. If you're a Southern woman you're even more suspected by the law, more accused until you prove innocent. So, my knowledge is that Southern women are targeted by the law and law-enforcement people.</p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: HARDER FOR FEMALES DISCRIMINATORY PUBLIC ORDER LAW TARGETING WOMEN</p>
<p>When I asked some women they all told me that for men it was worse, because as an Islamic society, they treat women with more sympathy... Men are seen more as a security problem. Well, it could be true in a way. At the moment the security concern of the Government is high, but in normal times, Southern women are seen as promoting local alcoholism, prostitution, their sex behavior is a little bit lax compared to Northern women... That's in the eyes of the Northern male society. Also the way Southern women dress is different. Sometimes you can see law-enforcement people who look at them as if they were foreigner, so you don't have to worry about them, like this is a <i>hawajiya</i>, so if she doesn't cover her head it's a not a big problem for us. There is nothing that's consistent in the country. This unpredictable. When you have arbitrary laws and law enforcement people who are also arbitrary, and who could apply their discretion and become legislators and law-enforcement people as agents, you can have all this confusion. A rich Southern woman is different from a poor Southern woman. A Southern woman who looks educated and knows what she's doing, it's not like the woman selling alcohol in order to survive. So if you go to Omdurman prison, you'll see that the majority of the women there are coming from the South or from the Nuba Mountains.</p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: HARDER FOR MALES FOR SECURITY CONCERNS ASSUMING SS WOMEN PROMOTE ALCOHOL AND PROSTITUTION DRESSING CODE PROBLEMS IN NS NO RULE OF LAW/ARBITRARY LAWS ROLE OF SOCIAL CLASS</p>
<p>Do you think there's a big difference between politics and the real social situation? Is there a real social discrimination? Of course, there is social discrimination. For instance, the attitude of them, you know in the eyes of this traditional Northern population, that they're slaves, they can be sexually harassed... They're considered a legitimate target by so many individuals in the community. Discrimination in Sudan can take place in many forms, some of them very subtle, some of them out right there. If you want to go to a Government office you'll be treated differently: delayed or denied... If you want to sell something or buy something... unless you are very vigilant you can be conned. Even women can be sexually harassed.</p>	<p>SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION: SS SEENS AS SLAVES DIFFERENT FORMS OF DICRIMINATION (SUBTLE TO HARASSMENT)</p>

<p>Do you think the media has played an important role in downgrading the Southerners? Absolutely. For all purposes. There is this notorious newspaper called <i>Al-Intibaha</i>, where you can find all sort of explicit racist attitudes and expressions. It's the voice of a political nationalistic party, so <i>'they speak about cleaning our streets from Southerners, of taking them all back, this is cancerous, we have to cut them, like we cut the cancer in surgical operations. This is why or streets are uglier, this is why our nations is backwards [...] keeping us from reaching out and fly to new horizons'</i>. They call them ugly, that they smell bad... <i>'I mean, the President called them insects. Called the ruling party in the South, insects. The president called them indirectly slaves'</i>.</p>	<p>NEGATIVE ROLE OF MEDIA</p> <p>MEDIA PROMOTING RACISM</p>
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DR. SAMIA EL-NAGER (11TH OF AUGUST 2012)

<p>Regarding the paper you wrote, <i>Should I Stay or Should I Go</i>, did you do some follow-up afterwards?</p>	
<p>Yes, with some families still I have some connection, and those who I had created strong relationships. With some of the students I know they are going to stay until they finish, but those with whom still I have contact, from my interview with them, they said that: 'We are not going.' Yes, they will stay whatever the situation, and we think that our stay here will be better than going there and they are confident that they're not going to face any trouble, and they're very optimistic that the Government here in Sudan will give them space to stay. [...] Some young chaps they said: 'We went there, and we return after we were asked to return, and we found out that the situation is really, very bad. And we prefer to die here rather than go'. There is one lady who said publicly in a workshop, and she has been a student in Ahfad, here: 'I am Shuluk', Nuer or Shuluk, I am not sure, 'and if I went I would be killed. So I'm not going anywhere I'll stay with my family, whatever happens to me'. A third one said that: 'I have been living here, I'm born here, and there's no way, until Bashir comes himself and takes me, I'm not going' [...]. There are families here who are taking care of the children of the families who went. Some of the families went; there was this mass movement to go back, and the campaign of the SPLM, some of them they just found the chance and left their children. Some of them, I know they did not just leave their children, they left their children purposely with their friends who are Northerners, because they think that their children are going to lose their chance of continuing their educations. So they left them with their friends from North Sudan to keep them, and the one day they will come.</p>	<p>WISH TO GO TO SS (BY STUDENTS)</p> <p>WISH TO STAY IN NS</p> <p>HOPE TO REMAIN IN NS WITHOUT MAJOR PROBLEMS</p> <p>RATHER STAY IN NS THAN FACE THE DIFFICULTIES IN SS</p> <p>GOING TO SS AND RETURNING TO NS AFTER SEEING THE DIFFICULTIES</p> <p>NO WISH TO GO TO SS FOR TRIBAL CONCERNS</p> <p>NO WISH TO GO TO SS FOR PERSONAL ATTACHMENT TO NS</p> <p>LEAVING KIDS BEHIND</p> <p>LEAVING KIDS WITH NS FRIENDS FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES</p>
<p>With some of the girls I talked here, even if they were born here and grew up here they want to go back. I found that very surprising, right?</p>	
<p>With some of them I expected that, because the whole issue of Southern Sudan is politicized, and I can understand their situation, they feel insecure. Although socially, within</p>	<p>POLITIZATION OF SS ISSUE</p>

<p>the community they might not feel insecure, if you read the newspapers, if you hear what's going on between the leaders, then you feel insecure, because the whole issue and dialogues and debates is very threatening. Not only to them, but to us, because now we're feeling insecure all the time: economically, politically, etc. we're unsure of what's going to happen, it's not a stable situation, will there be a war, etc. so it's not only them, but also us. We are not living a normal life, we're feeling insecure, but I think their position is much more critical compared to ours, because you never trust what this Government says that are doing or are planning to do. And what I say is even written in the newspapers everyday, this insecurity. But for some, they are part of the NCP (National Congress Party), so they feel that the NCG will be committed to them and they will not be harassed or forced to go back, but for some they're waiting for the critical situation. I know a car washer here at the University and I knew him before, and I said: 'Are you still here?' and he said: 'Yes, I am still here. I will not go until there is a hot decision' [...]. I think if you talk to other people outside the University, and how they're managing their lives with other people, they feel they're really integrated, they have no problem. They feel that even the Government if they want to mobilize, they will not, because they have been living there, they will not be identified, although now they are registered. And I expect some of them may not be registered, may not have still their passport, but they're feeling it is much more secure to live here, because, I think one of the reason, as one of the chaps told me: 'We will be in a displace process again.' Some of them told me that there they are put in a camp, called Khartoum, and there is no place... I have been to Juab several times, there are no places to rent or to live, houses to live in, and this is the worry of many of them. Some of those who returned, they did it in stages, they sent some of their families until they could secure a place and that's how they managed. There is a lady who sent some of her sons there, but unfortunately one of the sons got sick and returned very, sick.</p>	<p>NEGATIVE ROLE OF MEDIA: INSECURITY, THREAT</p> <p>INSECURITY FOR ALL NS AND SS</p> <p>TRUST THAT THE NS GOVERNMENT WILL PROTECT THOSE SUPPORTERS OF THE NCP</p> <p>PERCEIVING INTEGRATION OF SOME SS IN NS</p> <p>REGISTRATION PAPERS DO NOT AFFECT THE FEELING OF SECURITY</p> <p>FEELING OF A SECOND DISPLACEMENT IF RETURNED TO SS</p> <p>LACK OF AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN SS</p> <p>RETURNING TO SS IN STAGES</p> <p>RETURNING TO NS FOR LACK OF HEALTH SERVICES IN SS</p>
<p>While you said in the community they feel safe, in the bigger picture they say they feel like foreigners.</p>	
<p>It's all politics. We are not part of the politics. And one of the ladies said to me: 'I have not been part of the decision for this Referendum, so why should I have the responsibility to take the impact of this referendum. We're not part of it. Politicians are just fighting against each other, but here we're not feeling this.' But, because the issues have been politicized, and especially after this big economic crisis we're living in, some people really feel that this is caused by the decision of the Southern Sudan, and that's why we have to be a bit aggressive to the Southern Sudan. Someone told me: 'Although we are secure in where we live, with the people we know, but sometimes, in the public transport we hear like: <i>why are you still here?</i>' And this discriminatory attitude happens to many, we have it as part of the context. People in Darfur now they feel it and they live it, and it is not only to the Southern Sudanese.</p>	<p>GAME OF POLITICS, PEOPLE ARE NOT AGAINST EACH OTHER</p> <p>POLITIZATION OF ECONOMIC CRISIS INCREASES THE HATRED TO SS</p> <p>FEELING OF SAFETY IN THE DAILY ENVIRONMENT/FEELING OF INSECURITY IN THE STREETS</p> <p>DISCRIMINATION NOT LIMITED TO SS</p>

Do you think this discrimination in public transport happened before?	
<p>It happened, but without a basis. They did not say: 'Go back!' But now, after the Referendum, there is this 'Go back!', because that is the decision that you have taken. It's like, you decided not to be with us, so you go, you don't want us, so you go. Sometimes I feel like the Northerners are feeling hurt that the Southerners decided to go. There are people who are not involved in politics. But we, Sudanese, in our culture we have some discrimination. Sometimes there is racism, we cannot deny it. We discriminate sometimes against other religions, against people by colour, although we're all different ranges of black, but still, we discriminate against each other, we cannot deny it. But it's not discrimination with consequences. We can discriminate and violate people verbally, but when it comes to the everyday life, no. Because you can find Southerners living in a small hut in a very rich area, and you can find the family interacting with the other rich families, going with them... Although they might be providing services, but you feel it is not on a discriminatory basis. And those who are discriminated verbally or violated, they are specific people, those who are ignorant, the conductors in the public transport, or those who are politicized, the security people, etc. but generally it's not a general trend, and you can feel it among the students, it's very rare...</p>	<p>DISCRIMINATION EXISTED BEFORE THE REFERENDUM</p> <p>NS FEELING HURT BY THE SS DECISION</p> <p>DISCRIMINATION AS PART OF THE CULTURE</p> <p>VERBAL DISCRIMINATION BY UNEDUCATED AND POLITICIZED PEOPLE</p> <p>INTERACTION BETWEEN SS PROVIDING SERVICES TO NS</p> <p>DISCRIMINATION IS NOT THE MAIN TREND</p>
What do you think are the main challenges faces Southern Sudanese people in Khartoum?	
<p>The challenges start when getting into the transport [...]. We shouldn't assume that the poorest people in the North are the Southerners. Poverty is everywhere, there are difficulties everywhere. So their challenges are not different from the other challenges. Some of them are doing much better than others. If you and see the tea-sellers, now the most prominent and most successful are the Southern Sudan women, because they've been in the process for a long time, and they're doing well, and they're very successful, so I cannot generalize, saying that they have challenges that are different from the other challenges, except now, that if they live in certain areas, where the people are politicized, they may have some problems [...].</p>	<p>POVERTY IS NOT EXCLUSIVE OF SS</p> <p>SUCCESS OF TEASELLERS</p>
What about the possibilities of having a job and owning property?	
<p>They are allowed, because by law the foreigners can buy property. I don't know, but I think that according to the investment law, foreigners can own. Unless, officially, the Government, there can be some discrimination against the Southerners. And that's what you can feel in the newspapers, they say: 'All the Southerners are going in two weeks time'. This is politics, but not in real life. The same happens to Ethiopians [...]. And this is the argument of the Southerners [...]. But in terms of ownership I don't think that now a Southerner would really think of buying here, because still the situation is not very clear. What I</p>	<p>NEGATIVE ROLE OF THE MEDIA</p> <p>UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE</p>

<p>sectors. So it's very difficult to generalize, it depends on where they live, on the facilities, on the agency they have, and it depends on the whole sector, when there are spaces, when the economy is good. But from my experience, I found out that there are many women who are very successful, as tea sellers, as sellers of second hand, clothes, as well as domestic workers, they really manage to work and build very successful relationships, to educate their children and even to get out of the camps, and they are now living in other areas. The challenges are different, but not necessarily more or less. However, although women are successful, when they go back, now in the context of their communities in Khartoum, they have difficulties, because it is still within the patriarchal thinking, the gendered power relations, which have not changed drastically, so men still dominate women, beat them, marry more than one wife, and so it all becomes dependant on the women, so women have more challenges in that sense, as compared to the men.</p>	<p>SKILLED SS HAVE IT EASIER TO FIND A JOB</p> <p>WOMEN DO MUCH BETTER AS BREADWINNERS</p> <p>WOMEN HAVE TO FACE PATRIARCHAL SOCIETIES</p>
<p>I thought that maybe the fact of being a South Sudanese Christian woman in Northern Sudan would imply more challenges...</p>	
<p>The issue here is to what extent are we projecting the Islam in our daily life. If someone comes to work as a woman, I don't care if she's Muslim or not. If I want to buy tea from her, I don't care if she's a Muslim. However, it depends on how politicized I am, not on how religious I am.</p>	<p>IGNORING RELIGION AS A GROUND FOR DISCRIMINATION</p>
<p>Most of them told me that it was easier for women, because in this Islamic society women are treated with more sympathy, whereas for boys, they tell stories of police taking the boys, because they're more a security concern.</p>	
<p>No, no, no, our police is not that clever... But it is true that it's more secure for women in that sense, because you know, there's been a group in Cairo, they call themselves <i>Nigger</i>, or something, and they have been causing trouble, and some of them have been brought back, and so this appeared in the last 5 years they appeared as a group [...]. The same group also appeared in Juba and had to deal with them. But it's true that it is safer for women in this sense, maybe security is more concerned with young chaps than with women.</p>	<p>SECURITY IS MORE CONCERNED WITH SS MALES</p>
<p>Could we talk about a change of identity?</p>	
<p>In anthropology there is assimilation and acculturation, and I can see both processes are there. But to what extent do they affect people [...]. Now the problem is that this Government tries to impose the tribal identity, but no most of the Sudanese are very frustrated and they say that we are Sudanese, but the Government succeeded not only in separating North and South but also dividing us as different types of groups, and that's what many people are</p>	<p>DIVIDING PEOPLE: TRIBALISM</p>

<p>trying to overcome. But in terms of identity, I can say that there are different ways. For some, after the CPA Referendum, they tried to emphasize their Southern identity, but for others, who were born here, and are insisting to live, they said: 'We have lived as Sudanese, and we want to continue as Sudanese'. Although sometimes the demarcation has been highlighted, but still this has not affected our lives. It's like the demarcation of any other ethnic groups [...]. There is this singer, very famous young singers, who said: 'What I did here in the North I could not have managed to do it in the South'. It's a matter of context, of how you need to project your identity as Sudanese or as Southern Sudanese. But now I think that the effect is that Southern Sudanese are more proud, and I think it is their right... That's why I don't call it separation, I call it independence, because they feel they have a country. Even if I come from other region, not only from Southern Sudan, and I feel like this region is marginalized, I would be in this position, I would emphasize the identity of my region. So, they really should be proud, they belong to a country, and they are not second class people, and now they're Southern Sudanese, they're respected worldwide, respected in their region, and it's their right to project their identity. But when do they need to do that, that is the question. If I just go and talk to them, do they need to emphasize their identity. I don't think in our daily life we need to emphasize our identity. There are some contexts maybe when they have to project it, maybe in front of security people, in political situations, but otherwise... Sometimes in certain places and you see the interactions between Southerners and Northerners, you will see you cannot demarcate the differences. We're all colored, so it's very hard to differentiate.</p>	<p>EMPHASIZING THE SS IDENTITY</p> <p>EMPHASIZING IDENTITY SUDANESE</p> <p>SS PROUDNESS</p> <p>NOT SEPARATION BUT INDEPENDENCE</p> <p>MARGINALIZATION LEADING TO IDENTITY HIGHLIGHTING</p> <p>HAVING A COUNTRY TRANSLATES IN RESPECT AND IDENTITY PROJECTION</p> <p>IDENTITY HIGHLIGHTING, DEPENDING ON THE CONTEXT</p>
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SUZANNE (HAJ YOUSSEF) (12TH AUGUST 2012)

<p>I. Can you tell me about you? My name is Suzanne and I am working for Child Protection Network, here in this area, so I got a long time working with the Norway Council, before 4 years, and I also worked with Safe the Children UK for 2 years, in this area too, in the field monitoring field. Before that I just working in the area of Child Protection Network, looking for children, those who are separated from their parents. So I am going to collect them and I brought them here with my family, so I also end up with those children of Save the Children Sweden. But those of Sweden, the Government stopped them from coming to the area, so we're going to work to their Government. Up to now I am working with them I'm just looking for those children who are out with their parents, or those children with their parents in Southern Sudan, I'm looking for them, filling the field report, so I'll take the report to those of Sweden, and then they take the report to Unicef, so that they will tell the IOM and they can take those children to the South Sudan. Even the children of the</p>	<p>WORKING FOR DIFFERENT NGOs AS AN IRREGULAR WORKER</p> <p>WORKING COLLECTING CHILDREN IRREGULARLY STRANDED</p> <p>LIVING WITH 16 STRANDED CHILDREN</p>
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<p>Nuba Mountain, even the children of the Northern Sudan, we get the child living alone, I'll take them so that they live here.</p>	
<p>2. Why did the children stay and the parents left? The time of the problems, those children whose parents went to the South during the time of voluntary return, so another children left here, the time their parents are going with the buses, another going with the ship, so the children escaped from their parents, so they're living in the markets without nobody looking for them, so we take care of them.</p>	<p>CHILDREN BECOMING STRANDED DURING VOLUNTARY RETURN PERIOD</p>
<p>3. But why didn't the parents take them with them? Because there is another problem between the 2 Governments. If you have 6 children, they will separate your children. For those going by [air?/] you can take 3 children with you, another children will be left. I don't know why. So those children left here, it's difficult for them. So that's why in the network we collect them so that we take the report to the government: 'There are children left here without no one looking after them'. Another children are also those who are separating with their families [...]. Even there is the problem with these women who are living in the open spaces, they also got a lot of problems, because the open place is not ok for the woman. They have no feeding for them, that's why their children are also separating from them.</p>	<p>CONFUSING POLICIES LEAVING CHILDREN FROM NUMEROUS FAMILIES BEHIND</p> <p>WOMEN LIVING IN OPEN SPACES ABANDONED CHILDREN FOR LACK OF INCOME</p>
<p>4. When did you come here? I came here since 1988. My husband was working in the army, so they transferred him from the South to Khartoum, that's why I came here. But my children 3 were born in the South and 3 were born here. I was born in South Sudan, in Yei, 30 miles from Juba.</p>	<p>MOVED IN NS FOLLOWING HER HUSBAND'S JOB</p> <p>BORN IN SS</p>
<p>5. How old are you? I'm 47.</p>	
<p>6. Are you Christian? Yes</p>	
<p>7. Where's your husband now? He dies here in Khartoum.</p>	<p>WIDOW</p>
<p>8. Are you the only one working in your family? <i>'I am not working direct, I'm just... 3amal hurra, not 3amal hurra, because I'm supposed to work, but the law will not live those of the Southern to work here in Khartoum. But my communication with some friends is ok, and also got relatives from South, and will send me money some times. Also have some friends here in Khartoum [...] who will help me'. All my children are now in school.</i></p>	<p>WORKING IRREGULARLY BECAUSE OF NEW CITIZENSHIP REGULATIONS</p> <p>RECEIVING INCOME FROM NS FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IN SS</p> <p>HER CHILDREN ATTENDING SCHOOL</p>
<p>9. How do you pay for school? Very lot money. This one goes to University Khartoum, and we pay 2 million for the University for the year. I am just paying for short time, I pay 70, I leave time and then I leave some money so that I can find how to pay more. Those who are still in primary school only 500 SDG for a year [...].</p>	<p>EXPENSIVE SCHOOL FEES</p> <p>EXPENSIVE UNIVERSITY FEES</p>
<p>10. Do they have normal access to school? Yes. <i>'But those who the school belong to the Government they stopped Southern Sudan children, they would not enter to their schools. But if someone has a school and he does not belong to the Government, the private school, our children is with them. But</i></p>	<p>GOVERNMENTAL SCHOOLS STOPPING SS CHILDREN FROM STUDYING</p> <p>UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CAN</p>

<i>those who are in University, the school of Government, the school of Southern Sudan and Sudan, they're all mixed together, the children of Southern Sudan let them finish their University here in Khartoum, but you must pay a lot of money'.</i>	STUDY IN NS
11. Why are you still living here? I was supposed to go, but my children are still here in school, that's why I'm not going. If they finish their school, if she finishes the University, I will go with her. Because if I go to the South it will be difficult for her to finish her University, because there's no money, it's hard to get. Even it's not ok to live alone here.	STILL STAYING IN NS FOR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION WOMEN 'SHOULD NOT LIVE ALONE HERE'
12. Why doesn't she go back to the South and studies in Southern Universities? No, there in the South we have no University, only Juba University. So my daughter is here in Sudan University. Even those who are in the South will be brought here to study.	NO POSSIBILITY TO CONTINUE UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN SS
13. So when they finish you want to go back? If they finish their schools I will take them. Even she will be free, she'll go there, get work and she will also help me. I'm just waiting for them, if they finish today I will take them.	WISH TO GO BACK TO SS WHEN CHILDREN FINISH SCHOOL
14. Do know about the economic situation in the South? It's very difficult. No work sometimes. Sometimes feeding is very difficult for them. Even the place to live, if you're new from Juba you will not get a place to live. If you are just arrived in Juba, you will not get a place to live, because there is a lot of people. I will find a place because my brothers are there.	HARDSHIPS IN SS: NO JOBS HARDSHIPS IN SS: NO HOUSING IN JUBA UNLESS YOU HAVE RELATIVES THERE
15. Do you have many relatives here? The last time I had relatives but a lot of them have gone to the South, so here in Khartoum I have a lot of Northern friends. Even those from the South still here.	WIDE CIRCLE OF NS FRIENDS IN KHARTOUM
16. Which citizenship do you have? <i>'I still have the Sudanese nationality, so I will try to find another one from the South within another days. But my daughter has now got it [...]. For the nationality and the passport for the University children, 150 SDG, this one is for the students, but for the people I don't know'.</i>	STILL HAVING SUDANESE CITIZENSHIP
17. So right now, do you have this white Registration card? Yes, the one by the police. This one is for my daughter. All of us have it. So these one is made by Northern Sudanese authorities for those Southerners who are still here.	REGISTRATION CARD HOLDER
18. So, you don't need a passport? <i>'If you want to leave the country, you will need your passport. Even if you want to go to Kenya from here you need a passport, because this one will not take you to any place, this one is only for here'. 'My daughter will try to get the visa, because during this holiday days she will go to Juba, and if she wants to return here she will need a visa. Even I myself will try to look for myself'.</i>	NO PASSPORT HOLDER NO NEED FOR PASSPORT IF YOU DON'T LEAVE NS
19. Where do you get your visa? It should be in the Southern Embassy in Khartoum.	
20. Do you think that if you change your nationality you'll have problems here? No, it should be no problem. If I am living here, no problem. But should be	CHANGING NATIONALITY WILL NOT AFFECT LIFE IN NS

<p>difficult to me, because there's not work for me, because the law will not leave you to work here in Khartoum because you're from South. Even if we just live just like that, it's not ok.</p>	<p>NOT ABLE TO WORK IN NS</p>
<p>21. This house, is it yours? No. It's our house, but it's taken by someone. We sold it but I am still living here, every month I am paying money. This house is from my brother. My brother sold the house to somebody, so I'm still here in Khartoum, paying rent for someone from Northern Sudan [...]. If this was my own house I will stay, I will not sell it, but my brother says he wants to sell the house because he wants money to buy another house in Juba. Every month I am paying 200 SDG.</p>	<p>LIVING IN A RENTED HOUSE BROTHER SELLING HOUSE IN NS TO MOVE TO SS</p>
<p>22. Do you think you feel more attached to the South or to the North? I am here in the North just living ok, not bad. I'm living here free, I'm also happy to live. But there is another thing that will not leave you to live. There's small problem with the army. If there's some problem, even in the way you're walking, without anything, they will say, this is from the Southern Sudan, so they will attack you'. But I'm ok. For me, I not get anything bad from anyone here in Khartoum, but there in the South [...] the army is difficult for the people also.</p>	<p>LIVING OK IN NS AUTHORITIES RANDOM HARASSMENT IN NS AND SS TOO</p>
<p>23. Where is your home? South</p>	<p>HOME IS SS</p>
<p>24. Do you think that if you go back to the South your life would be better? I should be. If I go there to the South my life should be better, because I will get a job. Even if I get nothing my brothers will help me, I will be free, to do anything, but here, if I force myself to live here, I will not be free, because there's many problems with the Government here, with the army, and the law. The law should be different for us [Southern Sudanese]. That's why you'd not be free. In Khartoum after 5 or 6 months they want from you visa, they want money, I don't know what will be happening [...].</p>	<p>EXPECTATIONS TO GET A JOB IN SS EXTENDED FAMILY HELP IN SS BEING FREE IN SS UNCERTAINLY ABOUT HER FUTURE IN NS</p>
<p>25. Do you feel discriminated in the North? There is discrimination, even those who don't know you, they will take you from the way, they will say, this one is from the Southern Sudan. That's a difficult problem. Cause they're looking only from the 'khalas' [appearance], there's a discrimination only from the 'khalas', just from the way you look, these people are black people. Even another people here from the North they don't want to live with the Southern Sudan people, but our colleagues, my friends, they're living with them, eating together, going together. Even those in Omdurman I will go to them and they come to me here, because these people know me very well, and I know them too.</p>	<p>VERBAL DISCRIMINATION IN THE STREETS DISCRIMINATION ON THE WAY YOU LOOK NO DISCRIMINATION FROM NS FRIENDS</p>
<p>26. Have you ever had any problem with the police? No, I've never had any problem with the police or the authorities because I am here the leader in the area, so I know the authorities, and also have a relation with those in the authorities, even in the army. Even if there is a problem here in the area [...] if I call the police they will come, even those who are living here in this area, even those of the Nuba Mountains or Darfurians, and I tell the authorities,</p>	<p>NO AUTHORITIES HARASSMENT</p>

they will come, because they know me.	
<p>27. Do you know some people having problems with the police? Yes, like those women who are doing wine, alcohol, they have a lot of problems with the police. Every time the police is with them, even in the night, the police will jump in their houses to grab them in the night to look for them, what are you doing in the night, what happens in the house...</p>	POLICE HARASSMENT ON WOMEN BREWING ALCOHOL
<p>28. Do you think it's worse for women or men? Men living here have no work. If they go and find a work, another people who are living here from the Nuba Mountains or the Darfurians they'll stop them from the work. Even the '3amal al Surra', if you don't have communication with other people you don't get work. For women is difficult, all Southern women are doing wines, and they go to the houses of the Northern Sudan, and they're going to wash their clothes, and clean their houses. The job for the women is easy, because they go to wash clothes and clean the houses of these people, even they do alcohol, because they're women, but for the men, there's no work.</p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: HARDER FOR MEN TO WORK</p> <p>JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN NS DEPENDING ON CONTACTS</p> <p>SS WOMEN IN NS WORKING AS MAIDS</p> <p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: WOMEN WORK EASIER,EVEN IF BREWING ALCOHOL</p>
<p>29. Do you think that men have more problems with authorities than women? Yes, because there's no work. But the police cases they have problems with the women, because they're doing alcohol in all area. All the time. Even those men, if the police came and the man is living in this family they will say: 'Get up, are you drunk?'</p>	GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: POLICE CHASING ALCOHOL BREWERS
<p>30. How has your life changed from the separation until now? Within the time of the separation, after 2 or 3 months, all people are suffering. Now, for three months it's ok. After the separation [...] they told us: 'You are from the Southern Sudan, you will not live here in our land, go there to your land' [...] 'Are you still here?'. But now we're free, even if you're in the bus, nobody will ask you. Before the separation it was ok, we were all together, even those of the Northern Sudan they will love the Southern Sudan, but within these days, it's difficult.</p>	<p>SITUATION WAS HARDER RIGHT AFTER THE SEPARATION</p> <p>SITUATION WAS BETTER BEFORE SEPARATION FOR SS IN NS</p>
<p>31. Have you read the newspapers about the separation... what do you think about the information? Before the separation I went to the radio to talk to the two Governments. If the South Sudan Government leaves the separation for 2 years more it should be better, because those who are here in Khartoum will be go back to the South for free, even those who don't understand what is the separation, we will sit with them... [...]. But those of the Southern Sudan they refused our aid. But after the separation we're also talking. Because it's difficult for those who are voluntary going, it is difficult for women in the open places, with their children. <i>'I also go to the newspapers, and talked another problem, because those of the South do not care of those here in Khartoum. Those who are suffering here in Khartoum, they would no care of them. But we are here still in Khartoum, we are caring for those who are still in the field'.</i> [...]</p>	<p>SS SHOULD HAVE POSTPONED SEPARATION 2 MORE YEARS</p> <p>MANY PEOPLE WERE NOT AWARE OF THE SEPARATION MEANING AND CONSEQUENCES</p> <p>SS ALREADY LIVING IN SS DO NOT CARE OF SS LIVING IN KHARTOUM</p>

<p>32. Do you know some SS people who went back to the South and then returned to the North? Yes, I know two families who returned here to Khartoum. He took his children to the South, and he returned here to get his money from the military, so his children alone returned too and refused to live in the South, because sometimes there is no feeding, we don't know that area, we don't know that country, we want to live here in Khartoum. 'Another family also went to Juba and did not get job and then returned here. Up till now they say they will not return to Juba'. 'Even those of Northern who are there in Juba they refuse to come here. They're saying we are here in Juba for a long time, we're not going to the North, because they are working there, they have their shops there [...] they have money.'</p>	<p>GOING TO SS AND RETURNING TO NS AFTER SEEING THE DIFFICULTIES (NO FOOD, NO JOBS)</p> <p>YOUNG PEOPLE LACKING SOCIAL LINKS IN SS</p> <p>SOME SS NOT WISHING TO RETURN TO SS</p> <p>NS LIVING IN JUBA REFUSE TO GO BACK TO NS</p>
<p>33. If you return to the South, do you think you will face facilities and public services problems? 'Yes, in the South the health is difficult. There two or three hospitals [...], and even in small hospitals they don't give medicine for the people [...] but here in Khartoum it's ok for everybody. If you get money you'll get treatment'. [...]</p>	<p>HARDSHIPS IN SS: POOR HELTH SERVICE</p>
<p>34. Do you think finding a job in the South will be difficult? Sometimes, because in the South if you have no money you have no place. Even if you're renting you have to pay 500 every month, and if you have no work, how are you gonna pay this. If I go there I will live with them, they will help me.</p>	<p>HARDSHIPS IN SS: EXPENSIVE LIVING COSTS IN JUBA</p>
<p>35. As a woman, will it be difficult or easier? Not difficult, because women in the South they will work: they will clean the way, they will cook for hotel, they will go to the market to work, everyplace they will work. It's easy for the women to work.</p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN SS: WOMEN CAN WORK 'EVERYWHERE'</p>

BILQUEES ISMAIL, UNHCR OFFICER (14TH AUGUST 2012)

<p>1. Can you tell me about the legal situation of the Southern Sudanese still living in the North? The main concern is trying to avoid statelessness. As for those with a nationality the issue lies more on whether it is the nationality they wish to have.</p>	<p>AVOIDING STATELESSNESS</p> <p>CHOOSING ONE'S OWN NATIONALITY</p>
<p>According to the South Sudan Nationality Law, nationality is acquired if: a) you, your parents, grandparents or great-grandparents are from South Sudan; b) you are ethnically Southerner (this is the biggest problem); c) you have lived in the South from 1956.</p>	
<p>2. Isn't this imposing nationality? Yes, but in this case it was probably the best solution. Moreover, this is the way states normally pass nationality to their citizens. It avoids having to apply for it and the bureaucracy that implies. It is thus a good way to avoid statelessness. The worrying cases are though those people linked to both states. According to International Law, one option would be giving them the chance to choose, as it happened in Checoslovaquia. However, neither the Government of Sudan or South Sudan accepted this.</p>	

<p>Another possible solution would be agreeing on some deal whereby Southern Sudanese have a privileged status compared to other foreigners.</p>	<p>ENABLING A PRIVILEGED STATUS FOR SS IN NS</p>
<p>3. Can you tell me a bit more about the rights they've lost when becoming foreigners? Students can still remain in higher education centers. When it comes to children there have been cases of kids rejected from entering certain schools. No agreement on the right to work, property or pensions has been reached. Indeed, many Southern Sudanese are staying in the North just to receive their compensation payments or their pensions. Many have asked to get the lump sum of money and then go back, but that hardly ever happens. In the public sector it is impossible for them to work. As for the private sector they need both a residence [can be obtained due to studies, work, marriage, etc.] and a work permit, but the way to obtain them both is not clear. For instance, according to the Sudanese law, no more than a 10% of the working staff in a company can be foreigner. For instance, if a South Sudanese has been living here and has not left the country they cannot apply for a visa, because they have always been in the country. Everything in this area is very confusing; they ask them to regularize their status, but then when they go to the relevant office they are told many times that there are not procedures for that.</p>	<p>LEAVING CHILDREN OUT OF SCHOOL</p> <p>NO AGREEMENT ON WOK, PROPERTY, PENSIONS</p> <p>STAYING IN NS TO RECEIVE PENSIONS</p> <p>PAPERWORK PROBLEMS TO OBTAIN VISA</p> <p>CONFUSING LAWS REGULATING PAPERWORK</p>
<p>When it comes to hospitals, if they pay they can have access to health services. However, since they're not allowed to work in many cases, they cannot afford hospitals. There are Health Cards for nationals, which reduced the costs of health services and medicines, but Southerners have lost this right.</p>	<p>HIGH COST OF HEALTH FOR SS</p>
<p>They do not have the right to own property. However, if they had it before, they can keep it. Selling, though, is the main problem, because since they need a selling permit, which they are usually denied, then buying their houses becomes illegal.</p>	<p>ECONOMIC PRESSURE BY NS GOVERNMENT (NOT ISSUING THE DOCUMENTS TO SELL PROPERTY LEGALLY)</p>
<p>4. How can they arrange their paperwork, and how expensive is it? Since April 2012 there is a South Sudan Embassy in Khartoum. However, one of the reasons why, any people do not regularize their state is because of the money: 315 SDG per passport and 45 SDG per certificate. Students have a special fee for their passport, only 150 SDG.</p>	<p>COST OF PAPERWORK</p>
<p>From May 2012 they also started to say that they were going to register all the Southern Sudanese in the North through this Registration Card, but no one knew why. After some time the Government said that they just want to keep some control over the amount of Southerners in the North. However, if they have this card (which can be issues by Northern Sudanese Authorities arbitrarily) but do not have the Southern Sudanese nationality recognized, then they're stateless.</p>	<p>CONFUSING LAWS REGULATING PAPERWORK</p>
<p>5. Do you think there is discrimination? There have not been many violent clashes between Northerners and Southerners. However, since Southerners cannot work, they have been moved to poverty, so discrimination is linked to their social status and situation, they are more targeted by suspicious authorities.</p>	<p>NO VIOLENT CLASHES BETWEEN NS AND SS POPULATION</p> <p>DISCRIMINATION LINKED TO THE SOCIAL STATUS (THE MORE POOR THE MORE SUSPECTED BY AUTHORITIES)</p>

JOSEPHINE (14TH AUGUST 2012)

Name, age, place of birth, and marital status: Josephine – 22 y.o. – Graduate in Law by Khartoum University, and currently studying an MA at Khartoum University – Khartoum – single.	BORN IN NS
Which is your religion?: Christian	
What are your family origins? Where do they come from? They all come from South Sudan. Her father used to work in bank and her mother used to work in the Ministry of Culture in Juba. She has 2 sisters and 1 brother, all of them studying in South Sudan.	PARENTS FROM SS PARENTS EMPLOYED IN SS BEFORE MOVING TO NS SIBLINGS STUDYING IN SS
When did you come to Khartoum? Why? They came to Khartoum as refugees [IDPs] in 1987 because of the war and they lived at a refugee camp in Haj Youssef until in 1990 the Government gave them the place and they built a house there. In Khartoum her mother used to work as a teacher at Comboni School. After the separation, though these schools closed down because all of the students there were from the South.	REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (WAR) LIVING IN CAMPS AS IDPs NS FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO BUILD A HOUSE IN 1990 MOTHER EMPLOYED IN NS (TEACHER) CLOSING OF THE MOTHER'S SCHOOL AFTER SEPARATION
Where is your family now? Why did they move? When? They went back to Juba. The mother returned 2 years ago and her siblings last year.	RETURNING TO SS IN STAGES ALL THE FAMILY IN SS
Why didn't you move them? She stayed to finish her University studies.	REASON FOR STAYING IN NS (STUDIES)
So, do you intend to move afterwards? Yes, in 3 months, when she finishes her MA.	WISH TO MOVE TO SS
What is the economical situation of your family in the South? Are they working? Normal, they live in a rented house.	ACCEPTABLE FAMILY ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SS
Are you alone in Khartoum? If so, how do you cope with it? Yes, she lives with a friend in Haj Youssef. The house her parents used to own in Khartoum is still theirs; they are renting it and the money she gets every month she uses it for herself and to send it to her family in Juba, both in cash as in kind. She pays the University fees as a national.	PARENTS KEEP THEIR HOUSE IN NS RENTING THEIR HOUSE IN NS TO SUSTAIN HERSELF AND HER FAMILY IN JUBA CONSIDERED A NATIONAL AT THE UNIVERSITY
Your circle of friends in Khartoum, is it mainly South Sudanese or North Sudanese? After the separation, most of her friends come from the North.	MOST FRIENDS FROM NS
Do you belong to associations (like AUUSA) or any church? No	BELONGING TO NO ASSOCIATION
Which citizenship do you hold? Since when? Why did you change it? Both, she still has her Sudanese papers [she was using them until the date of the interview] and the National ID from South Sudan [her boyfriend is with her, and he shows it to me; it is like the Spanish ID card, but for South Sudan]. Her passport is still Sudanese because she has not left the country after the separation.	CITIZENSHIP PAPERS OF BOTH NS AND SS SUDANESE PASSPORT BECAUSE SHE HAS NOT LEAFT THE

<p>She does not have the South Sudanese Registration Card by the Sudanese Authorities because <i>'I don't need it'</i>.</p>	<p>COUNTRY 'NO NEED' OF SS REGISTRATION CARD</p>
<p>Can you explain to me how was the process of changing your citizenship? You just have to go to the South Sudan Embassy in Khartoum and pay 150SDG (especial fee for students).</p>	<p>EASY PROCESS FOR CHANGING HER CITIZENSHIP. CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP IN NS</p>
<p>Can you get a job here? If not, how do you fund your studies? Yes, but only in non Governmental organizations. She works for an NGO called 'Place Legal Aid Center'.</p>	<p>DIFFICULTY IN FINDING JOBS IN NS WORKING FOR AN NGO IN NS</p>
<p>Did your parents have some property here before leaving? Did they own a house, for instance? What happened to it? Yes, we still have the house and have a prospective buyer and they have to wait until the contract with the people renting it finishes so that they can sell it.</p>	<p>PLANNING ON SELLING THE FAMILY HOUSE IN NS</p>
<p>Do you feel like you belong here in the NS society or in the SS? Why? She feels like she belongs in the South, because: <i>'We think differently, dress differently, live differently. I've lived in an area with South Sudanese people only. I only met North Sudanese people in secondary school and at University, but before that I never knew them, I only saw them on television. We didn't have any relation with them. My parents knew some at work only.'</i></p>	<p>FEELING OF BELONGING IN SS HIGHLIGHTING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NS AND SS PEOPLE FEW CONTACT WITH NS WHILE LIVING IN KHARTOUM ONLY CONTACT WITH NS AT WORK</p>
<p>Do you think your life would be better off in South Sudan? Which are the main challenges you expect to find if you return? <i>'It will not be easy, cause here even if you don't work, you can find a way to live, but in Southern Sudan you have to work very hard. Everything is very expensive'</i>. Moreover, her relatives in Juba always complain of not receiving their salaries on time. Although she is scared of going to the South, because it's a new country to her, she is positive about finding a job in Juba, because there are not many lawyers. However, she's concerned with disease and services such as hospitals, where according to her: <i>'Hospitals are only the building, if you are ok and you go to the hospital in Juba you die. 2 months ago my little sister was sick with malaria and they had to take her to Uganda for one week. And 1 month ago my aunt needed an operation so they had to rent an expensive operation room at the Red Cross.'</i> She is also concerned about her situation there as a woman, because: <i>'In our traditional tribes, women do not have the right to be free. My brother will control my life as it happened in Khartoum.'</i> She is also concerned because she is Shuluk but her boyfriend is Dinka, so she expects her family not to accept their relationship. However, they both seem to be positive about it. She also points out the problem of her degree, which is in Arabic, while in Southern Sudan the official language is English.</p>	<p>CONCERNS ABOUT LIFE IN SS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT LIVING EXPENSES IN SS COMPLAINS OF HER RELATIVES IN SS REGARDING MONEY POSITIVE ABOUT FINDING A JOB IN SS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT HEALTH SYSTEM IN SS RELATIVES WITH HEALTH PROBLEMS IN SS – HAVING TO MOVE TO UGANDA FOR TREATMENT CONCERNED ABOUT HER SITUATION AS A WOMAN IN SS CONCERNED ABOUT GENDER ROLES IN SS CONCERNED ABOUT CONFLICT BETWEEN HER PARTNER AND HER FAMILY FOR TRIBAL REASONS CONCERNED ABOUT THE VALIDITY OF HER DEGREE (IN ARABIC)</p>
<p>What is 'home' for you? <i>'Home is a place where I can live very comfortable, whether is South, North, all Sudan... A place</i></p>	<p>HOME IS WHERE YOU ARE SAFE –</p>

<i>where I can feel safe, where I can find services.'</i>	COUNTRY IS NOT IMPORTANT
Do you feel some kind of discrimination? Can you give an example? Sometimes when she is in the bus standing, men always give their seats to Northern Sudanese girls. <i>'Before I was working with North Sudanese people in a private company and the boss fired me because I was from South Sudan [...] that was 4 or 5 months ago.'</i> In the street a Northern woman told her: <i>'Respect yourself'</i> because she was wearing tight trousers. When she's in the street some cars come by and shout: <i>'Why aren't you going back to the South?'</i>	DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT LOSINF HER JOB AFTER THE SEPARATION DRESSING CODE PROBLEMS IN NS
Do you suffer from some kind of harassment from authorities (police and so on)? No	NO AUTHORITIES HARASSMENT
Can you describe, more or less, how your life was affected from the Referendum of independence in 2011? The main change for her was that most of the people she knew moved to the South.	MOST FRIENDS RETURNED TO SS
From your perspective, do you think the situation as Southern Sudanese in Khartoum is easier for boys than for girls? Have you experienced some sexism? It's easier for girls. North Sudan pays militias from South Sudan so that they can take Southern Sudanese boys living in the North and then ask for money to set them free.	GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: EASIER FOR FEMALES (BOYS ARE TAKEN TO MILITIAS)
From your perspective, have you ever felt intimidated by the media advertising/information regarding SS in Khartoum? Can you give some example? Yes. <i>'After separation they said they would not give medicines to any Southern Sudanese.'</i>	NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF THE MEDIA: SCARING PEOPLE

EMMANUELA (18TH AUGUST 2012)

[This interview was recorded and conducted at Hajar dorm, at the room of the interviewee]

Name, age and place of birth and civil status: Emmanuela – 20 y.o. – Khartoum - single	BORN IN NS
Which is your religion? Christian	
What are your family origins? Where do they come from? They're from South Sudan, from Jungulé State, my father is from Jungulé State. My mother's from Uganda.	PARENTS FROM SS
When did your family come to Khartoum? Why? Me, my brothers and my sisters are all born here, and my father moved here... I don't know exactly... They moved here because he worked here as a police man. They moved here something like 20 years ago. My mum worked in business.	REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (FATHER'S JOB)
Where is your family now? Why did they move? When? In Juba. My father moved last year, and my brothers and my mother in June this year. They moved because of the separation, <i>'because we're South Sudanese, we are supposed to move to our country, and then we don't know what will happen to</i>	FAMILY RETURNING TO SS BECAUSE THAT'S WHAT THEY'RE SUPPOSED TO DO & FEELING OF UNCERTAINTY IN NS

<i>us here</i> '.	RETURNING TO SS IN STAGES
Did you father lose his job? <i>Of course, 'all the policemen here, the South Sudanese, they lost their job. Also the students at the police service'. That was after the separation, I think. My mother didn't lose her job, because it was her own job, like, she went to another country, buy something and sell it.</i>	FATHER LOSING JOB IN NS AFTER SEPARATION MOTHER KEEPING JOB IN NS AFTER SEPARATION
Why didn't you move them? Because of University.	REASON FOR STAYING IN NS (STUDIES)
What about your siblings? My two brothers, two finished studying, and another is in secondary school in Juba.	RELATIVES IN JUBA SCHOOLS
So, do you intend to move afterwards? Yes.	WISH TO MOVE TO SS
What is the economical situation of your family in the South? Are they working? It's ok. My mother's still working in her job and my father is still a policeman.	GOOD CURRENT FAMILY ECONOMICAL SITUATION IN SS
Are you alone in Khartoum? If so, how do you cope with it? No, I have my auntie and my cousins, but I'm here in Hajar. They're not moving back to the South, I don't know why. Because they don't have home there. The living there is so difficult, not like here... But they work here. They don't have a lot of money, to go there. She has nothing here, but my cousins are in school. My aunt is not working, but my cousin works.	RELATIVES LIVING IN NS NOT WISHING TO GO TO SS LIFE IN SS BEING HARDER THAN IN NS REASON FOR STAYING IN NS: SCHOOL
Your circle of friends in Khartoum, is it mainly South Sudanese or North Sudanese? Both.	MIXED CIRCLE OF FRIENDS
Do you belong to associations (like AUUSA) or any church? No	BELONGING TO NO ASSOCIATION
Which citizenship do you hold? Since when? Why did you change it? Before I had North, and now South. I changed it when I went there in June.	SS CITIZENSHIP
How was the process of changing your citizenship? It was not difficult, they gave us all the documents here. It's not difficult to go back to South, but it's difficult to come back again. Travelling is not direct, through Addis Ababa, and it's very expensive, something like 2000SDG.	EASY CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP IN NS IT'S EASY TO GO TO SS, BUT HARD TO RETURN EXPENSIVE TRAVELLING COSTS
What kind of identification do you need here besides the passport? SS passport. That's it. I didn't do the residence permit, I am supposed to do the residence, but I haven't done it until now. I came with a visa, student visa. It's for 1 month. I'm supposed to do the residence permit, but I didn't do it, I will do it when I want to go back to my family. The visa was 1000SDG.	SS PASSPORT HOLDER WITHOUT RESIDENCE PERMIT IN NS OVER-STAYING VISA IN NS
Don't you think that not having the residence permit can mean problems to you? <i>'If they know, maybe. But I'm just staying here, from here to University'.</i>	BEING UNDOCUMENTED IN NS IS NOT A PROBLEM. LIVING FROM HAJAR TO AHFAD
Do you have this white card by the Sudanese Police and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? No, I didn't go there.	NO REGISTRATION CARD HOLDER
Is there some kind of SS authority (Embassy, Consulate) where they inform you and help you with legal paperwork? Yes, an Embassy. I haven't been there.	

<p>Do you think the changing of nationality has supposed some problems to you in the North (economic problems, excessive paperwork, any restriction)? No</p>	<p>NO PROBLEMS IN NS AFTER CHANGING NATIONALITY</p>
<p>Do you have restrictions on mobility to go to the South and then come back to the North?</p>	
<p>Can you get a job here? If not, how do you fund your studies? No, I have no time. [But if you had time, could you find a job?] Of course not. My father pays for it.</p>	<p>FATHER PAYING FOR STUDIES NOT WORKING IN NS</p>
<p>Did your parents have some property here before leaving? Did they own a house, for instance? What happened to it? Yes, they still have it. My aunt she moved there and stayed there.</p>	<p>KEEPING AND RENTING PROPERTY IN NS</p>
<p>Do you feel like you belong here in the NS society or in the SS? Why? To the South. My friends are there, my family is from there. The situation is not like before. I just stay here, I don't want to go out, people ask us and tell us: <i>'Janubyyin, like you're from South Sudan, what are you doing until now here? You want the separation, what do you want from us? You're supposed to go to your country'</i>. It happened to me many times since before I went to Juba in June.</p>	<p>FEELING OF BELONGING IN SS LIVING SECLUDED AT THE DORM IN NS FOR FEAR OF PEOPLE'S COMMENTS VERBAL DISCRIMINATION ON THE ROAD</p>
<p>Do you think your life would be better off in South Sudan? Which are the main challenges you expect to find if you return? Yes. The first time when I went there, I thought it was difficult, because it was the first time for me to go here. It's not like here, people, they say that our language is Arab, so they say we're not South Sudanese, that we're Arab. But the situation there is better than here. But the most important thing is that you're staying with your family.</p>	<p>FINDING IT HARD TO ADAPT TO SS DISCRIMINATION IN SS FOR SPEAKING ARABIC ALL PROBLEMS IN SS CAN BE OVERCOME WITH FAMILY SUPPORT</p>
<p>What is 'home' for you? My home is in South Sudan. Because that's what we wanted, we wanted to stay there in South, because here they don't understand us. They want the <i>sharia</i> law here, and we don't want this, we want to live free. I feel like I'm in home there, not like here. They defend you if something happens to you, not like here. Here they hate you, as if you're not a person. I'm happy that I am South Sudanese.</p>	<p>HOME IS SS HOME IS SS BECAUSE THAT'S WHAT WE WANTED NOT FEELING UNDERSTOOD IN NS NOT WISHING TO LIVE UNDER SHARIA LAW BEING PROUD OF BEING SS FEELING SUPPORTED BY PEOPLE IN SS</p>
<p>Do you feel some kind of discrimination? Can you give an example? <i>'Some people, people that know you before, they don't do that, like my friends here in North, they don't do that. They tell me that I should stay here, don't go there, stay with us... But other people they hate us, what are you doing here, you're South Sudanese, you wanted the separation, don't stay here with us, etc. One day I went to the supermarkets, I wore jeans like this, I put a scarf here and a policeman said: 'why you wear this clothing? You put the scarf in your head. Do you think you're in your country? I'm afraid, I'm afraid, I'm afraid, that's why I don't wanna go outside, I just stay here, go to University and then I stay here'</i>. If I went to Khartoum I would wear a scarf, shirt till here...</p>	<p>NO DISCRIMINATION FROM FRIENDS IN NS VERBAL DISCRIMINATION ON THE ROAD DRESSING CODE PROBLEMS WITH AUTHORITIES IN NS FEELING SCARED OF PEOPLE'S REACTION IN NS AGAINST SS ADAPTING TO NS DRESSING CODE OUTSIDE UNIVERSITY</p>

<p>Can you describe, more or less, how your life was affected from the Referendum of independence in 2011? <i>'First of all, before was in Bahr al-Gazal University. After the separation they closed the Universities al-Gazal, al-Etneel and Juba because they want to move from here to South. And then they closed the Universities something like 2 years. No studies. And then I am transferred to Ahfad, so I stayed at home something like 1 years without studies. [...] Here in Ahfad they're all North Sudanese, nearly all. And then my friends, my family, all of them they went outside to study, like Egypt, Uganda, Kenya. Some of my friends went to Juba'. 'It's the first time I live far from my family. It's too difficult to stay alone. It's the first time I also stay in a hostel. Everything for me is new.'</i> Many of my friends went back to the South.</p>	<p>CLOSING OF SEVERAL SS UNIVERSITIES IN KHARTOUM AFTER SEPARATION</p> <p>HAVING TO CHANGE UNIVERISTY AND WASTING 1 YEAR IN BETWEEN</p> <p>RELATIVES MOVING ABROAD TO STUDY</p> <p>HARDSHIPS IN NS: LIVING AWAY FROM FAMILY</p>
<p>From your perspective, do you think the situation as Southern Sudanese in Khartoum is it easier for boys than for girls? Have you experienced some sexism? <i>'For me it's difficult for SS boys to stay here. I have my brother at Neelen University and me in Ahfad University. When we're in South my father tell me to go and he refused that my brothers came. Cause he told me that the situation here... I'm a girl, I will stay here, I will go to University and then I will come. But they told us boys here, they want boys and then they collect all the SS boys to go to the militia'. [...] They are not studying in Juba, they want to take them to Egypt to study there.</i></p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: EASIER FOR FEMALES (BOYS ARE TAKEN RANDOMLY BY POLICE)</p> <p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: EASIER FOR FEMALES (BECAUSE GIRLS GO FROM UNI TO THE DORM)</p>
<p>After the separation, do you think your brothers had more problems than you? <i>'Not my brothers, but friends of my brothers, something like that happened to them. Just without any cause they took them and then they asked their families to pay something like 30.000SDG if you want your boy'.</i></p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: EASIER FOR FEMALES (BOYS TAKEN RANDOMLY AND ASKED FOR BAIL)</p>
<p>From your perspective, have you ever felt intimidated by the media advertising/information regarding SS in Khartoum? Can you give some example? <i>'They say that we have nothing there, and that we don't have food, our economy is very bad, we're just ... we'll come back again, like lajyin [refugees]. They say that we have nothing, we're just a new country, our economy is very bad and then we'll come back again to the North'.</i></p>	<p>MEDIA INFLUENCING NS FEELINGS TOWARDS SOUTHERNERS</p>
<p>But I heard that some people actually returned to the North because of the economic situation, do you know someone? <i>'Me. It's so hard to come back here. It took me something like months to get a visa. I sent my documents and then something that would let you study here, and then we sent it here to 'shuun al-ajanib' [foreign affairs] and then... they send for you the visa in South'.</i></p>	<p>PAPERWORK PROBLEMS TO OBTAIN VISA</p>

KUEI (25TH AUGUST 2012)

<p>Name, age, place of birth and civil status: Kuei, 19 y.o., Khartoum, single</p>	<p>BORN IN NS</p>
<p>Which is you religion? Christian</p>	
<p>What are your family origins? Where do they come from? My family origins are in Bor, but I've never been there.</p>	<p>FAMILY ORIGINS FROM SS NEVER BEEN TO SS</p>
<p>When did you come to Khartoum? Why? My dad</p>	<p>REASON FOR MOVING TO NS</p>

<p>moved to Khartoum when he was only like 12 during war time. He went here and started his family here. He married my mom. My mom was also brought from Juba and moved during war times, when she was only 4 years, so, the both grew up here. My dad lived in Tormg, and my mom was in Juba with her family. They both had their own houses with their parents. My mom never worked, because she got married when she was my age. My dad he graduated from Alex, he went with a scholarship to Alexandria University. He graduated from there, and then he came back to Khartoum and worked in Upper Nile University. Then he got his MA degree from Khartoum University and a PhD. He worked in the Upper Nile University till he became the President of the University. 3 years ago he had cancer, he struggled for a year, and [...] he died.</p>	<p>(CIVIL WAR)</p> <p>MOTHER NOT WORKING</p> <p>FATHER STUDIED IN EGYPT</p> <p>FATHER USED TO WORK AT UNIVERSITY IN KHARTOUM (NOW DECEASED)</p>
<p>Do you have siblings? I have 3 younger siblings, 4 younger brothers and 3 younger sisters, and then there is my half-sister [on the dad side].</p>	
<p>Where is your family now? Why did they move? When? After my dad died we all stayed here, but this last year, after our Independence they moved to the South, so I stayed here with my older half-sister, who is also in Ahfad University. They're in Renka, a county in Upper Nile State.</p>	<p>MOST FAMILY MEMBERS MOVED TO SS IN 2012</p> <p>SOME RELATIVES STILL IN KHARTOUM</p>
<p>So, do you intend to move afterwards? Of course. I'm going back to my country.</p>	<p>WISHING TO GO TO SS</p>
<p>What is the economical situation of your family in the South? Are they working? It's good, my mom found a job in the South. My siblings they're minors, they're in school. They're renting a house there.</p>	<p>MOTHER WORKING IN SS</p> <p>SIBLINGS IN SCHOOL IN SS</p> <p>ACCEPTABLE FAMILY ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SS</p>
<p>Are you alone in Khartoum? If so, how do you cope with it? I live in our old house with my half-sister. My mother pays for us with the legacy my father left her. [Later on she adds that in the region where her family lives in the South there's been no telephone network for the last 3 months because of security and political issues in the Renk County.]</p>	<p>LIVING IN THEIR OWN PROPERTY IN NS</p> <p>MOTHER PAYS STUDIES WITH FATHER INHERITANCE</p> <p>LACK OF COMMUNICATION WITH RELATIVES IN SS</p>
<p>Will your mother sell the house when you go back to the South? I don't think it's the plan. The situation is hard now, and if sell it now it's gonna be a big mess.</p>	<p>NOT WANTING TO SELL THE PROPERTY IN NS</p>
<p>Your circle of friends in Khartoum, is it mainly South Sudanese or North Sudanese? Both</p>	<p>MIXED CIRCLE OF FRIENDS</p>
<p>Do you belong to associations (like AUUSA) or any church? No, I don't like these kind of things. [...] they create ethnical amendments, so I'm against that. So when some students from a certain state create an association and other students from another state create another association, sometimes they have conflicts. I don't like these kind of associations.</p>	<p>NOT BELONGING TO ANY SS ASSOCIATION (AUUSA) BECAUSE THEY CREATE ETHNICAL DIVISION</p> <p>ASSOCIATIONS CREATE SOCIAL DIVISION</p>
<p>Which citizenship do you hold? Since when? Why did you change it? I'm working on getting my SS ID, I'll be living as a foreigner and pay residence money. Right now I haven't finished the process yet. It takes a while.</p>	<p>SS CITIZENSHIP ON PROCESS</p> <p>SUDANESE PASSPORT TAKEN</p>

They took away my Sudanese passport last summer when I was going to visit my family, they took it away on my way to the South. They said that I'm not allowed to carry their ID anymore.	WHEN VISITING FAMILY IN SS
So, when you arrived in the South you didn't have any paper? Wasn't it a problem? No, not at all, it's quite stupid, but there's nothing I can do about it.	BEING UNDOCUMENTED IN SS IS NOT A PROBLEM
What kind of identification do you need here besides the passport to come back here? <i>On my way back I bribed some people, cause I'm not allowed to enter Sudan, so I had to pay some money. My village is a few miles away, so I took a private car, and of course on the way [...] I had to pay 1000SDG to Northern Soldiers so that they would let me in.</i>	BRIBING AUTHORITIES TO RETURN TO NS TO STUDY
In Ahfad, are you a foreigner? They treat us not as foreigners, as Sudanese. But for the newcomers they'll be treated like foreigners.	TREATED AS A SUDANESE AT THE UNIVERSITY
Do you have this White Card for SS? Yes, the foreign ID for Sudan. Before I leave to Sudan, they took my name, but never gave me the card. When I was in the South and came back to Sudan, they listed our names when coming here to Sudan, to know how many people from South are living here in the North. But they didn't give us any card.	NO REGISTRATION CARD HOLDER
Right now here, what are you, national, non-national, how would you define your situation here? Well, sometimes I walk along the streets, dressed like a Sudanese girl, like wearing this black robe, but only when I go to Khartoum. Here, there's no problem, I'm free dress like this. When go to Khartoum I wear the robe.	DRESSING LIKE A SUDANESE WOMAN WHEN GOING TO KHARTOUM FEELING FREE WHEN DRESSEING AS A SUDANESE IN KHARTOUM
Do you plan to go back to the South before you finish your studies? Yes, my ID card will be ready in like 1 month so then I will go for holidays.	PLANNING TO VISIT SS ON HOLIDAYS
Do you feel like you belong here in the NS society or in the SS? Why? Of course I feel like I belong to the South because my people are there, my family are there, but there is this little part of me, because I was born in Khartoum, Khartoum also feel likes like home. But mostly I feel like I belong to South.	FEELING OF BELONGING TO SS MIXED FEELINGS OF BELONGING
If your family would have decided to stay here, what would you have done? I follow my education, whatever my family does. After I would go back to South.	TAKING DECISIONS REGARDLESS OF FAMILY'S WISHES
Do you think your life would be better off in South Sudan? Which are the main challenges you expect to find if you return? No. The circumstances are hard in the South, especially for us, returnees. Even things as the weather is hard. My situation in North is much better. My mom's worried about, at first she wasn't ok with the idea of me being alone in the North, cause Southerners here in Khartoum have been having some problems... For instance, in world of politics, when a regime faces insurgency it recruits individuals and forms units from individuals from insurgency (counter insurgency). Some of my people were paying money for kidnappers... <i>They do</i>	HARDSHIPS IN SS: SPECIALLY HARD FOR RETURNEES PERSONAL SITUATION BETTER IN NS SS IN NS HAVING SOME PROBLEMS IN NS

<p><i>this to grow this fear inside of us, make us feel insecure. In the last summer, when I was visiting my family they dropped two bombs, but fortunately they fell in a river. They're supported by Northerners to come and threat our National Security there.</i></p>	<p>SS PEOPLE KIDNAPPED IN NS KIDNAPS AS A WEAPON TO RAISE INSECURITY SS NATIONAL SECURITY THREATENED BY NS ATTACKS</p>
<p>Which are the main challenges in the South? Right now, the weather, malaria, lack of food, insecurity, disease, etc. Other than that it ok. Later. <i>When I finish my education and I want to start my career there I might face some challenges, because Southern people they don't like us, returnees. I don't know what's the problem exactly, but they call us Arab. We're not familiar with their traditions. [...]</i>[Later on she adds: 'the only people employed are those with family in the Government']</p>	<p>HARDSHIPS IN SS: WHEATHER, HEALTH, FOOD, INSECURITY. SS PEOPLE DO NOT LIKE 'US' RESTURNEES NOT BEING FAMILIAR WITH SS TRADITIONS FINDING A JOB IN SS DEPENDS ON GOVERNMENTAL CONTACTS</p>
<p>Any special challenge for being a woman? Of course. <i>Our society as Southerners put a lot of pressure on women. Women get only 20% of Human Rights, and men 75%, like they cannot get to be the President, or vice-president, she can't be independent, she always have to have a men to take care, to be responsible, the father or the husband. Some people say that women education is immoral. It's only worse for those who don't know about their rights, but for me as an educated woman I know my rights and I can defend myself.</i></p>	<p>SS SOCIETY PUTTING PRESSURE ON WOMEN. HARDSHIPS IN SS: WOMEN MISSING MANY RIGHTS IN SS GENDERED SITUATION IN SS: WOMEN 'NEED' A MAN HARDSHIPS IN SS: WOMEN SHOULN'T BE EDUCATED</p>
<p>What is 'home' for you? Is people who care about you, who love you. It's not a house, cause a house is just a shelter, it's people who care about you, it's family, friends, etc.</p>	<p>HOME MEANS FAMILY AND FRIENDS</p>
<p>Do you feel some kind of discrimination? Can you give an example? No, never. My friends, we grew up together, we're like brothers and sisters. [Later on she adds: 'The whole problem comes from the Government, not civilians.']</p>	<p>NO FEELING OF DISCRIMINATION IN NS CONSIDERING NS PEOPLE AS BROTHERS AND SISTERS ONLY NS GOVERNMENT CAUSES HATRED</p>
<p>Do you suffer from some kind of harassment from authorities (police and so on)? No. I usually avoid violence, I use the logic.</p>	<p>NO HARASSMENT FROM AUTHORITIES</p>
<p>Can you describe, more or less, how your life was affected from the Referendum of independence in 2011? In many ways. Now I live alone and almost of of the Southerners who lived here went back to the South, so I kind of feel lonely, it's not the same anymore... I start to understand the meaning of having our own country where I feel like I belong.</p>	<p>FEELING OF LONELINESS IN NS UNDERSTANDING THE FEELING OF HAVING 'MY OWN COUNTRY'</p>
<p>How does it feel belonging to a country where you've never been? It feels great. Although I've lived here, I love Khartoum, I love my friends here... This thing of being this missing part of the puzzle, they used to say that Sudan is an Arabian country [...] they also said that Sudan is an Islamic country, so it feels great to have a country with a Southern Sudan culture, it feels finally like I belong.</p>	<p>FEELING GOOD ABOUT NOT BEING CONSIDERED ARAB OR MUSLIM ANYMORE</p>

<p>Do you think the separation was for the better? Yes, absolutely, because my people were marginalized, they don't get health care, no service at all... Finally we have started to develop ourselves. That's the main reason why the civil war started, because of the marginalization.</p>	<p>HOPING FOR A BETTER FUTURE WITHOUT MARGINALIZATION AND EQUAL RIGHTS IN SS</p>
<p>From your perspective, do you think the situation as Southern Sudanese in Khartoum is easier for boys than for girls? <i>It's easier for girls, cause boys are being kidnapped, tortured and recruited for this units. It's also easier in that the Northerners in their religion [...] women are almost holy, so we don't get harassed, but boys actually do.</i></p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: MEN ARE KIDNAPPED AND WOMEN ARE HOLY</p>
<p>From your perspective, have you ever felt intimidated by the media advertising/information regarding SS in Khartoum? Can you give some example? Yes, the media don't tell the truth, The National Congress they run all the media [...].</p>	<p>CORRUPTED MEDIA</p>

ELIZABETH (27TH AUGUST 2012)

<p>Name, age, place of birth and marital status: Elisabeth, 36 y.o., Khartoum, single</p>	<p>BORN IN NS</p>
<p>Which is your religion? Christian, Catholic</p>	
<p>What are your family origins? Where do they come from? We're from SS, from the Lakes State, from a city called Rumbek.</p>	<p>PARENTS FROM SS</p>
<p>When did you come to Khartoum? Why? My father came in 1955 and went back and married my mom and came back here in 1969 and since that time we never go back. Me and my brothers and sisters we were all born here. He came here for work teaching religious education in Church and in school. My mom never worked. My father he went to the South in 1983 for one year and came back. He went to his mother and to see his brothers and sisters and when he came back the war started in South Sudan, the first war between the North and the South, so he couldn't go back again. So we're here till 2010 when I got the chance to go to South Sudan, to Juba, for the first time.</p>	<p>REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (FATHER'S JOB RELATED TO RELIGIOUS SCHOOL & WAR) MOTHER WAS ALWAYS HOUSEWIFE VISITING SS FOR FIRST TIME IN 2010</p>
<p>Where is your family now? Why did they move? When? My younger sister she got married and she went back to Rumbek in 2010. She married here to a South Sudanese. The husband is still here. He was working here in Khartoum hospital as a medical assistant, for more than 21 years, then when South and North separated, they were supposed to give him his money, because he had worked for more than 21 years, but still they haven't given him the money, so he's waiting. When the South separated from the North we don't have the right to work here anymore, cause we're from another country. So for the South Sudanese they see how many years you have been working here and then they come and give you your money. They gave it to some Southerners and they told some others to stay, because of the budget in the Government here.</p>	<p>BORTHER IN LAW STILL IN NS WAITING FOR PENSION ONLY SOME SS RECEIVED THEIR PENSIONS IN NS</p>
<p>My sister in the South now used to work as a teacher. There</p>	<p>SISTER WORKING AS TECAHER IN</p>

is a woman who was working there, then she got married and she's pregnant, so she can't work and she works in her place.	SS
The rest of my family is here in Khartoum. Some of my brothers are in a place called Renk, in South Sudan, with all the furniture and everything, and they're waiting to be taken to Juba. They cannot go by themselves because of all the furniture.	SOME RELATIVES STILL IN KHARTOUM BROTHERS STRANDED NEAR THE BORDER, WAITING TO GO TO JUBA
My mother died in 1997 and my dad is still here in Khartoum, and I live with him. He's retired, so they give him retirement money every month.	FATHER IS ON A PENSION
Why didn't you move them? Because of the studies, otherwise I'd go back.	REASON FOR STAYION IN NS: STUDIES
What is the economical situation of your family in the South? Are they working? It's fair enough. For those living here it's good. Those in the South are worse, because life is very difficult in the South, life is very expensive, etc.	GOOD ECONMIC FAMILY SITUATION IN SS HARDSHIPS IN SS: HIGH LIVING EXPENSES
Are you working here? How do you cope with money issues? No, we cannot work here, but my brother sends us money every month.	BROTHER PROVIDING MONEY FOR HER AND OTHER RELATIVES IN NS
Your circle of friends in Khartoum, is it mainly South Sudanese or North Sudanese? Both, I have a lot of friends from the North and from the South, and we have good friendship with the neighbors, who are mainly Northerners, and have lots of friends from high-school, who are Northerners, and at University, a lot are from the North.	MIXED CIRCLE OF FRIENDS GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH NS NEIGHBOURS
Do you belong to associations (like AUUSA) or any church? Yes. AUUSA looks for the donors that can pay for school fees for Southerners here, and they prepare the graduations for Southerners, for scholarships, sometimes they look for the hostels, for those who have no family here. Those who came from Juba, Malakal, etc. most of them stayed with their relatives and they abused them and they prefer to stay in a hostel.	BELONGING TO ASSOCIATION (AUUSA)
Which citizenship do you hold? Since when? Why did you change it? South Sudanese. I changed it this year in February 2012 in Juba. I changed it because I knew I had to come back to the North and register as a foreigner so should have my citizenship and my passport... I changed it to come back not to go. I changed it in Juba, it's easier than here. <i>It's very expensive to go now to Juba. You know it can cost you 5000SDG to go from Khartoum to Kenya and from Kenya to Juba [...].</i>	SS CITIZENSHIP (Feb 2012) REASON FOR CITIZENSHIP CHANGE: BEING ABLE TO RETURN TO NS AFTER VISITING SS CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP IN SS EXPENSIVE TRAVELLING COSTS
So, for people who cannot afford going to Juba, changing their citizenship is more complicated? It takes time, almost 2 months [...]. They have to fill some documents, then they send them back to Juba, and it takes time. My sister waited almost 3 months. They give you first the nationality and then you can apply for the passport. But in Juba, 2 days.	CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP MORE COMPLICATED IN KHARTOUM
What kind of identification do you need here besides	

<p>the passport? I have the passport and nationality. But I do have the Sudanese Nationality but I don't use it anymore [...]. I still have it, the old passport, but I cannot use it anymore.</p>	<p>PASSPORT AND NATIONAL ID HOLDER</p>
<p>Do you have this White card for SS? Yes, I have it. I got it a few months ago... the 20th of May 2012. They just told us they wanted to know the populations of Southerners who are still here. It was just 20 SDG.</p>	<p>WHITE CARD HOLDER</p>
<p>Can you explain to me how was the process of changing your citizenship? It was easy.</p>	<p>PROCESS OF CHANGING NATINOALITY: EASY</p>
<p>What did you need to come back to the North, passport and visa? No, only the passport. After the separation no one asked for the passport. When SS separated, they gave us some months to arrange our things, but that time they didn't ask any Southerners or Northerners for their passports, you just go without passport. Now they want passport and visa. Now I don't have a visa, only the passport. If I decided to go the South then I would need a visa. I came back on February, and they didn't ask for the visa, but now if I decided to go back I would need it.</p>	<p>NO VISA HOLDER</p>
<p>Are you aware of your rights and legal situation here as a non-national? Yes.</p>	
<p>Do you think the changing of nationality has supposed some problems to you in the North (economic problems, excessive paperwork, any restriction)? No.</p>	
<p>Did your parents have some property here before leaving? Did they own a house, for instance? What happened to it? Yes, we just sold it last year. It was easy to sell, because my brother knew some people to sell the house, but the price wasn't good. You know what Northerners do, they sold the cheaper, because they know you're South Sudanese and you have to sell the house if you want to move...</p>	<p>PARENTS SOLD THEIR HOUSE IN NS FOR A VERY CHEAP PRICE</p> <p>FORCED TO SELL PROPERTY AT A LOW PRICE</p>
<p>Do you feel like you belong here in the NS society or in the SS? Why? To the South. Just the feeling, you know, my family, my parents and relatives, since we were born there, and we lived here for all our lives, in the North we have our own land and one day we will be separated and we'll go back... <i>The issues of the Southerners, most of the Southerners here feel like the North is not their place, and they have a place in South Sudan. They give us this, I mean, I was born here, and I learned the Dinka language here and know everything about my culture, I can speak fluently Dinka, as Arabic and English, Just they raise us in this way: the North will never be our place [...]. The socialization process from the families and relatives... can influence they way you think [...].</i> Northerners here discriminate you, you feel like they're not my people, because of discrimination issue.</p>	<p>FEELING OF BELONGING TO SS</p> <p>ALWAYS LIVED IN NS WITH THE FEELING OF GOING TO SS</p> <p>LEARING ABOUT SS LANGUAGES AND CULTURE SINCE SHE WAS BORN IN NS</p> <p>RAISED WITH THE IDEA THAT 'NORTH WILL NEVER BE OUR PLACE.'</p> <p>FAMILY SOCIALIZATION PROCESS AFFECTING THE WAY OF THINKING</p> <p>DISCRIMINATION IN NS MAKING HER FEEL A STRANGER</p>
<p>Do you think your life would be better off in South Sudan? It will be very difficult. I have to adjust to the new situation, I have no friends, have to start from the beginning, from cero... It will be very difficult, but I have to.</p>	<p>HARDSHIPS EXPECTED IN SS: LACK OF SOCIAL LINKS</p>

	FEELING OF 'HAVING TO' GO TO SS
<p>Why is it this feeling of 'I have to'? Your mother and your father, and your family they've all gone there, you cannot stay here alone, you have to be with your people. Those who are living in the North they don't know about us, we have our own culture. There is Arab culture and South Sudanese culture, and even when you move to the South, sometimes we used to speak Arabic [...] they tell us: 'Why do you come with Arabic words? Why do you speak Arabic? This is not our way.' They criticize us all the time, even if we know the culture and we know the language. And they don't like us for us to talk in Arabic [...] and that's why they used to criticize those who came from Khartoum. I mean they like those who come from Ethiopia, from Kenya... they like them more than us who came from the North. They hate lots of people who came from the North, those who came here.</p>	<p>FEELING OF HAVING TO FOLLOW THE FAMILY</p> <p>FEELING OF NOT BEING UNDERSTOOD IN NS</p> <p>DISCRIMINATION IN SS FOR SPEAKING ARABIC AND COMING FROM KHARTOUM</p>
<p>Which are the main challenges you expect to find if you return? Social interaction. In the South you need to know big people there, Minister or someone responsible and you can get a job. I will be working in Bahr Al-Azal University so that's not a problem for me.</p>	<p>HARDSHIPS EXPECTED IN SS: FINDING A JOB</p>
<p>What is 'home' for you? The place where you belong. [Later on she adds that women in South Sudan have to be responsible of the household by themselves.]</p>	<p>HOME IS WHERE YOU BELONG</p>
<p>Do you feel some kind of discrimination? Can you give an example? Yes a lot. When I was in high school, there was no teacher for Christian religion subject. We had to go on Friday, which is a holiday and attend religion courses. They forced you to attend the religious subjects [...] a lot of Southerners became Muslims because they put a lot of pressure. They didn't force you, but they told you many times.</p>	<p>FEELING DISCRIMINATION IN NS: NO CHRISTIAN RELIGION COURSE IN SCHOOL,</p>
<p>What about in hospitals, is there discrimination? No. Discrimination appears a lot in the schools from the teachers and some colleagues.</p>	<p>DISCRIMINATION IN NS SCHOOLS</p>
<p>Do you suffer from some kind of harassment from authorities (police and so on)? No. I know some families and they used to make traditional alcohol, and the Government here don't like it, because of the Islamic Government, and they face a lot of harassment. And they put women in prison for 3 months or 6 months, and unless you pay they don't release you. Women make alcohol to pay the fees for their kids and live. It's hard to live here in the North, especially for widows. [Later on she points out: <i>'Sometimes they close the banks and I can't... my brother can't take the money to Khartoum by bus. He has to know someone here in the North and someone in the South has to send the money to these people. That's the big problem, there's no banking system.'</i>]</p>	<p>NO AUTHORITIES HARASSMENT</p> <p>PROBLEMS FOR THOSE BREWING ALCOHOL</p> <p>WOMEN-ALCOHOL BREWERS AS MAIN BREADWINNERS IN NS</p> <p>HARDSHIPS IN NS: MONEY TRANSFERS</p>
<p>Can you describe, more or less, how your life was affected from the Referendum of independence in 2011? Before it was fine, it was good, people had houses, studied... Then the issue of Referendum came and we had to think, we have to move... Some of my sisters and brothers [...] they wanted to stay here, but my father said we have to sell the house, we have to move... It was a little frustrating</p>	<p>GOOD LIFE IN NS BEFORE SEPARATION</p> <p>MAKING FAMILY DECISIONS – LEAVE OR STAY</p> <p>FATHER TAKING DECISION TO</p>

<p>for my brothers and sisters, because they don't know anything about the South, they don't even know the language. It was frustrating for them to leave their schools and then move to the South. But nowadays they have accepted the idea, their friends have already moved to the South, but it's a little bit frustrating sometimes. Another problem is that people in the South they won't be in the same place. In Khartoum you can meet in Bahri in Ombdurdam, but when you come back some will stay in Juba, some in Malakal, so you will never meet them again.</p>	<p>LEAVE TO SS SIBLINGS FEELING FRUSTRATED TO HAVE TO GO TO SS SIBLINGS ADAPTING TO SS, BUT STILL FRUSTRATED HARDSHIPS IN SS: FRIENDS LIVING IN DIFFERENT PLACES/BAD TRANSPORT</p>
<p>Do you know any South Sudanese who wants to stay here? Yes, many. Those who want to stay are those who went back after the CPA 2005 and they faced very difficulties there and they cannot... They saw it's very difficult for them to stay in the South. And even those who are there they're waiting for the agreements and let the Government here in Sudan to allow them to stay, and then they will back again and stay in the North, because life is very difficult there in the South.</p>	<p>KNOWING MANY SS WHO WANT TO STAY IN NS REASONS OF SS WHO WANT TO STAY IN NS: THEY WENT TO SS AND SAW HOW DIFFICULT IT WAS MANY SS WHO WENT BACK ARE WAITING FOR AGREEMENTS TO GO BACK TO NS</p>
<p>So those here, what do they do if they cannot work? They're selling tea, working in private sectors or Arab houses, their life is ok, their children can go to school. The problem in the South is that it's not easy to find a job for women unless they're highly educated. But here, even non-educated women can find a job.</p>	<p>SS IN NORTH CAN STILL WORK IN THE INFORMAL MARKET IN SS UNEDUCATED WOMEN CAN HARDLY WORK IN NS UNEDUCATED WOMEN CAN WORK</p>
<p>From your perspective, do you think the situation as Southern Sudanese in Khartoum is easier for boys than for girls? Have you experienced some sexism? For girls is easier. Girls don't have to work. Boys are the ones who have to work and bring the money and take care of their sisters.</p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: EASIER FOR FEMALES (GIRLS DON'T HAVE TO WORK, MEN ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT) [STUPID ANSWER, AS STATED BY MANY, WOMEN ARE THE MAIN BREADWINNERS]</p>
<p>Is it easier for women to find jobs here? Yes, some women used to work in Arab houses, to take care of kids and cleaning...</p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: EASIER FOR FEMALES (WOMEN CAN EASIER FIND JOBS)</p>
<p>From your perspective, have you ever felt intimidated by the media advertising/information regarding SS in Khartoum? Can you give some example? Very bad effect. During the Referendum time, media in the South told Southerners here: 'You need to leave as soon as you can'. They made a lot of pressure and stress on the Southerners. Some people even sold their houses and their furniture... There's a propaganda that we'd be killed here, there would be a lot of harassment... The media in the North said that: 'We don't want any black people to stay here anymore', 'They can't even get any injection in the hospital, we will not help them', 'They were the ones who said they don't want the North so why should they stay here?'</p>	<p>NEGATIVE ROLE OF THE MEDIA PROPAGANDA ENCOURAGING SS TO LEAVE</p>
<p>Do you think the separation was for better or worse? It will be better. For Southerners, for all of their lives they've</p>	<p>SEPARATION WAS FOR THE BETTER</p>

been dreaming to get back their country. Now they separated and even life is difficult but they can learn to stay there. They believe they will overcome the challenges.	
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ANALIA (31ST AUGUST 2012)

[Due to technical problems with the recording device, this interview was recorded from question 8 onwards. In some of the questions there were some linguistic problems to understand English, so I tried to explain the question in Arabic. These 'explanatory' sections have not been transcribed due to time constraints and to avoid confusion.]

Name, age, place of birth and marital status: Analia – 26 – Malakal (South Sudan) – Rural Extension Education and Development (BA degree) – single	BORN IN SS
Religion: Christian	
Family origins: South Sudan	FAMILY ORIGINS FROM SS
When did you come to Khartoum? Why? Did you come with your family? Why did they move? I moved when I was a baby. My father worked here as the Head-mater of SCC (Christian Organization). Then he worked in South Kordofan in the same position. Then my father lost his job because he was from the South and in 2008 he moved with my family to (Malakal) South Sudan. Now he works in Kenya Commercial Bank.	REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (FATHER'S WORK) FATHER NOW WORKING ABROAD
What's the economical situation of you family now? Good. I have 4 brothers who live and study in Kampala (Uganda).	GOOF FAMILY ECONOMIC SITUATION SIBLINGS LIVING AND STUDYING ABROAD
Why are you still here in Khartoum? Where do you live? With whom? I want to finish my studies. I live with my sister (student of law at Al-Jaim Al-Azhari University) and my brother (student of medicine at Al-Bahri University). We live in my old father's house in Khartoum.	REASON FOR STAYING IN NS: STUDIES LIVING WITH SIBLINGS IN THEIR OWN HOUSE IN KHARTOUM
Do you belong to some association or church? I belonged to AUSSA, where I was the Secretary of Talent Development, but this semester it is not working. I also belong to the 'International Movement of Catholic Students' where I work as a Secretary of Information.	BELONGS TO ASSOCIATIONS (AUSSA AND CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT)
So tell me, what do you do in this international movement of Catholic students? Sometimes they have many activities workshops, like also Enlightenment of this group. We want to solve the problems between the students of other University.	
Is only for South Sudanese Students? No, it's for all catholic students.	
Does it take place in a church? Yes, in Santa Marta [sic.], shariat el-Nil, in a chapel.	
Nowadays, do you feel integrated in Khartoum? Sometimes I feel ok, sometimes I feel not ok. Because sometimes in the bus they tell you: 'You're from South Sudan, what are you doing	DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT

<i>here? or You voted the separation, go back to your home! Why are you still here? And in Ahfad here, I feel part in Ahfad University, because we already enjoy together, we are like friends and sisters.</i>	FEELING ACCEPTED AND INCLUDED AT THE UNIVERSITY
In Khartoum no, can you get a job? No, you can't, because I'm from the South I have another nationality.	NOT POSSIBLE TO WORK IN NS
Your brother and sister don't work either? No	NO RELATIVES WORKING IN NS
Can you work here in the informal market? Maybe, I'm not sure.	NOT AWARE OF LABOUR REGULATIONS IN NS
But no legally? No	
How do you pay for your studies? My father pays for this. I don't get scholarship.	FATHER PAYING UNIVERSITY FEES
Do you pay [University fees] as a foreigner or as a national? As a national	PAYING AS A NATIONAL IN AHFAD
Do you have the intention to go back to the South? Yes. 100%	WISHING TO GO BACK TO SS
When? When I finish	WISHING TO GO TO SS AFTER DEGREE
Do you think it'll be easy to find a job? Yes	GOOD EXPECTATIONS TO FIND JOBS IN SS
Why do you wanna move? Because my family already moved.	REASON TO WISH TO GO TO SS: FAMILY
When you go back to the South, do you think you'll have some problems? No, I don't think so.	NOT AWARE OF HARDSHIPS IN SS
Right now, which nationality do you have and when did you get it? South Sudan. I got it in April 2012. This year.	SS CITIZENSHIP
What's this card? They want to collect the Southern Sudanese here with this card. It's to prove that you're a foreigner.	REGISTRATION CARD HOLDER
Is this done for all the foreigners? No, only for Southern Sudanese.	
Why? Because the Governor want to know how many Southern Sudanese here in Khartoum.	
Only on Khartoum? No, in all the North.	
So every time you come here, how do you make it? I need visa.	VISA HOLDER
For how long? For 2 months	
How much do you have to pay? 100US\$ every 2 months.	EXPENSIVE TRAVELLING PERMITS
Can you have a residence permit? No, the residence is only 2 months, after 2 months you go back to the Department of Alien Affairs and you do it again.	NOT POSSIBLE TO GET RESIEDENCE FERMIT FOR MORE THAN 2 MONTHS
And then you have to pay again? Yes, 100US\$	
How do you think this new situation has changed your life? The fact of not being a national, but a foreigner, can you give me some example? Before one year, I was from Sudan, but suddenly I am foreigner. I feel bad.	FEELING LIKE A FOREIGNER IN NS

Do you feel like a foreigner? Yes	
Do you have any problem when you travel to the South to see your family? Yes, the ticket is very expensive (2500SP one way), because I have to go from here to Nairobi and from Nairobi to the South, and it's also a long way.	EXPENSIVE TRAVELLING COSTS
When was the last time you went to the South? 8 th June 2011, one year ago.	NOT VISITING FAMILY FOR OVER 1 YEAR
Do you feel somehow discriminated in Khartoum? I don't feel like this. <i>'Sometimes they say: you can dress the skirt alone, because you're in North and this way is the Islamics, and then you're from South. Also don't wear the short skirt because...'</i>	NOT FEELING DISCRIMINATED IN KHARTOUM DRESSING LIKE A SUDANESE
Have you ever had some problems with the police or authorities? No	NO AUTHORITIES HARASSMENT
What is 'home' for you? The South	HOME IS SOUTH
How did the Referendum change your life? I feel like a foreigner. Maybe I miss my family, it's not easy to go back, because it's expensive the flight. And also things are expensive here. And also it's not easy to receive money from South to North, because of the banks. <i>'And then when you want to buy something in the supermarket or in the shop when they look at me and I am from the South they give very expensive sometimes.'</i>	FEELING LIKE A FOREIGNER FEELING OF LONELINESS ECONOMIC PROBLEMS IN NS HARDSHIPS IN NS: DIFFICULTIES IN SENDING MONEY HARDSHIPS IN NS: DISCRIMINATION AND OVERCHARGING IN SHOPS
Do you think it's different for your brother? Is it more difficult for girls or for boys? In the South the man is the leader, and he has the decision. Here the boys have more problems than girls.	GENDERED SITUATION IN SS: MEN TAKE THE DECISIONS GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: MEN HAVE MORE PROBLEMS
Has the media affected your feelings? <i>'Yes, because in the newspapers, where you open any page, well the Southern Sudanese they're doing bad'</i>	MEDIA INFLUENCING NS FEELINGS TOWARDS SOUTHERNERS

EZEKIEL (5TH SEPTEMBER 2012)

The interview was conducted spontaneously in a compound in the area of El-Mamoura. Since Ezekiel, besides being a man, was in a completely different situation than the rest of the respondents, his interview was considered to get a broader picture of the issue, but was not coded.

I am doing a research on SS people still living here in Khartoum, and what's their situation, if they want to go back to the South, etc. Would you mind if I asked you a couple of question about that? No problem. All these people they want to go back to South.
So, what are you waiting for? We're waiting for. There's no transport, so we're waiting for.
So, when did all these people came to the North? There is UNICEF [...] they are connected with the Government, so they say they are still making for a proceeding about sending people back to the South, but until now they never set the time for it. They're connected to the Agreement, that take place between the South. So they say, when this agreement is finished and they sign for it, they will [...] open the roads from North.
So all these people here are waiting? With no jobs? Yes, they're all waiting. No they have no jobs. We've been stopped since last year, 2006. We're all stopped from jobs.
What kind of job did you do? I was working in the Statistic Department. And after 2006 I lost my job.

<p>What about houses, did you live in a house here? Before I lived in a place called Mandela, there. They said there was a deadline for those from the South, so they said that from the 9 of April, all the jobs from the South will be stopped, it will be through the functions of passports, like that. So we tried to go before that deadline, but when we came here, the deadline [...] no trains, no transport, nothing like that. My house I sold before the deadline, because after the deadline they don't allow people to sell, they say you're foreigner, so I sold my own before the deadline, and then I brought all my things here [...].</p>
<p>Do you receive some kind of help from the UNHCR or something? Well, for my job I retired, I worked for the Government for 25 years, when I stopped they put me retired, so I receive 25 SDG per month for the retiring.</p>
<p>Do you have a passport? I have Sudanese passport, I never changed it, because I am still here. That's not a problem. This represents the paper you need if you want to go to South, you can stamp it.</p>
<p>What about the White Card? Ah, that one, it's like an ID card, yeah they gave us. It's to stay inside Sudan, when you have that card you walk free. Just they have that card in order to find out how many Southerners they have here. Some of them have it, some of them have not got it. It's got a limited time, but they don't ask you, if they give you, they don't ask it now.</p>
<p>How many people are there living here? Is it men, women, families, etc.? About 500 hundred. Until the river there. Yes, when we come here we came with the family, man and woman and children. So everybody come with their family and their children stay here. Some of them, live at the river there.</p>
<p>So, if the families decide to go back to the South do they go back together? Cause some told me that in big families they only allow you to take 3 children... No, no, your children is your children, nobody can take your children. Sometimes there are colour children like that, that if some is married from the North, of course the children will be from North. So then they might tell you this child doesn't belong to you, but his mother might be from the North, and his father from the South. So the child will take the blood of his mother, so when you take them, they will say that this child does not belong to you [...]. So for the woman who have got many children, of course everybody has got their own children, so it's a problem to move. So some families have gone and leave them here and leave a relative with them. You can take them [...]. They keep them here for the time being. Until the Government opens the door then we can go, now all the doors are locked. From South to North.</p>
<p>So the only way of going in by plane? To go, up till now, the planes between South and Sudan [...] people go by Ethiopia or Kenya. Here between North and South it is not function for them to open the roads, but they're still proceeding. Once this agreement is finished then the roads will be open.</p>
<p>Did they tell you when? Yes, after the agreement. I think the UN have given time everything must be finished. So I think they will agree, and then they are [...] for agreement of freedom, nationality and all this. They will try to manage it.</p>
<p>When you go back to the South, where are you gonna be? The South contains 10 states. Most of the people in the States have gone to Upper Nile, but we're from the northern area. [...] Our original families are in the South, most of them aren't born here, they're born in the South, but they came here for the job, they came here for the city, so when the separation, we're all back there, we have a family, we have places, we have houses there.</p>
<p>So, none of you want to stay in the North? No, we don't like to stay here. We have been here for a long time, and we have been facing a lot of trouble. First, job. Second, living is sometimes difficult. Then, sometimes the school also. Sometimes it's connected with religion. Sometimes when you enter the school they call that if you don't know the religion you cannot be adjusted. I've been educated here, but they call the displaced students in 1991. We used to study in the evening. So there were many problems.</p>
<p>So, when did you come here? In 1983. I came here for job and studies. I studied in Camboni, is a place where they teach English. No I'm not working, but before I worked for the Government, in the statistic department, but before I became a teacher. I worked and I studied, until I finished. Before I worked and studied, until I finished and then I joined the Camboni college.</p>
<p>Are you married? Yes, I'm married to a Northern woman.</p>
<p>So why don't you stay here? Well, I've been here for a long time and my people need me there.</p>
<p>So your wife is gonna stay here? My wife, if she wanna stay she can stay. She lives in Mandela in her</p>

family house, and I live here. Sometimes she comes and stay here for 2 or 3 days and she goes back.
Do you have children? One child. She's 2 years; I married late.
Where's the child? It's with her family there in Mandela. I will give her freedom, cause of the agreement between North and South there will be roads, it is not far, people can go and come back [...].
And then, before the separation, can you tell me a bit about your life here? My name is [...]. I'm from South Sudan, I was born in 1961. Before I came to the North, I used to follow cows, I didn't have education. So when it was 1977 I came to the North. At the beginning it was to see the capital at that time. At that time people didn't know the South very well, so when you said you're from South Sudan, they used to surprise, look at him, where do you come from... So I tried to look for jobs. It was difficult, but I tried and managed to work brushing shoes, and sometimes I worked in the restaurant, and sometimes going to the market and buying and selling, and things like that until I went to Camboni and completed my education and I found a place in the Government as a messenger. So at that time I didn't stay long here, I stayed one year and go back to the family, then I stayed for six month or one year and come back again, so I came here for several times. The last time I came here was 1983, at the time when the war broke out. Then I worked for the Government, and I studies until the peace came.
In your stay here in North, how has your relationship been with Northerners? When I came here in 1977 it was very strange but in 1989 when Bashir came up things changed, there was no discrimination there, we were all equal. Good relations. People from South and North they have no problem; problem is in the top.
And after the 2005 CPA, do you think things changed? Before agreement there were problems about the security, because most of the Southerners here they said they belonged to the SPLM, so most of them were put in prison. Even me I was caught without reason by the security, that I used to cooperate, and I said NO. That was the common fear of the Southerners but after the CPA, then everything became normal.
And after the separation? There's no problem.
And with SS living here, do you think there's a difference between women and men? <i>The meaning of living is eating, wearing clothes and visiting friends. All this involves money, and when there's no money, someone cannot enjoy. Men aren't working, women aren't working. So women struggle to do something to bring income. Some of them they go down the river there to do liquor, so they sell it and bring income. Some women they try to go and work in the houses, so if there's work for one day, they give them something so they can feed their children. Men also sometimes, when there's a job like this one, building houses, there's some people who can be polite and accept them, but some others say no, you're a foreigner. It's their right, and then you can ask again, many places, and they sometimes give job for one day or three days, and other times you just stay. This is the way people survive here.</i>
Is it them more easy for women to get money? Yes, for women it's more easy, but, when they go and sell liquor policemen they usually go around there, so if they catch them they have to pay 300SDG to release them [...]. <i>You see, according to the relationship between the people, the people, the Sudanese people have no problem, the problem is the politicians. Some people they're connected with politicians, so when they find that there's news talking about SS, they used to apply these laws, in order to affect. When there's election, when people vote for independence, SS voted for it, most of them, so North Sudanese became very angry, they said, why? We all live together in peace, why all these people vote like that? So when you vote like that, there's no job for you [...].</i>

GROUP INTERVIEW WITH GLORIA AND CHRISTINE (4TH NOVEMBER 2012)

Today I met Gloria and Christine at All Saints Cathedral again, since they had both contacted me and asked me about my research and my life in general. The conversation

started quite informally, but then I asked them more specific questions to find out about how their situation had changed since the last time we met.

<p>So, Gloria, how's your situation now? Now I have my passport.</p>	PASSPORT HOLDER
<p>You don't need any visa or anything? No, because I haven't left the country, so the passport is enough.</p>	NO NEED TO OBTAIN VISA
<p>How about work? Well, now I'm unemployed, unfortunately. You see, this Sudanese Council of Churches, they will not say it openly, but they don't want to have South Sudanese people working for them.</p>	LOOSING HER CHARITY JOB IN NS
<p>So what are you gonna do now, are you considering returning to the South? No, in the South there are no jobs. I would go if I found a job from here but I don't want to go and start looking for a job there. I have so many relatives and friends with Master degrees, even PhD degrees, who do not find a job in South Sudan. You see, in the South there is tribalism, and jobs are monopolized by the Dinka, who are also the majority. Because of this, they hire people who are not competent, so there is a waste of resources. For instance, I know many journalists who used to work here, and then they left to the South to work for their country in the national channels, but then they offered them very poor salaries, so they decided to work for private channels, so the national media has very poor quality.</p>	<p>NO WISH TO GO TO SS KNOWING MANY PEOPLE UNEMPLOYED IN SS TRIBALIZED EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN SS POOR STATE MEDIA DUE TO POOR SALARIES AND CONDITIONS IN SS</p>
<p>So, how are you gonna make a living here, then? You know, the Disabled Union gives me some help, but many things are limited for being a foreigner. I'll do some part time job, like translating or workshop facilitating, or teaching, or something like that.</p>	<p>LIMITIED FINANCIAL HELP IN NS WORKING IRREGULARLY IN NS</p>
<p>Don't you think that things will improve after this 4 Freedom Agreement is signed? Maybe, I don't know.</p>	DUBIOUS FEELING OF AN IMPROVED SITUATION
<p>How about you, Christine? You told me you had been abroad, right? Yes, and then to come back here I had to pay like 4000SDG for the 1year residence permit and work permit.</p>	EXPENSIVE PAPERWORK
<p>So you're gonna stay in the North? Yes, there is no work in the South. I know this colleague of mine, she used to work in Bahri Hospital, and she was fired after the separation because it's a public hospital, so she went to the South. It's been now one year and se has not found a job. She's trying to come back to the North now, but it's not easy.</p>	<p>NO JOBS IN SS SS TRYING TO RE-MIGRATE TO NS</p>
<p>So, you'd assess your situation here as fair? No discrimination? Yes, there's discrimination, but I'm immune to it now. You know, it's like we're all children of the same father but then we've been separated. But here I can work in this private hospital, I cover duties and go when they call me.</p>	<p>IGNORING DISCRIMINATION IN NS WORKING IN NS AS A NURSE</p>
<p>Can you both tell me how your feelings and situations have changed since the separation took place until now? Christine: When the separation happened I felt good, because before there used to be so many obstacles. After the separation, it has not changed much, but still it's better.</p> <p>Gloria: When the separation happened I was scared, because the idea was good, the aims or objectives of the separation</p>	<p>FEELINGS ON THE SEPARATION: HAPPINESS AND DISAPPOINTMENT</p> <p>FEELINGS ON THE SEPARATION:</p>

<p>were supposed to be positive. They said that we would get our rights as citizens that we would not be anymore second class citizens... but I was scared that they did not comply with what they were saying. Now I don't feel good. The situation is the same; the opportunities they wanted to offer to the South Sudanese are not there. I feel like I'm a refugee here: I cannot go my country because there are no opportunities there, and here my chances are limited, just like a refugee. It's funny how we all grew up here, but now I'm a foreigner. I would not feel a foreigner in the South, but I would stay idle there, and that is a disease.</p>	<p>FEARS, HOPE, DISAPPOINTMENT.</p> <p>FEELING LIKE A REFUGEE</p>
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RITA (10TH SEPTEMBER 2012)

<p>Name, age and place of birth: Rita – 31- Awiel in SS – single – PhD in Psychology, Mental Health</p>	<p>BORN IN SS</p>
<p>Which is your religion? Christian</p>	
<p>What are your family origins? Where do they come from? We came from Bahr Al-Gazal in SS. My father is from Bahr Al-Gazal, my mother [...] and I was born there. We are 6 brothers and sisters from my mother, and my step-mother has 7 children.</p>	<p>FAMILY ORIGINS FROM SS</p>
<p>When did you come to Khartoum? Why? When I was young, so I was 1 years old. I was born and then we moved, so I did my studies here in Khartoum. We came here in 1982 because the problems started in the South and my father took us all to the North. And from that time we have been studying here. When we came at that time my father was working in the military service here in Khartoum. Before in the South he also worked as a military, then they transferred him here, it was one country at that time. He started teaching the college of Military Career in Khartoum until he got retired. My mum is a housewife.</p>	<p>REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (CIVIL WAR)</p> <p>STUDYING IN NS</p> <p>FATHER WORKING IN THE MILITARY SERVICE BOTH IN SS AND NS</p> <p>MOTHER IS HOUSEWIFE</p>
<p>Where is your family now? Why did they move? When? They're all in the South, even my father. And we live here with my brothers, 3 brothers and 2 sisters. They're University Students, one in Ahfad and the others in Sudan University and one in college. They moved in 2011 before the separation. They moved because they said the country is going to separate and the Southerners are supposed to go back to their origins. They left together except for us, because we're studying.</p>	<p>PARENTS MOVED BACK TO SS BEFORE SEPARATION BECAUSE 'SOUTHERNERS ARE SUPPOSED TO GO BACK TO THEIR ORIGINS'</p> <p>SHE AND SIBLINS REMAIN IN NS STUDYING</p>
<p>How did they move? Some they took planes, but we had to transfer the furniture of the house. We took them by the cars. It took many trips, more than one month to go, because they stopped them on the road many times until they reached the South.</p>	<p>MOVING TO SS BY CARS</p>
<p>So, do you intend to move afterwards? Yes, after I finish. Because that's my area, it's my origin place. I know about my country well. My family tells me I'm from the South, and even I speak the language. I grew up in the North, even I don't know the South, my first time to visit</p>	<p>WISH TO MOVE TO SS AFTER GRADUATION</p> <p>FEELING SS AS 'MY PLACE'</p>

<p>South was in 2010... First I thought it is still not as developed as the North, but I feel it's my place, we'll grow later, we'll grow. I have hope. But I liked it when I went there. The weather is very good, it's cold, it's clouded, there's no sun, and the people are always happy. Sometimes, you know, even if there's no food, but they're still feeling so happy because they went back to their regions.</p>	<p>EXPECTATIONS OF SS IMPROVEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT</p> <p>ENNUMERATING POSITIVE ASPECTS OF SS: WEATHER, PEOPLE ALWAYS HAPPY 'EVEN IF THERE'S NO FOOD' BECAUSE 'THEY WENT BACK TO THEIR ORIGINS'.</p>
<p>What is the economical situation of your family in the South? Are they working? My parents they're not working, but he's got this small business, a company with furniture. My father's retired from the military. At first he was working for the Government of SS, but this year is not working. Two of my brothers are at the University of Juba, but until now the University of Juba is closed. They say they want to arrange a system of education for the South Sudan. They started but they closed it, I don't know what's the reason, they said they want to do a schedule of the SS to be separated from the North, because at that time they are one. They started studying at Juba University in Khartoum but then when they transferred it to Juba after the separation, and now they opened it for 2 months but then they closed it , because they want to arrange the system [...] because the University in Khartoum is different from the University in the South. They say that they're going to open it in October. They're still waiting, we don't know what will happen.</p>	<p>FATHER WORKING IN SS AS FURNITURE SELLER</p> <p>CLOSING DOWN OF JUBA UNIVERSITY TO MAKE A 'SOUTHERN' CURRICULA: MANY STUDENTS LEFT OUT.</p> <p>UNCERTAINTY REGARDING OPENING OF UNIVERISTY IN SS</p>
<p>Are you alone in Khartoum? If so, how do you cope with it? You feel lonely, because it's the first time for my mother and my father to leave us. This is the first time we're away for one year. From the beginning it's too difficult for us to cope, because we're just ourselves. But after we finish we want to go. But from the beginning we feel that it's difficult to be alone, but all the neighbours [from the North] around us they know us, because we've been here for a long time. Some of them they knock on the door and they greet us and we also greet them like this. The relationship is good because we're there for a long time, we're in this area before we entered the University in Ombdurman. [...] and when they knew that my father was going they came and they greet them, and my father told them: 'my children will be here'. All them said: 'Oh, we'll come and will see them!'[...] The problem is on the road. You see, on the road there's some people and if they see you: 'Oh, why are you still here? You're separated, you have to go', like this. Even in the market, even in supermarket: 'Why are you here? You're supposed to go, you're separated, you vote for separation'. And me I answer and I say: 'Also there is Northern People living in the South'. [...] And even at University one lady asked me: 'Why are you separated?' Because of politics, I told her.</p>	<p>FEELING OF LONELINESS</p> <p>GOOD RELATIONS WITH NS NEIGHBOURS</p> <p>VERBAL DISCRIMINATION ON THE ROAD AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT</p> <p>LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OF THE REASONS FOR SEPARATION</p> <p>BELIEVING THAT THE MAIN REASON FOR SEPARATION IS POLITICS</p>
<p>Who supports you economically? My father, but now I am in the program of the Norway here in Ahfad University and they pay us for transport, and some of the accommodation.</p>	<p>BENEFITARY OF INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP</p>
<p>What do you think was the main reason for</p>	

<p>separation? Because of the Civil War, the North is more developed than the South. That's my opinion, but the South is still bad. It's better now. Before there's no electricity. Now the Government now is improving the hospitals.</p>	<p>MAIN REASONS FOR SEPARATION: WAR, UNDER-DEVELOPMENT SS GOVERNMENT IS IMPROVING THE FACILITIES (REALLY??)</p>
<p>Your circle of friends in Khartoum, is it mainly South Sudanese or North Sudanese? Both</p>	<p>MIXED CIRCLE OF FRIENDS</p>
<p>Do you belong to associations (like AUUSA) or any church? Yes, I'm in AUUSA when I was a Bachelors, but now in my PhD I don't attend anymore. This associations is organized by people from South Sudan, they talk about how the people we are now be to together and solve the problems. Also if there's any help come from our Government for the association, sometimes they pay school-fees for the students. Also there is [...] for the Southerner ladies. Some organizations they give for accommodation of the students. [...]</p>	<p>BELONGED TO AUUSA</p>
<p>Which citizenship do you hold? Since when? Why did you change it? SS passport. I changed it in April 2012 because they told us that we those from the South have to have their passports. [...] Then went to the police and we registered. And then when the Embassy opened they told us that all the Southerners in the North had to go to do our nationality and passport. So you go you apply and then you get your nationality and then your passport.</p>	<p>SS CITIZENSHIP IN APRIL 2012</p>
<p>What kind of identification do you need here besides the passport? Do you have a visa? Before they said you were supposed to have a visa, and even the University gave me a paper for the visa. But they announced two weeks ago that they cancelled everything because on the negotiations there they agreed for the 4 freedoms agreement that people from the South can stay here without a visa. I'm not sure, but these days, they days for the visa for residence stopped.</p>	<p>NO VISA HOLDER – IT IS NOT NEEDED AS OF SEPTEMBER 2012</p>
<p>Can you explain to me how was the process of changing your citizenship? You see, if you don't know the origin place it is difficult, because they ask you for it, from where are you exactly, your father, your mother, and the area that you come from. And also you need someone to support you, to say that this is from my area. And then they will stop asking you. [...] And then in one month you get the passport.</p>	<p>CHANGING CITIZENSHIP IS EASY IF YOU KNOW YOUR ORIGINS</p>
<p>Are you aware of your rights and legal situation here as a non-national? Yes, but until now I didn't face any problem. Until now I'm moving with my passport but nobody asked me.</p>	<p>NO ID PROBLEMS</p>
<p>Do you think the changing of nationality has supposed some problems to you in the North (economic problems, excessive paperwork, any restriction)? Now they consider me as foreigners but everything you have to pay, for hospital and everything.</p>	<p>BEING CONSIDERED A FOREIGNER</p>
<p>Do you have restrictions on mobility to go to the South and then come back to the North? These days I'm not sure. Because they say they want to open the</p>	

flights that they closed from February until now, but I don't know, but in December I will find out.	LACK OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT REGULATIONS FOR TRAVELLING TO SS
Can you get a job here? If not, how do you fund your studies? No	DIFFICULTY IN FINDING JOBS IN NS
But then, with this 4 Freedom agreement you'll be able to work, right? Yeah, maybe, I'm not sure.	NOT KNOWING ABOUT THE 4 FREEDOM AGREEMENT.
Did your parents have some property here before leaving? Did they own a house, for instance? What happened to it? Yes, but they sold it before going back. Now we're renting a place.	PARENTS SOLD THE HOUSE IN NS BEFORE GOING TO SS
Do you feel like you belong here in the NS society or in the SS? Why? In the South. I'm feeling that I'm South, but I'm in the North.	FEELING OF BELONGING TO SS
Do you think your life would be better off in South Sudan? Which are the main challenges you expect to find if you return? You see, everything I know is in the North, but if I go and face some problems I will try and adjust to these problems, because now it's a new country, that means that we're not gonna go there and everything's ready. The main problem will be finding a house, we have no house there, we're renting. But now my father has started to build the house. Secondly, transport: moving from place to place is very difficult. And job. I can work in organizations in the Government, anywhere.	AWARENESS OF CHALLENGES IN SS BUT 'I WILL TRY AND ADJUST TO THESE PROBLEMS' CHALLENGES WHEN RETURNING TO SS: HOUSING, TRANSPORT, JOB
What is 'home' for you? <i>Home is the place where I belong, the place where I'm supposed to be.</i>	HOME IS WHERE I BELONG, WHERE I'M SUPPOSED TO BE
Do you feel some kind of discrimination? Can you give an example? After the separation sometimes, like 'Southerners, why are you here?' like this. But before the separation, no.	DISCRIMINATION IN THE STREETS AFTER THE SEPARATION
Do you suffer from some kind of harassment from authorities (police and so on)? No, but one day my sister was wearing tight pants and was taken by the police because they said because of the <i>Shari'a</i> law she was not allowed to wear tight pants. I went to see her and they told me I had to sign a paper that said that this would not repeat again.	HARDSHIPS IN NS: AUTHORITIES HARASSMENT FOR CLOTHING
Can you describe, more or less, how your life was affected from the Referendum of independence in 2011? Everything depends on us: I have to cook and clean.	CHALLENGES OF LIVING ALONE
From your perspective, do you think the situation as Southern Sudanese in Khartoum is easier for boys than for girls? Have you experienced some sexism? It's difficult for both. For the girls now, there's no families, all of them they went, and if you face some problem there's no one to help you.	NO GENDERED SITUATION IN NS (IT'S HARD FOR BOTH, BUT AS A GIRL, YOU HAVE NO ONE TO HELP YOU) [ASSUMING THAT WOMEN NEED MORE HELP]
From your perspective, have you ever felt intimidated by the media advertising/information regarding SS in Khartoum? Can you give some example? Yes. Before the vote, there is this paper called <i>Intibaha</i> and it's talking bad things in the North: 'These	NEGATIVE ROLE OF THE MEDIA MEDIA CREATING AND INCREASING SOCIAL DIFFERENCES

<p>people are not like us, they're black and we're white, they're supposed to separate'. Before people vote. And even in TV they said that if the South separates they would get nothing from the North, not even an injection for the malaria. People in the South, when they heard all this news and on the TV they said: 'We will vote for separation.' They tried to see the differences between us, not like a family.</p>	
<p>Do you think the separation was for the good or for the worse? For me it's for the good. You people from the South depended from the North, but now that they're separated they can develop the country.</p>	<p>THE SEPARATION WAS FOR GOOD, NOW SS DOES NOT DEPEND ON NS AND CAN DEVELOP ITSELF.</p>

GROUP INTERVIEW WITH WINNY, ANNE, WENDY AND VIANKA (17TH SEPTEMBER 2012)

<p>Name, age, place of birth, and marital status:</p>	
<p>i – Winny – Khartoum – 22 y.o. – single – Studying Management Honor Degree (5 y.)</p>	
<p>ii - Anne – Khartoum – 22 y.o. – single – Studying Management Honor Degree (5 y.)</p>	
<p>iii - Wendy – Khartoum – 22 y.o. – single – Studying Management Honor Degree (5 y.)</p>	
<p>iv - Vianka – Khartoum – 22 y.o. – single – Studying Management Honor Degree (5 y.)</p>	
<p>Which is your religion? Christian</p>	
<p>What are your family origins? Where do they come from? All of them were here because of war, between 1987-1989, before we were born, but then they all moved back to the South to Juba after the independence.</p>	<p>BORN IN KHARTOUM x 4 PARENTS FROM SS x 4 REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (CIVIL WAR) x 4</p>
<p>(i) Me before, in 2003, the reason we came here, during the war, and then my mum was studying here, but when she finished, so my dad is working there in the South, so there's no need for us to stay here. So we go back to South.</p>	<p>MOTHER STUDYING IN KHARTOUM REASON FOR MOVING TO SS (FATHER'S JOB)</p>
<p>(ii) My mother was a teacher before, but we got another place and then we went there, but the place was so empty, not many people living there, so my dad told her she must stay at home and take care of us, because at that time there were many thieves, so she stayed at home, taking care of us and my father was working. He's working as a mechanic, now in the South too.</p>	<p>MOTHER WORKED AS TEACHER BUT STOPPED TO BECOME A HOUSEWIFE FATHER WORKING IN SS (MECHANIC)</p>
<p>(iii) My father is a pastor, so when he was here he worked in a house, like a guest house of churches, so he has been in charge of the church, so they stayed in the guesthouse with the family to take care of the church. Now in the South he's not working. He's old and sick, he's retired. My</p>	<p>FATHER WORKED IN NS AS PASTOR NOW RETIRED IN SS MOTHER WORKED IN NS (NURSE) NOW UNEMPLOYED IN SS</p>

<p>mother was a nurse here, but now she's not working, she could not find a job yet.</p>	
<p>(iv) When my father was working here he was an engineer, after that he lives in Juba. And my mother too, she's working again. Here she was working as a secretary in the SSC organization. Now in the South she's working in a relief commission.</p>	<p>FATHER WORKED IN NS (ENGINEER) MOTHER WORKED IN NS AND NOW IN SS (INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION)</p>
<p>Why did your family move to the South? (iv) To contribute developing the South, because the situation there is not good. (i) And the second thing is that we need to be independent, because what have faced here before is not good, so it's better to go back to South. If we're going to face it in our country it will be better, it will be our own black people, but here, before, like, a lot of complicated... (ii) Sometimes they didn't give you a job, before it's so difficult for you to get a job in a high grade. (i) Now you will never get it, it's even worse.</p>	<p>REASON FOR MOVING TO SS (HELP DEVELOPING THE COUNTRY AND GAIN INDEPENDENCE) FEELING OF PATRIOTISM AND ETHNIC BELONGING 'OUR OWN BLACK PEOPLE' REASON FOR MOVING TO SS (DIFFICULTY TO WORK IN NS)</p>
<p>Was there anything before that made life for you more difficult as South Sudanese? (ii) Some people are polite, but some people are not like that. Like some people see us the black just like their servants.</p>	<p>BEEING SEEN AS A SERVANT IN NS</p>
<p>When did you come to Khartoum? Why? We were born here.</p>	
<p>Why didn't you move them? Because of the studies, and (i) if we finish we are not going to stay here. We're forced to stay here because of the studies. We came here to study before the separation, so it's so difficult for us to leave it and go and study somewhere. And after that, the Universities in the South they have been closed, so if we're going to leave here and go back to the South, they're all closed, we're going to stay at home, so that's why we decided to stay here. Juba University just opened now.</p>	<p>REASON FOR STAYING IN NS (STUDIES) X 4 FEELING OF BEING FORCED TO STAY IN NS BECAUSE OF EDUCATION BECAUSE OF LACK OF UNIVERSITIES IN SS</p>
<p>So, do you intend to move afterwards? Yes (ii) because right now as we're studying, when we came here they said that in the passport we're not allowed to work. If we're allowed to work here, if we find a good job, a good offer, we could stay we could live here. (i) And the second thing it's not the problem of staying, but our families are not here, it's so difficult for you to stay without your family. And the third thing is that you can find a work, and people in the work may know you, but people outside will not. You're a Southerner. On the streets even if you're going you can find a lot of challenges.</p>	<p>WISH TO GO TO SS BECAUSE SHE CANNOT WORK HERE – MIXED FEELINGS WISH TO GO TO SS BECAUSE OF FAMILY WISH TO GO TO SS BECAUSE SHE CANNOT WORK HERE</p>
<p>Have you faced any of these challenges in the streets? Yes, a lot! (ii) Yesterday we're going in the transport, me and Winny, and we were chatting, then something happened, I don't know, and they said: '<i>Still you're staying here? Why you didn't go to your country? Now we're free from those Southerners and soon it will be the same for those Eritreans.</i>' Because there was an Eritrean there in the bus.</p>	<p>HARDSHIPS IN NS: HARASSMENT IN THE STREET DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT DIRSCRIMINATION AGAINS OTHER NATIONALITIES</p>
<p>So, if you could find a job here, would you stay? (i) No, me I would not.</p>	
<p>Even if they signed the 4 freedom agreement? Yes,</p>	<p>FEELING OF UNCERTAINTY</p>

<p>we would go back. (ii) Yes, because it's changeable, you see, today they say it like this and tomorrow they will change it. I wouldn't trust. [AFTER IN THE INTERVIEW]</p> <p>(ii) If I find a job here, and this agreement were done, I would do the job to help my families. (i) But when we're finish I don't think we'll work here. Even if there's a job and it's suitable times and money, we would not take it (ii) we prefer to develop our country.</p>	<p>REGARDING CHANGEABLE LAWS</p> <p>WISH TO STAY IN NS IF SHE FOUND A JOB</p> <p>WISH TO RETURN TO SS ('TO DEVELOP MY COUNTRY') EVEN IF SHE FOUND A JOB IN NS</p>
<p>So what if your family had stayed? Would that change your decision? (i) No, if we finish, we are not linked to the family. If I tell my father that I have a good job here, my father would allow me to come and stay here and work here, but the problem is that we don't want to stay here.</p>	<p>FAMILY PRESSURE IS NOT IMPORTANT FOR HER DECISION</p>
<p>But you were born here? Don't you feel close to the North? (i) No [WHEN I ASK HER WHY SHE CANNOT GIVE AN ANSWER]. (ii) Like me I was born here, I grew up here, all my life was here. Before the independence I was thinking, why don't they make it so we could be one, I mean, we have our own country but let the relationship be close, we could come and go, and we could share everything. But something happens and that made me change my mind. The wali (governor) of [...] he kicked the Southerners out from there, and the people in the Government and the police... the treatment of them. So for me I could stay here, but after what I have seen changed my mind. (i) And even before, for you to get a plot, you could get a plot from an Arab, but for registering your name, Southerners were not allowed, before and after separation. Before separation we went and they didn't want to register it with my father's name, and they did it with the owner's name. So in paper still belongs to them.</p>	<p>MIXED FEELING OF BELONGING TO NS OR SS.</p> <p>WISHING THE COUNTRY WOULD HAVE STAYED UNITED OR SEPARATED BUT WITH CLOSE RELATIONS</p> <p>POLITICAL MOVES INFLUENCING HER WISH TO SECESSION</p> <p>DIFFICULTIES IN GETTING PLOTS OF LAND BEFORE SEPARATION</p>
<p>What is the economic situation of your family in the South? Are they working? (iii) It's difficult, because my father is retired and my mother is not working.</p>	<p>BAD CURRENT FAMILY ECONOMICAL SITUATION IN SS</p>
<p>Are you alone in Khartoum? If so, how do you cope with it? Yes we're all alone. (i) I have a brother and an auntie. My brother's also studying here at the University, but he's finished, he's going back</p>	<p>SOME RELATIVES STILL IN KHARTOUM</p> <p>BROTHER STUDYING IN NS</p>
<p>Your circle of friends in Khartoum, is it mainly South Sudanese or North Sudanese? (i) More of the South. With the North Sudanese, some are good some are not. Our relationship with them is only in class. You know when we're in class we participate together, we stay in groups, and not all of them participate with us, most of them they don't. Not outside the class. (ii) No, we're always a group, we go together, we sit together.</p>	<p>MAJORITY OF SS FRIENDS</p> <p>RELATIONSHIP WITH NORTHERNERS MERELY PROFESSIONAL</p>
<p>Do you belong to associations (like AUUSA) or any church? Yes, even we're part of it. (i) It's useful, and it's what represents Southern Students here at University. But during the separation they said that Southern students are not going to study here. AUUSA didn't work only for Southerners, but also for people from Southern Darfur,</p>	<p>BELONGING TO ASSOCIATION (AUUSA)</p>

<p>they are involved with us. (ii) We belong to AUUSA but we don't have much information about it... you can talk to the director of the organization. We have meeting, if something's going to happen (iv) for instance if some student have some problem with the administration we call a meeting to solve that problem. (ii) Also problems in the hostels, when they have problems with payment. (iv) AUUSA is also linked with the Government in South Sudan. (i) For instance, the SS Government pays for the fees of some girls through AUUSA.</p>	
<p>Which citizenship do you hold? Since when? Why did you change it? South Sudan. (i) I changed it 3 months ago, (ii) Me on the 18th of April 2012, (iii) Me on the 14th of June 2012, and (iv) me the 6th of May. (ii) They told us we have to change it, even when we're coming here, they said that without your nationality your passport you're not allowed to come here. Because we went to South Sudan and there's no way to come back here without a passport. (i) and (iv) we had it changed here, and (ii) and (iii) in South Sudan. (ii) It's not expensive, cause there's people who don't have money so they leveled the fees and didn't put a high fee.</p>	<p>SS CITIZENSHIP CHANGE IN 2012 X 4</p> <p>REASON FOR CITIZENSHIP CHANGE: BEING ABLE TO RETURN TO NS AFTER VISITING SS</p> <p>CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP IN SS CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP IN SS CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP IN NS CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP IN NS</p>
<p>What kind of identification do you need here besides the passport? Yes, a visa. Student visa. (ii) for a year. (iii) No, visa only for one month. (ii) Yes, visa is for one month or two months. And then you have the residence permit for one year. (i) Me I didn't, cause I didn't travel, so they didn't force us to do it [the visa or the residence permit], but if we want to go we have to do it. (ii) Yes, so the ones who travel you have the visa, and until the visa finishes you have to make the residence. (ii) We also have this white card. (i) Me I don't have it, and it's a problem, cause if I decide to go back to South, they'll force me to do all these things before I come here.</p>	<p>STUDENT-VISA HOLDER (1 YEAR VALID)</p> <p>STUDENT-VISA HOLDER (1 MONTH VALID)</p> <p>STUDENT-VISA HOLDER (1 OR 2 MONTH VALID)</p> <p>WHITE CARD HOLDER X 3</p>
<p>Are you aware of your rights and legal situation here as a non-national? No, it's not clear.</p>	<p>UNCERTAINTY ABOUT HER RIGHTS IN NS X 4</p>
<p>Do you think the changing of nationality has supposed some problems to you in the North (economic problems, excessive paperwork, any restriction)? No</p>	
<p>Do you have restrictions on mobility to go to the South and then come back to the North? Yes. (i) Like now the way is closed from South to North so we have to go through Kenya or Addis Ababa and then come to Khartoum, and that's so expensive.</p>	<p>EXPENSIVE TRAVELLING COSTS X 4</p>
<p>When was the last time you went to see your family? (ii) I went on April. So I stayed with them, and the day I was coming they said there's no way to be coming here. I didn't have the visa, and they said that if you wanna go back, you have to do the visa from Khartoum here, so it's not allowed to make a visa there at the Embassy of Sudan, they said there is no way, so you have to do it here in Khartoum. Then I was thinking that there is a friend of my sister, she was here in Khartoum, so she did all these</p>	<p>PAPERWORK PROBLEMS TO COME BACK TO NS</p>

<p>things for me and she send me a number and with this number you should go with it to the Embassy there. Then they will check if your name is there with this number. If it is here, they make for you a visa. It was a long long process. I didn't have the papers of University, all of them were here. So you have to come to the University and take those papers and then from the University you have to go to the high education Ministry and from there go to the Embassy of Sudan... long process. Then they will allow making you a visa. (i) And if you want to make a passport in the South you will send your passport here and then the visa will be made here. You send a number to that person, that person will go to the Embassy of Sudan and they will check names and then will give her the visa. If your name didn't come you wait until your name come. (ii) I lost hope. I thought I'm not gonna finish my studies and I started crying. But then they brought for me the visa. My mom said 'You're not coming until you finish the University', cause those people are changing their mind, you know. (i) So now it's so difficult to go back and make holidays with the family. (ii) If they open the way maybe, but those people you cannot trust them; today they say they're going to open the way and tomorrow maybe something happens and then they will close it. (iii) I will also stay here until I finish, and when I finish I will go. (i) Me, I didn't go since 2010. (iv) I will not go either.</p>	<p>COMPLICATED PAPERWORK PROCESSES</p> <p>FEELING OF UNCERTAINTY REGARDING REGULATIONS AND LAWS</p> <p>DIFFICULTIES TO TRAVEL AND VISIT FAMILY</p> <p>FEELING OF UNCERTAINTY REGARDING BORDERS - BREACH OF FAMILY LINKS</p>
<p>Can you get a job here? If not, how do you fund your studies? . (i) Me I'm paid by an organization, Together for Sudan. It's not a South Organizations, it works with women. In Sudan women are not educated. Past years [...] women is for taking care of the house and home, so girls are not educated, even in South even in North, so this one is paying school fees for Southerners, only for girls in South and places affected by war, like Darfur, Jebel Nuba and Southern Sudan. They didn't do anything about the living costs but last two months the one who's paying us, he's an America, so he came here and we raised the problem of hostel. We're staying here, now we don't have homes, so we're staying in hostels, and hostels are expensive, so expensive. So she talked to the woman who cares about us here, and she told her would look about it, to look for a hostel. So maybe she will come on Sunday and then we'll talk about it. (ii) My father's the one who's paying for me. I face economic problems, sometimes I pay, sometimes I finish the rest of the money. (iii) My mother pays. (iv) My mother too.</p>	<p>SCHOLARSHIP HOLDER IN NS</p> <p>LIVING IN HOSTELS</p> <p>FATHER PAYING FOR HER STUDIES</p> <p>MOTHER PAYING FOR HER STUDIES</p> <p>MOTHER PAYING FOR HER STUDIES</p>
<p>Did your parents have some property here before leaving? Did they own a house, for instance? What happened to it? (ii) Now the house is rented. (i) My parents they sold the house. (iii) My brother's staying there with me. (iv) I'm staying at my aunt's house, cause my parent's house is rented. (ii) All of them are renting the houses because they save money to help us (i) and sometimes it's so difficult for you to sell it.</p>	<p>PARENTS KEEP THEIR HOUSE IN NS (RENT IT)</p> <p>PARENTS SOLD THEIR HOUSE IN NS</p> <p>PARENTS KEEP THEIR HOUSE IN NS (RENT IT)</p>
<p>Do you feel like you belong here in the NS society or in the SS? Why? (i) Belonging to the South. (ii) After the Independence I just said: 'Why don't we just stay here?'</p>	<p>FEELING OF BELONGING TO SS</p>

<p>We get the residence and then we stay'. But then my father told me that 'Now they say that we're not allowed.' Then my father got a job in Juba and my brother was accepted in Juba University. Then my younger sister here, my aunt said that her husband had told her to stay in Uganda and her children, they she said to my sister that she should be going with them. Then there was me and my mum, and my mum she wanted to stay here. She wanted, but for her children, for her husband, for all this she had to go there. You know my mum was born here, she feels like she belongs here in the North. Now she says that this is our country, and better to live in your country than stay here, and also because the whole people go there. Now she's ok. First it was hard for me, even my friends we grew up together, went to school together... somehow I have some Arabs and some Southerners, but after my parents went there, I went with them for the holidays. First time to see Juba, for me and my mum. At first she was just blaming: 'Why are we here?', but it was the first time to go there. And then when I went there I saw people are so kind and people love each other so I tried to be part of that place and then I joined them, so I accepted to go then when I finish the University. (ii) I think I want to go back after I finish. (i) You know when you go there, it feels like you've been there before, all we are black, we respect each other, there you have freedom of religion, you feel like in your own country. And the weather there is so cool, there's all your relatives. (ii) And also the job, if you have your certificate, you'll work as your certificate. Here maybe you have a Master Degree and your manager they just have a diploma or what. Not just because of that but because there, according to your certificate they would accept you. (iv) I want to go back because it's my country and I will be happy when I am in my country to contribute for the development and to be with my family.</p>	<p>MAKING FAMILY DECISIONS – LEAVE OR STAY</p> <p>MOTHER WISHING TO STAY IN NS</p> <p>MOTHER'S FEELING OF BELONGING TO NS</p> <p>MOTHER FEELING NS AS HER COUNTRY</p> <p>MIXED CIRCLE OF FRIENDS</p> <p>DIFFICULTIES IN ACCEPTING MOVING TO SS</p> <p>TRYING TO ACCOMMODATE TO SS</p> <p>HESITATION ABOUT WANTING TO RETURN OR WANTING TO STAY</p> <p>PATRIOTIC FEELING: WE ARE ALL BLACK, WE RESPECT EACH OTHER</p> <p>ENNUMERATING POSITIVE ASPECTS OF SS: WEATHER, RELATIVES, JOB OPPORTUNITIES ACCORDING TO YOUR DEGREE</p> <p>REASON FOR WISHING TO GO TO SS (DEVELOPING MY COUNTRY)</p>
<p>Yes, but what about the discrimination against SS coming from the North? Have you heard about it? (ii) Yes. Things like that happen sometimes. Those who come from Uganda are studying in English, and the job in the South is in English, so here, if you're studying in Arabic it's difficult to find a job.</p>	<p>DIFFICULTIES TO FIND A JOB IN SS AS ARAB SPEAKERS</p>
<p>Do you think your life would be better off in South Sudan? Which are the main challenges you expect to find if you return? Yes.</p>	<p>GOOD EXPECTATION TO GET A JOB IN SS</p>
<p>What is 'home' for you? (i) A lot of things. It's my country, South Sudan. (ii) The country of black people, with no separation, with freedom, equality, prosperity, justice.</p>	<p>HOME IS SS</p> <p>HOME IS BLACK PEOPLE</p>
<p>What about tribalism? (i) In the future is not going to be a problem because our Government is fighting against this tribalism.</p>	<p>EXPECTING SS GOVERNMENT TO END TRIBALISM</p>
<p>Do you feel some kind of discrimination? Can you give an example? (ii) First of all, they don't allow us to work. Even it's hard for us to sell our houses. (i) Even in schools, my aunt's children are not allowed to study. The first one is 16 y.o. and the other is 14 y.o. This year they</p>	<p>HARDSHIPS IN NS: DISCRIMINATION IN JOBS, PROPERTY OWNING, SCHOOLING</p>

<p>didn't allow them to go to school. When my aunt went to the administration they said they had instructions from higher not to allow them to register. Going to another school involved money. (iv) For me I never felt discriminated. (ii) My neighbor she's my friend and she was going on the way and they told her about the way she wears her clothes, and then they took her to the police station, because she's wearing a trouser. They says that Sharia does not allow to wear like this. And even the hair you have to cover, because she's a Southerner and she doesn't have a passport, and sometimes when they come to do your residence, if they don't want you, when you're doing your medical, they'll just put there any disease you have, even if you don't have it, and then you'll be taken to South. (i) You'll be taken to prison 24h and then on the next day you'll be taken to South. It happens nowadays when you come with your passport and want to make a residence to stay here. They test AIDS and Yellow Fever, even if you don't have it, they will say you have and send you there. The uncle of my friend, he works here and he's the director of an Organization, so he has an Arab colleague who doesn't want him to work here. Before the separation he had had the Yellow Fever but he made a treatment. But when he went to make the residence he went to make a check up and the yellow fever was not found. But that Arab went to the office and found the old document, and took it to the place of residence, and then he was put in prison for 2 days and then was taken back to Juba. He's still there, and now he does not want to come back.</p>	<p>NO FEELING OF DISCRIMINATION HARDSHIPS IN NS: AUTHORITIES HARASSMENT FOR CLOTHING HARDSHIPS IN NS: AUTHORITIES USING FAKE MEDICAL REPORTS TO SEND PEOPLE TO SS</p>
<p>Do you suffer from some kind of harassment from authorities (police and so on)? No.</p>	
<p>Can you describe, more or less, how your life was affected from the Referendum of independence in 2011? (ii) From my childhood I've always been with my family and never went away from them, always staying together, you could get what you need at any time. Now it's the first time alone. When you're with your family you're so comfortable, even you want to study hard, but now when you want to study, you think how would they be, are they fine, how's their life going there... When we're together my mum she helped me (home duties) but now in the hostel you have to do everything for yourself. (i) The most important is my family. My mum is a teacher, so she helped me with the subjects but now it's not possible. (iii) There's not difficulties when I was staying with my parents, but now if there's an emergency you have to wait and suffer. (i) And it's so difficult to send money from the South to here... Before the companies sent money, but now they're closed, so it's very difficult for you to send money.</p>	<p>BREAKING FAMILY LINKS FAMILY DISTANCE AFFECTING STUDYING RESULTS BREAKING FAMILY LINKS FEELING OF VULNERABILITY WITHOUT RELATIVES AROUND HARDSHIPS IN NS: DIFFICULTIES TO SEND MONEY</p>
<p>From your perspective, do you think the situation as Southern Sudanese in Khartoum is easier for boys than for girls? Have you experienced some sexism? For boys it's more difficult. (ii) After the independence, you have to keep him inside, because if they saw him, they took him. Before there was this war of</p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: HARDER FOR MALES (taken to militias) GENDERED SITUATION IN NS:</p>

<p>militias, and they took him if they saw their father had a high position they took him and asked for a high amount of money. (i) For girls is not so difficult. [...] We can wear clothes and pretend we're not Southerners so they won't take us, but for boys, there's no way. (ii) Also if the country has boys, that means the country will survive. The boys are helping the country. If they take the boys that means you can't re-do it.</p>	<p>EASIER FOR FEMALES (CAN PRETEND TO BE NS)</p> <p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: HARDER FOR MALES (MEN SEEN AS THE 'INHERITORS' OF THE COUNTRY, AS THE ONES SHAPING THE COUNTRY)</p>
<p>From your perspective, have you ever felt intimidated by the media advertising/information regarding SS in Khartoum? Can you give some example? (i) Yes, even the newspapers. Not those from the South. (ii) The newspapers sometimes they lie, like the newspaper <i>El-Intibaha</i>.</p>	<p>NEGATIVE ROLE OF THE MEDIA</p>
<p>Do you think the separation was for good or for worse? (i) It's for good, cause after the separation, you feel you're independent, that you have a voice, that people respect you. Before you didn't have this feeling. (ii) I have voted for separation and I'm proud to be a SS girl. Even after the separation we don't have what we need, but we're gonna do our best to develop our country. (iii) and (iv) It was good. Because people fought for their freedom.</p>	<p>SEPARATION WAS GOOD FROM AN IDENTITY AND RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE.</p> <p>BEING PROUD OF THE SEPARATION DESPITE THE CHALLENGES</p>

APIU (22ND SEPTEMBER 2012)

<p>BACKGROUND AND FAMILY INFORMATION</p>	
<p>Name, age, place of birth, and marital status: Apiu, 22 y.o., born in Cairo, single but in a relationship, student of Medicine (4th year) at the University of Science and Technology (Saura).</p>	<p>BORN IN CAIRO</p> <p>STUDYING IN KHARTOUM</p>
<p>Which is your religion? Christian</p>	
<p>What are your family origins? Where do they come from? Both my parents come from Jongole State, in SS. They moved here in the 1980s. My dad did his highschool in the South, but my mum did her highschool and University here. And then they got married here and they got a house... my dad lived here until 2004, that's when he moved back in the South because of his work. Each every five or six years they move him from one place to another. He's a legal advisor, so he works for different companies, sometimes Government. So when he moved he moved to Juba, because Juba before signing the CPA used to belong to the North. And then my mum stayed here till early 2012... she moved I think in March or April. She's in Malakal, she works there. She works in the University of Upper Nile in the Student Affairs. They see each other, when my mum has a chance she goes to Juba. At the beginning all South Sudan Universities were based in Khartoum, and then after the independence, they moved it back to the original places, you know, Juba University, Bahr al-Gazal University and Upper Nile University.</p>	<p>PARENTS FROM SS</p> <p>PARENTS MOVED IN NS DUE TO WAR</p> <p>MOTHER STUDIED IN ND</p> <p>FATHER MOVED IN SS IN 2004 BECAUSE HIS WORK AS LEGAL ADVOSOR (HE'S TRANSFERRED EVERY 5 YEARS). MOTHER REMAINED IN NS UNTIL 2012.</p> <p>MOTHER NOW WORKS IN UPPER NILE UNIVERSITY</p> <p>MOTHER VISITS HER IN KHARTOUM REGULARLY</p>
<p>So was she working until 2012? Yes, she was working</p>	<p>MOTHER MOVED TO SS ONCE THE</p>

in the South but she moved back and forth because I am still here, because we hadn't decided if I should move to a hostel or have like a separate house, so she would visit me often. So in the end I decided to move to a hostel because it's easier and it's close to the University. So when I moved here she decided to move definitely in the South. That was in February, and in April she came and visited me.	DAUGHTER SITUATION IN NS WAS CLEAR
Do you have brothers and sisters? Yes, I have a brother, he's 3 years younger than me and he studies in Malaysia. He used to be here, but then he moved, because there there are better Universities...	YOUNG BROTHER STUDIES IN MALAYSIA BECAUSE OF BETTER UNIVERISTIES THAN IN SS
How come you were born in Cairo? In our tradition as Dinka, the first born, the mother has to give birth in her parents house, and my grandparents lived in Cairo then [...]. Technically I was born in Cairo, but I've never lived there. I've always lived here in Khartoum.	SPENDING ALL HER LIFE IN KHARTOUM
Why didn't you move them? Because my University is here and it would be hard to go back and start in a different University, so it's easier for me to continue here and when I'm done I will go back.	STAYING IN NS BECAUSE OF STUDIES
So, do you intend to move afterwards? Yes. Because it's my country. Since 2004, almost every year I went to visit him, not only once, maybe 2 or 3 times a year.	WISH TO GO TO SS 'BECAUSE IT'S MY COUNTRY' SHE HAS VISITED SS
So you feel like SS is more your country than NS? Not really because I always grew up here, so although all the conflicts and the war, and the troubles, I know very nice people here, and I have lots of memories and I know lots of people here, so I consider it my second country.	MIXED FEELING REGARDING BELONGING: SHE'S GROWN UP IN NS, SO HAS STRONGS LINKS. CONSIDERING NS AS 'MY SECOND COUNTRY'
What is the economical situation of your family in the South? Are they working? They're ok, they have a job. My dad lives in a Government house, because my dad works for the Government as a legal advisor, so as an advisor they give him a house. My mum she lives at the University guest house.	GOOD ECONOMIC SITUATION OF THE FAMILY IN SS
So, if you move? I'll be in Juba with my dad.	
Would you still move if you found a job here? I think SS needs more help than NS in terms of doctors. They have so many doctors here and even it's hard for them to find jobs, so I guess it would be the same for me. It'd be easier for me to find a job in the South, so it would be easier to for me to go back to the South where I can actually find a job.	GOOD EXPECTATION TO GET A JOB IN SS FOR DOCTORS EASIER TO FIND JOB IN SS THAN NS
Are you alone in Khartoum? If so, how do you cope with it? No, this is my cousin. It was hard at the beginning but I got used to it because I have a purpose for staying here, so when you focus on that it's ok.	LIVING IN NS WITH A COUSIN
Your circle of friends in Khartoum, is it mainly South Sudanese or North Sudanese? More from the North. We have a very good relationship.	MAJORITY OF NS FRIENDS
So how will you cope with it after returning? I think it will be ok, because we're not supposed to be together	HOPING TO KEEP FRIENDSHIP LINKS WITH NS FRIENDS.

forever, so if it's a good friendship we'll stay in touch.	
Do you belong to associations (like AUUSA) or any church? No	NO INVOLVEMENT TO ANY ASSOCIATION
LEGAL STATUS AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS	
Which citizenship do you hold? Since when? Why did you change it? SS citizenship since early April, when I went to visit my dad.	SS CITIZENSHIP IN APRIL 2012
What kind of identification do you need here besides the passport? I have the residence permit. It was around 400SDG.	RESIDENCE PERMIT HOLDER
Do you also need this White Card? No, I don't need that. Because I got the residence permit first so I didn't feel like I needed that card. I don't know if I NEED it because I thought my residence permit was enough.	WHITE CARD NOT-HOLDER: 'I DON'T FEEL I NEED IT'
If you could have double citizenship, would you go for that option? No, not really. As long as I can have the residency and the visa, I don't need the citizenship, because I'm not going to be here for long.	NO WISH TO GET DOUBLE CITIZENSHIP
Can you explain to me how was the process of changing your citizenship? It was easy because I know a person at the University who helped us.	NO DIFFICULTIES TO CHANGE NATIONALITY BECAUSE OF GOOD CONTACTS
Are you aware of your rights and legal situation here as a non-national? I know about my rights. I know my situation as SS citizen here. I've been here all my life, but now for instance I have to pay 750SDG for the dorm because I'm a foreigner, so it went from 360SDG to 750SDG. So, I've seen the differences. Also the way people look at you, you can see it's different, in the way of 'What are you still doing here?'... Before it was better.	AWARE OF HER RIGHTS IN NS BEING CHARGED AS A FOREIGNER IN NS FEELING LIKE FOREIGNER FEELING THAT THE SITUATION BEFORE THE SEPARATION WAS BETTER
What about the dressing code? The problem with the clothes is not a problem for me. The authorities here are Islamic so you have to do as they say. Like you for example, I'm sure you don't dress like that in Spain, but because you respect the laws and the rules in this country you dress like that. But people didn't choose independence because of clothes, but because of religion and rights. Because you felt that this is our country and you have rights but not in terms of clothes. But now I dress more respectfully than I used to. I always wear skirt, I don't have any trousers, I left all my trousers in Juba and I cover my head with a scarf, because I don't wanna cause any problems. And when they said that the laws are going to be pure Islamic I thought: 'Ok, you have to respect that' because this is not my country anymore and I don't have rights in that way... Maybe I have, but I think they're not going to take it, because we as South Sudanese we actually understand that, because we used to be here. For you it's different, for example if you wear something without sleeves they will know that you don't know how's the situation here, but for us we already know, so that's why I don't think we should dress that way.	NO PROBLEMS WITH DRESSING CODE: WHEN IN ROME DO AS ROMANS SEPARATION HAPPENED BECAUSE OF RELIGION AND RIGHTS AFTER SEPARATION SHE DRESSES MORE RESPECTFULLY 'NOT TO CAUSE PROBLEMS' 'IT'S NOT MY COUNTRY SO I HAVE TO RESPECT THE RULES'
Do you think the changing of nationality has	DIFFICULTIES OF INDEPENDENCE

<p>supposed some problems to you in the North (economic problems, excessive paperwork, any restriction)? No, I mean, I think because we wanted to be independent it's something that comes with it. Becoming an independent country wasn't easy, so everything that comes with it, the good part and the bad part of it we will handle it, because it was our choice.</p>	GOOD EXPECTATIONS TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES IN SS
<p>Do you have restrictions on mobility to go to the South and then come back to the North? It was an expensive process, because you needed an entry and exit visa, and the tickets were very expensive, because you had to go through Kenya or Ethiopia, and most of the people living here are students.</p>	EXPENSIVE TRAVELLING COSTS
<p>Can you get a job here? Would it be possible if you wanted? No, with my residence permit no. It says in there that I'm not allowed to work here. I don't think so, maybe in the private sector, NGOs, some private companies, etc.</p>	HARDSHIPS IN NS: JOB-FINDING
<p>Did your parents have some property here before leaving? Did they own a house, for instance? What happened to it? Yes, but it was rented.</p>	PARENTS KEEP THEIR HOUSE IN NS (RENT IT)
<p>SOCIAL ASPECTS AND PERSONAL PERCEPTIONS</p>	
<p>Do you feel like you belong here in the NS society or in the SS? Why? To the SS society. Because my relationship with the Northerners has been always in terms of school and University. I also visited some houses but I was never that involved in their activities. But in the SS society I'm more involved. I'm familiar with both societies.</p>	<p>FEELING OF BELONGING IN SS</p> <p>RELATIONSHIP WITH NORTHERNERS MERELY PROFESSIONAL</p>
<p>Do you think your life would be better off in South Sudan? Finding a job is not going to be hard because they have few doctors, In terms of being a woman, the Government has given women more rights than there used to be. They encourage women education and working and so on. When it comes to tribalism there might be some slight problems related to cattle and so on, but it won't be a big problem. Life's also expensive, because everything is imported from the outside, Uganda, or Kenya, so moving things to the South, you have to add to the actual price. But it will be better. People are working to develop the South financially.</p>	<p>GOOD EXPECTATIONS OF FINDING A JOB IN SS</p> <p>SS GOVERNMENT IS EMPOWERING WOMEN</p> <p>NOT BIG CONCERN ABOUT TRIBALISM</p> <p>CONDERNED ABOUT THE HIGH EXPENSES OF LIFE</p>
<p>Which are the main challenges you expect to find if you return? Lack of good facilities, the hospitals are not very developed. Lots of people are still suffering. The North is much more developed than the South, so that part would be hard, but apart from that it should be fine.</p>	CHALLENGES WHEN RETURNING TO SS: POOR FACILITIES UNDER-DEVELOPMENT
<p>What is 'home' for you? The place where I feel safe and where I can be with my family.</p>	HOME IS FEELING SAFE WITH FAMILY
<p>So the country is not important? No, it's not important.</p>	
<p>So if your family would have stayed here, would</p>	MIXED FEELINGS OF BELONGING:

<p>you consider the North your country? No, because with the North I cannot consider a home, after the war and all the problems and all that's happened. I'm in between the South and the North.</p>	<p>'I'M BETWEEN THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH'</p>
<p>Do you feel some kind of discrimination? Can you give an example? No</p>	<p>NO FEELING OF DISCRIMINATION</p>
<p>Do you suffer from some kind of harassment from authorities (police and so on)? No</p>	<p>NO FEELING OF HARASSMENT</p>
<p>Can you describe, more or less, how your life was affected from the Referendum of independence in 2011? For my parents to move and not having a house anymore and not having relatives around. Being lonely. Sometimes you can feel it from people that it's a different situation. Now you have to be careful with whom you talk. As a foreigner you don't wanna do something that will put you in a bad situation. Because the Government at some point might say that the people coming from the South to Khartoum are spies, so we should be careful with that, not to go to places and not engage yourself in that sort of situations. Here in Khartoum you never know with whom you're talking, anyone can be working for the Government.</p>	<p>FEELING OF LONELINESS</p> <p>FEELING SUSPICION OF NOT KNOWING WITH WHOM YOU TALK FOR BEING CONSIDERED A SPY</p>
<p>From your perspective, do you think the situation as Southern Sudanese in Khartoum is easier for boys than for girls? Have you experienced some sexism? I think that, as a girl, if someone tells you something in the street you won't take it personally, you would ignore them, but a guy will not probably take it that way and then get into a quarrel and then taken to jail... But I don't think there's a difference. That's for students. For other people, most of the people work in the houses, like cleaners, wash clothes... Many of these people cannot move to the South, they think the South's too expensive for them so they prefer to stay here and then... For me job is not a problem as long as you do it with dignity, but why is it that SS have always to do these jobs?</p>	<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: HARDER FOR MALES. WOMEN WOULD IGNORE ANY DISCRIMINATORY COMMENT; MEN WOULD FIGHT.</p>
<p>From your perspective, have you ever felt intimidated by the media advertising/information regarding SS in Khartoum? Can you give some example? Yes, because the media is very restricted, we don't have a free media, so everything that comes out in the newspapers or television or the radio, the Government has seen it and corrected it before publishing, so people only hear and only see what the Government wants and not the truth. So there are lots of people here in the North who hate South Sudanese without knowing the kind of people we are, without actually going to our country and see how it is there. So they judge people by whatever they've seen on the radio or TV. So yes, it played a part, but not in a good way. As we separated it caused a lot of problems for both North and South. Cause most of the things that used to come to the South (food, clothes) were from the North and we used to study here... so in that way it was bad for the South and vice versa, because most of the things were taken from the South, like oil. So now the economy's not good, it went down. They didn't</p>	<p>NEGATIVE AND RESTRICTIVE ROLE OF MEDIA</p> <p>MEDIA INFLUENCING NS FEELINGS TOWARDS SOUTHERNERS</p> <p>SEPARATION WAS ECONOMICALLY WORSE FOR BOTH SIDES.</p>

want separation in that way.	
<p>So why then separating if it was bad for both sides? I think it was bad but the good things that came out of separation were better than the bad things. The economic level is down now but it used to be the down before. Being an independent country means having your own rules and laws, you know getting to know what's gonna happen in your country, and deciding what to do. We can actually have our president, because we were not allowed to have our president, although we were all Sudanese. If you think you're one, you should all have the same rights. [...] Because of the war situation... you were not freely supposed to practice your religion, you don't have holidays, and we're supposed to have, they have their Fridays but not our Sundays, and in some schools they don't teach Christian religion, but they do teach Islam.</p>	<p>SEPARATION BROUGHT MORE GOOD THINGS THAN BAD</p> <p>SS HAS NOW ITS OWN RULES, 'YOU KNOW WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN'</p> <p>RESTRICTIONS BEFORE SEPARATION: NO CHRISTIAN HOLS.</p>
<p>So were the rights the main reason for separation? But I think now people want to bring the relationship back, you know. Now there are direct flights again. Yes, there's two different countries, but the relationship will be back. Each one will be in their part, the Northern in the North, the Southern in the South. From and identity and rights perspective. Now if they wanna make this a strict Islamic country, they have their right, and if I come here I don't have the right to say I am Christian and I have my rights, because this is not my country anymore. And in the South, if they want to make a Christian country it's their right. But the oil is going to flow, they're going to exchange things, they're going to have businesses between each other... At some point in the future it will happen [...] people will start to go to the South, and I think they'll like it.</p>	<p>EXPECTATIONS TO HAVE GOOD ECONOMIC RELATIONS NS-SS</p> <p>SEPARATION WAS GOOD FROM AN IDENTITY AND RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE.</p>
<p>Do you think the 4 Freedom Agreement will improve the situation? Yes, although hatred will be there for some people, cause some people lost many things during the war [...]. But I think now, as an independent country we should forget about hatred.</p>	<p>EXPECTATION TO IMPROVE ECONOMY THROUGH 4 FREEDOM AGREEMENT, BUT NOT PEOPLE'S FEELINGS</p>

NABA3 (27TH SEPTEMBER 2012)

<p>- Can you tell me a Little bit about you? I was born in South Kordofan in Talodi, in 1985. I moved in Khartoum some 20 years ago and I studied here at the University of Khartoum, Geography and Information Systems. Now I'm not working. Finding a job now it's difficult, and it's important to have your father or some relative working in the Government.</p>	<p>BORN IN SS</p> <p>MOVING IN NS WITH HER FAMILY</p> <p>STUDYING IN NS</p> <p>UNEMPLOYED IN NS</p> <p>IMPORTANCE OF HAVING CONTACTS TO FIND A JOB IN NS</p>
<p>- What about your parents? My mother is from South Sudan, and my father from North Sudan, but now they both live in Khartoum. My father used to be an <i>amjad</i> driver but now he's old and sick and does not work anymore. My mother used to work selling stuff in the</p>	<p>PARENTS FROM MIXED ORIGIN</p> <p>PARENTS UNEMPLOYED IN NS</p>

market, but she does not work now anymore.	
- Where do you live? I live with my mother, 4 sisters and 1 brother. Two of them work selling stuff in the informal market, because no one can find jobs.	SIBLINS WORKING IN INFORMAL MARKET IN NS
- What about your nationality? I have my Sudanese nationality, the same as my mother. I never had any problem with that.	STILL HAS SUDANESE PASSPORT – NO PROBLEM
- Would you like to get a SS nationality? Maybe in the far future, but not now.	NOT THINKING OF GETTING SS NATIONALITY
- So, wouldn't you like to move to the South? I just wanna move out of Sudan, South or North. I want to travel and find a job outside.	WISH TO MOVE OUT OF SS AND NS
- Don't you think that maybe in the South, since it's developing now, has more opportunities than the North? No, that's what many people say, they're very patriotic and see the South as a land with more opportunities, but that's not true. They have a lot of internal problems. If those problems finished then maybe things would get better, because there's oil there, and they could make the most out of it. Anyways, can you say that NS is developed? Here anyone can become a politician, so there's no way to develop a country like that.	CRITICIZING PATRIOTISM AND BLINDNESS OF SS ENUMERATING SS INTERNAL PROBLEMS QUESTIONING THE SO-CALLED 'DEVELOPMENT OF NS' – REALISTIC AND PRAGMATIC VISION CRITICIZING POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN NS
Additionally, the South has many problems. First of all, there's not many cities or houses or jobs. Second, those who went to the war now think they have more rights than the rest of the people, so there are clashes between those uneducated who fought and those educated who left and now are back. Those who fought go now to the cities and ask for jobs, and if they are rejected because of lack of education, then they go back to the militias. It's a vicious circle.	ENUMERATING SS PROBLEMS: LACK OF BIG CITIES, HOUSING AND JOB. ENUMERATING SS PROBLEMS: HIERARCHY, BETTER POSITIONS FOR THOSE WHO FOUGHT THE WAR. ENUMERATING SS PROBLEMS: CLASHES BETWEEN EDUCATED AND UNEDUCATED
- How do you feel about the separation? The separation is nothing new. I went to Juba in 2009, and I spent there 2 months in a meeting. When I left I felt that the country was already separated in people's hearts and minds. I feel very sad, because now you need visas to go and visit your relatives, communicating with them is not that easy... I cannot choose in between the north or the south. I have family in both places. I still have the hope that if he have a change of Government, both countries will unite again. If the South could have its own Government, we could stay together.	FEELING THE SEPARATION AS SOMETHING OBVIOUS SINCE 2009 THE SEPARATION HAPPENED IN PEOPLE'S HEARTS FEELING OF SADNESS FOR THE SEPARATION DIFFICULTIES TO VISIT FAMILY IN SS HOPES THE COUNTRIES WILL UNIFY AGAIN
- Do you think the media has played an important role in enhancing the separation? Yes, definitely, on both sides.	CRITICIZING THE NEGATIVE IMPACT OF THE MEDIA
- What do you think about the 4 Freedoms Agreement? I think that sign it or not, it's only theory, a stupid piece of paper. People hate each other deeply, so if they don't solve these problems before, what's the point in signing a paper?	MISTRUST IN ALL POLITICAL AGREEMENTS
- Do you think the situation of SS in the North is	GENDERED SITUATION IN NS:

<p>harder for men or women? I think it's harder for women, because they are the breadwinners, and when they become unemployed then they start working in the illegal market, doing whatever they can for their children. Then, they're exploited and mistreated.</p>	<p>HARDER FOR FEMALES BECAUSE THEY'RE THE BREADWINNERS (WORK ILLEGALLY AND ARE EXPLOITED).</p>
<p>- Do you think the separation has been for the better or for the worse? I think it's for the worse, because now there's no rule of law protecting SS people living in the North, there's not freedom of religion, etc.</p>	<p>WORSTENING OF THE SITUATION AFTER SEPARATION, SS IN NS HAVE NO RIGHTS OR PROTECTIONS.</p>

FOCUSED CODING

FEELINGS OF HOME AND BELONGING

CODES	CATEGORIES
<p>BORN ABROAD BUT MOVED IN NS AS A CHILD (x2)</p> <p>BORN IN NS (x12)</p> <p>BORN IN SS (x10);</p>	<p>All interviewees have spent all or most of their lives living in Khartoum (urban area).</p>
<p>ACKNOWLEDGING THE SS CITIZENSHIP BUT FEELING NO EMOTIONAL ATTACHMENT BECOMING NS IN EVERYTHING BUT THE LOOKS FEELING OF A SECOND DISPLACEMENT IF RETURNED TO SS</p> <p>FEELING OF BELONGING IN NS (x3)</p> <p>FEELING SS IS A FOREIGN COUNTRY</p> <p>SEEING SS AS A FOREIGN COUNTRY (x2)</p> <p>MOTHER'S FEELING OF BELONGING TO NS;</p>	<p>Some interviewees feel no attachment whatsoever to SS. Moreover, after having spent most of their lives in NS, they feel they belong there and they consider SS as a foreign country.</p>
<p>CONSIDERING HOME SS (x7)</p> <p>BEING CONSIDERED A <u>FOREIGNER</u> IN NS</p> <p>FEELING LIKE A <u>FOREIGNER</u> IN NS (x10)</p> <p>FEELING LIKE A REFUGEE IN NS</p> <p>FEELING OF BEING A <u>FOREIGNER</u> IN NS</p> <p>FEELING OF BELINGING TO SS (x10)</p> <p>FEELING SS AS 'MY PLACE'</p> <p>HOME IS SS BECAUSE 'THAT'S WHAT WE WANTED NS IS NOT MY COUNTRY SO I DON'T FEEL FREE'</p> <p>FEELING OF NOT BEING UNDERSTOOD IN NS</p> <p>DISCRIMINATION IN NS MAKING HER FEEL A STRANGER</p>	<p>Some interviewees claim they feel like foreigners or refugees in NS, without freedom.</p> <p>They consider SS as their home.</p> <p>Referring to 'US' when expressing their own feelings of belonging > social pressure and influence.</p>
<p>CONSIDERING NS AS 'MY SECOND COUNTRY'</p> <p>FEELING OF 'HAVING TO' GO TO SS</p> <p>MIXED FEELING OF BELONGING TO NS OR SS (x4)</p> <p>('I'M BETWEEN THE SOUTH AND THE NORTH')</p> <p>NEUTRAL FEELING OF BELONGING;</p>	<p>Mixed feelings of belonging. No wish to make an only choice between NS and SS. Considering NS as a 'second country'. Social pressure influencing the decision of 'having to go to SS'.</p>
<p>HOME IS <u>BLACK PEOPLE</u></p> <p>HOME IS FEELING SAFE WITH FAMILY</p>	<p>Non-geographical conceptions of belonging:</p>

HOME IS WHERE I BELONG, WHERE I'M SUPPOSED TO BE HOME IS WHERE YOU ARE SAFE – COUNTRY IS NOT IMPORTANT HOME IS WHERE YOU BELONG HOME MEANS FAMILY AND FRIENDS;	Ethnic conception of home and belonging. Family, relatives, and friends determining where one belongs. Feeling of safety determining what home feels like.
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PAPERWORK AND LEGAL STATUS

CODES	CATEGORIES
1-MONTH VISA HOLDER PASSPORT AND NATIONAL ID HOLDER REGISTRATION-CARD HOLDER (x9) RESIDENCE PERMIT HOLDER RESIDENCE AND WORK PERMIT HOLDER STUDENT VISA HOLDER (x5)(VARYING VALIDITY: 1 MONTH, 2 MONTHS, 1 YEAR) SS PASSPORT HOLDER (x3) NOT POSSIBLE TO GET RESIEDENCE PERMIT FOR MORE THAN 2 MONTHS SUDANESE PASSPORT HOLDER BECAUSE SHE HAS NOT LEFT THE COUNTRY SUDANESE PASSPORT TAKEN WHEN VISITING FAMILY IN SS REASON FOR CITIZENSHIP CHANGE: BEING ABLE TO RETURN TO NS AFTER VISITING SS (x2) STILL HAS SUDANESE PASSPORT – NO PROBLEM STILL HAVING SUDANESE CITIZENSHIP 'NO NEED' OF SS REGISTRATION CARD NO ID PROBLEMS NO NEED FOR PASSPORT IF YOU DON'T LEAVE NS NO PASSPORT HOLDER OVER-STAYING VISA IN NS CHANGING CITIZENSHIP WILL NOT AFFECT LIFE IN NS NO PROBLEMS IN NS AFTER CHANGING NATIONALITY (x2) NO REGISTRATION-CARD HOLDER (x4) ('I DON'T FEEL I NEED IT') BEING UNDOCUMENTED IN NS IS NOT A PROBLEM IN NS (x2) NO VISA HOLDER (x3) WITHOUT RESIDENCE PERMIT IN NS REGISTRATION PAPERS DO NOT AFFECT THE FEELING OF SECURITY	There is a wide an unclear <u>variety of ID possibilities</u> for South Sudanese in NS. While most of the interviewees are in the same situation (SS students in NS) they seem to hold <u>different permits</u> : some of them have a visa (with different validity); some others have no passport (because they have not left NS after the separation); some of them still have their former Sudanese ID, even though they are <i>de facto</i> no longer Sudanese; only some of they have a registration card. The fact of having left or intending to leave NS determines the need to obtaining proper ID. If not leaving NS, interviewees do not feel the need to obtain proper ID > arbitrary system. Having one or another ID, or no ID at all, is not considered a problem > unorganized and arbitrary system > can increase insecurity and be used as a tool to randomly decide who has certain right and who does not.
AWARE OF NEW LEGAL RIGHTS IN NS (x2) CONFUSING AND COMPLICATED LAWS REGULATING PAPERWORK PROCESSES (x3)	Overall unawareness of the required ID and current legal status.

<p>NO RULE OF LAW/ARBITRARY LAWS (x6) VISA RENEWAL – NOT AWARE OF RESIDENCE PERMIT</p> <p>WELL INFORMED ABOUT THE REGISTRATION CARD REGISTRATION CARD DETERMINING ONE'S STATUS IN KHARTOUM</p>	<p>Most of them are aware of the Registration Card role.</p>
<p>CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP IN NS (x3) CHANGE OF CITIZENSHIP IN SS (x9) CHANGING CITIZENSHIP: HARDER IN NS (x3) CHANGING CITIZENSHIP: EASIER IN NS CHANGING CITIZENSHIP IS EASY IF YOU KNOW YOUR ORIGINS EASY PROCESS FOR CHANGING HER CITIZENSHIP PROCESS OF CHANGING NATIONALITY: EASY</p> <p>SS CITIZENSHIP ON PROCESS (x2) RESIDENCE PERMIT IN NS ON PROCESS WAITING THE REGULARIZATION OF THEIR LEGAL STATUS PENDING TO SOLVE HER RESIDENCE AND WORK PERMIT IN NS</p> <p>CHOOSING ONE'S OWN CITIZENSHIP CITIZENSHIP PAPERS OF BOTH NS AND SS CONSIDERING DUAL CITIZENSHIP AS AN OPTION NOT GIVING CHANCE TO CHOOSE ONE'S OWN NATIONALITY</p> <p>NO WISH TO GET DOUBLE CITIZENSHIP NOT THINKING OF GETTING SS NATIONALITY</p>	<p>The process of changing citizenship does not seem to be difficult, especially in SS.</p> <p>Changing citizenship implies a long process, leaving some people undocumented for some time.</p> <p>Some interviewees acknowledge they should be able to choose their own citizenship, and even opt for a dual citizenship.</p> <p>Some interviewees do not want dual citizenship, only SS one.</p>
<p>PAPERWORK PRESSURE, PUSHING SS PEOPLE TO LEAVE NS PAPERWORK PROBLEMS TO OBTAIN VISA (x2) PAPERWORK PROBLEMS TO RETURN TO NS (x6) COST OF PAPERWORK DEADLINE TO REGULARIZE SS STATUS NO AGREEMENT ON WORK, PROPERTY, PENSION</p> <p>SS EMBASSY DEALING WITH PAPERWORK</p>	<p>Abundant and expensive paperwork to return to NS and resume studies and sharp deadlines putting pressure on people to regularize their legal status.</p> <p>No agreement on basic issues, such as work > tool to force people to leave NS</p> <p>Only one institution dealing with citizenship.</p>
<p>AMBIGUOUS STATUS OF IDPs IN KHARTOUM AVOIDING STATELESSNESS CHILDREN OF MIXED PARENTS IN A LEGAL VACUUM THERE SHOULD BE A PRIVILEGED STATUS FOR SS IN NS</p>	

FEELINGS OF INSECURITY

CODES	CATEGORIES
<p>NEGATIVE ROLE OF THE MEDIA (x13): CORRUPT, INSECURITY, THREAT (X2); CREATING AND INCREASING SOCIAL DIFFERENCES AND RACISM (x3); ENCOURAGING PEOPLE TO SELL PROPERTY; INFLUENCING NS FEELINGS TOWARDS SOUTHERNERS (x3)</p> <p>USING MEDIA TO SECURITIZE THE SS ISSUE POLITICIZED MEDIA POLITIZATION OF SS ISSUE AGGRESSIVE AND DISCRIMINATORY POLITICAL DISCOURSE</p> <p>PROMOTING RETURNS TO SS AFTER CPA PROPAGANDA ENCOURAGING SS TO LEAVE</p>	<p>Inflammatory media discourse enhancing differences, racism and insecurity.</p> <p>Using media to politicise and securitize the SS issue</p> <p>Using media to encourage SS people to leave NS.</p>
<p>BRIBING AUTHORITIES TO RETURN TO NS TO STUDY CORRUPTION, WEAK ECONOMY AND WEAK SECURITY IN SS LEGAL VS. PARALEGAL SYSTEM IN NS (x2) CRITIZING POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN NS NO DIFFICULTIES TO CHANGE NATIONALITY BECAUSE OF GOOD CONTACTS KNOWING PEOPLE MAKES LIFE EASIER FOR SS IN NS</p> <p>MISTRUST IN ALL POLITICAL AGREEMENTS MISTRUSTING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF BOTH COUNTRIES ONLY NS GOVERNMENT CAUSES HATRED</p>	<p>Corrupt political and administrative system, where things are done depending on who you know and how much you are ready to pay for it.</p> <p>Generalized mistrust in the political system.</p>
<p>FEELING OF UNCERTAINTY REGARDING REGULATIONS AND LAWS NOT AWARE OF LABOUR REGULATIONS IN NS NOT KNOWING ABOUT THE 4 FREEDOM AGREEMENT LACK OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT REGULATIONS FOR TRAVELLING TO SS LACK OF KNOWLEDGE OF THE REASONS FOR SEPARATION UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE PROPERTY LAW UNCERTAINTY ABOUT HER RIGHTS IN NS (x4) FEELING OF UNCERTAINTY REGARDING CHANGEABLE LAWS CONFUSING POLICIES LEAVING CHILDREN FROM NUMEROUS FAMILIES BEHIND UNCERTAINLY ABOUT HER FUTURE IN NS UNCLEAR FUTURE FOR SS</p> <p>SS HAS NOW ITS OWN RULES, 'YOU KNOW WHAT'S GOING TO HAPPEN' TRIBALISM, FAVORITISM IN SS UNCERTAINTY REGARDING OPENING OF UNIVERISTY IN SS NOT AWARE OF HARDSHIPS IN SS</p>	<p>Generalized unawareness on laws, new status, agreements affecting citizenship and rights > taking uninformed or ill-informed decisions.</p> <p>Confusing and changeable laws > human insecurity.</p> <p>Mixed feelings regarding the political/legal SS situation: some think of it as something fixed, established, and with reliable laws, while some others are aware of tribalism.</p>
<p>FEELING OF SAFETY IN THE DAILY ENVIRONMENT/FEELING OF INSECURITY IN THE</p>	<p>Feeling of physical insecurity and loss of rights in NS (incl. kidnaps), especially</p>

<p>STREETS FEELING SCARED OF PEOPLE'S REACTION IN NS AGAINST SS LIVING SECLUDED AT THE DORM IN NS FOR FEAR OF PEOPLE'S COMMENTS (x2) KIDNAPS AS A WEAPON TO RAISE INSECURITY (x2) FEELING SUSPICION OF NOT KNOWING WITH WHOM YOU TALK FOR BEING CONSIDERED A SPY LOSING RIGHTS AFTER SEPARATION INSECURITY FOR ALL NS AND SS PERSECUTION AND DENIAL OF RIGHTS SS NATIONAL SECURITY THREATENED BY NS ATTACKS</p>	<p>outside the working/studying environment.</p> <p>Seeing NS as a threat to the SS security</p>
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TRAVELLING AND TRANSPORT ISSUES

CODES	CATEGORIES
<p>EXPENSIVE TRAVELLING COSTS (x16) MOVING TO SS BY CARS IT'S EASY TO GO TO SS, BUT HARD TO RETURN LEAVING NS IS EASY, RETURNING IS THE DIFFICULT PART</p>	<p>Expensive travelling costs from NS to SS and vice versa, together with the difficulties in obtaining the necessary travelling documents to return to NS for studies or work.</p>

GENDER ISSUES

CODES	CATEGORIES
<p>BETTER SITUATION FOR WOMEN IN SS SS GOVERNMENT IS EMPOWERING WOMEN WOMEN CAN WORK 'EVERYWHERE' IN SS</p> <p>SS SOCIETY PUTTING PRESSURE ON WOMEN CONCERNED ABOUT GENDER ROLES IN SS CONCERNED ABOUT HER SITUATION AS A WOMAN IN SS CONCERNED ABOUT WOMEN MISSING MANY RIGHTS IN SS GENDERED SITUATION IN SS: MEN TAKE THE DECISIONS GENDERED SITUATION IN SS: WOMEN 'NEED' A MAN WOMEN HAVE TO FACE PATRIARCHAL SOCIETIES</p>	<p>A few interviewees showed confidence in the SS government's policy in empowering women, especially at work > reality does not reflect the same.</p> <p>Most interviewees, however, are concerned about women's situation in SS, because it is a patriarchal society.</p>
<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: <u>EASIER FOR FEMALES</u> (x25) (BECAUSE GIRLS GO FROM UNI TO THE DORM; BOYS ARE TAKEN RANDOMLY BY POLICE (x3); BOYS ARE TAKEN TO MILITIAS (x2); GIRLS CAN PRETEND TO BE NS; GIRLS DON'T HAVE TO WORK, MEN ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT; MORE INFORMAL MARKET OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN (x4); MEN SEEN AS THE 'INHERITORS' OF THE</p>	<p>Generalized belief that life in NS is easier for SS women than SS men. Main arguments: On the one hand, men are 'the makers' of a country, a security threat, and the ones receiving pensions in NS. On the other hand, women are supposed to stay at home and only go out to work and study, they do not have</p>

<p>COUNTRY, AS THE ONES SHAPING THE COUNTRY; WOMEN WOULD IGNORE ANY DISCRIMINATORY COMMENT; MEN WOULD FIGHT; MEN RAISE SECURITY CONCERNS (x2); MEN ARE KIDNAPPED AND WOMEN ARE HOLY); PROTECTIVE SOCIETY TOWARDS WOMEN; WOMEN ARE IGNORED OR TREATED WITH SYMPATHY; MEN ARE COSIDERED CRIMINALS; MEN RECEIVE PENSIONS). SECURITY IS MORE CONCERNED WITH SS MALES</p> <p>IN NS UNEDUCATED WOMEN CAN WORK WOMEN DO MUCH BETTER AS BREADWINNERS WOMEN-ALCOHOL BREWERS AS MAIN BREADWINNERS IN NS SS WOMEN IN NS WORKING AS MAIDS WOMEN DO MUCH BETTER AS BREADWINNERS</p>	<p>to work and in case they do, that have more possibilities in the irregular market. Women are described as docile and treated with sympathy > invisibility is seen as something positive.</p> <p>Most interviewees considered the fact of SS women having easier access to the informal/illegal market is an advantage for them. The fact of facing police harassment, exploitation and even imprisonment is not considered > survivor's vision.</p>
<p>GENDERED SITUATION IN NS: HARDER FOR FEMALES (x3): BREADWINNERS (WORK ILLEGALLY AND ARE EXPLOITED); POLICE CHASING ALCOHOL BREWERS COMMON BELIEF IN NS THAT SS WOMEN PROMOTE ALCOHOL AND PROSTITUTION DISCRIMINATORY PUBLIC ORDER LAW IN NS TARGETING WOMEN POLICE HARASSMENT ON WOMEN BREWING ALCOHOL</p> <p>WOMEN LIVING IN OPEN SPACES WOMEN 'SHOULD NOT LIVE ALONE HERE</p>	<p>Only a few interviewees acknowledged that life in NS is harder for SS women than SS men, precisely because they have easier access to the informal/illegal market, such as brewing alcohol, which is prosecuted > gender-conscious vision.</p> <p>Some mentioned the difficulties of women living alone in NS, especially in open spaces.</p>
<p>NO GENDERED SITUATION IN NS (IT'S HARD FOR BOTH) NO GENDERED SITUATION IN NS (IT'S HARD FOR BOTH, BUT AS A GIRL, YOU HAVE NO ONE TO HELP YOU) [ASSUMING THAT WOMEN NEED MORE HELP]</p>	<p>Only few interviewees coincided that life in NS is equally hard for men and women, but women are seen as helpless beings.</p>

FAMILY AND SOCIAL ISSUES

CODES	CATEGORIES
<p>ALL RELATIVES ARE GONE TO SS ALL THE FAMILY IN SS MOST RELATIVES AND FRIENDS MOVED TO SS (x2) MOST FRIENDS RETURNED TO SS (x2) BROTHERS STRANDED NEAR THE BORDER, WAITING TO GO TO JUBA FAMILY RETURNING TO SS BECAUSE THAT'S WHAT THEY'RE SUPPOSED TO DO & FEELING OF UNCERTAINTY IN NS CHALLENGES OF LIVING ALONE FEELING OF VULNERABILITY WITHOUT RELATIVES AROUND FEELING OF LONELINESS IN NS (x6) ALL PROBLEMS IN SS CAN BE OVERCOME WITH FAMILY SUPPORT</p>	<p>Most relatives and friends are gone to SS >challenges of being alone, when the family is considered the main pillar in one's life [see 'Gender Issues' – 'women should not live alone here']</p> <p>Mothers being more concerned about</p>

<p>MOTHER MOVED TO SS ONCE THE DAUGHTER SITUATION IN NS WAS CLEAR MOTHER VISITS HER IN KHARTOUM REGULARLY LACK OF COMMUNICATION WITH RELATIVES IN SS BREAKING FAMILY LINKS (x5) NOT VISITING FAMILY FOR OVER 1 YEAR DIFFICULTIES TO TRAVEL AND VISIT FAMILY DIFFICULTIES TO VISIT FAMILY IN SS FEELING OF UNCERTAINTY REGARDING BORDERS - BREACH OF FAMILY LINKS FAMILY DISTANCE AFFECTING STUDYING RESULTS LEAVING KIDS BEHIND</p>	<p>the daughters' wellbeing in NS</p> <p>Difficulties and expenses of travelling between SS and NS, resulting in the breaking up of family links > serious personal implications (feeling of loneliness, bad school performance, etc.)</p>
<p>BELONGING TO ASSOCIATION (AUSSA) (x4) BELONGING TO ASSOCIATIONS (AUSSA AND CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT) (x2) ASSOCIATIONS CREATE SOCIAL DIVISION BELONGING TO NO ASSOCIATION (x3) NO INVOLVEMENT TO ANY ASSOCIATION (x3) NOT BELONGING TO ANY SS ASSOCIATION (AUSSA) BECAUSE THEY CREATE ETHNICAL DIVISION</p> <p>BELONGING TO RELIGIOUS GROUP AND Women Action Group BELONGING TO THE DISABLED UNION</p>	<p>Belonging to South Sudanese civil and Christian organizations in NS > creating segregated groups in NS.</p> <p>Belonging to other civil organizations (including South Sudanese and other nationalities).</p>
<p>BROTHER PROVIDING MONEY FOR HER AND OTHER RELATIVES IN NS EXTENDED FAMILY HELP IN SS UNCLE FINANCING HER STUDIES RECEIVING INCOME FROM NS FRIENDS AND RELATIVES IN SS MOTHER PAYING FOR HER STUDIES (x3) MOTHER PAYS STUDIES WITH FATHER INHERITANCE FATHER PAYING FOR STUDIES (x4) EXTENDED FAMILIES (uncle pays her studies)</p>	<p>Importance of extended family links providing financial help.</p> <p>Mothers taking care of their daughters' education</p>
<p>CURRENTLY LIVING WITH HER ELDERLY MOTHER IN NS LIVING IN NS WITH A COUSIN LIVING WITH 16 STRANDED CHILDREN LIVING WITH SIBLINGS IN THEIR OWN HOUSE IN KHARTOUM SOME RELATIVES STILL IN KHARTOUM (x7) HAVING OTHER RELATIVES IN ESTABLISHED NS</p>	<p>Most interviewees live with or have some relative living in NS > extended family</p>
<p>CONCERNED ABOUT LACK OF SOCIAL LINKS IN SS (x2) YOUNG PEOPLE LACKING SOCIAL LINKS IN SS MANY SS PEOPLE LACK SOCIAL LINKS WITH SS CONCERNED ABOUT POOR TRANSPORT FROM TOWN TO TOWN IN SS TO SEE FRIENDS = ISOLATION (x2)</p> <p>MOST FRIENDS IN KHARTOUM FROM SS (x2) MOST FRIENDS IN KHARTOUM FROM NS (x4) MIXED CIRCLE OF FRIENDS (x8)</p>	<p>Concerns about the lack of social links in SS and difficulties to move and visit former friends.</p> <p>More NS friends and social circle in Khartoum. Seeing NS as equals and being treated by them as such.</p>

<p>GOOD INTEGRATION IN NS SOCIETY GOOD RELATIONS WITH NS NEIGHBOURS (x2) PERCEIVING INTEGRATION OF SOME SS IN NS CONSIDERING NS PEOPLE AS BROTHERS AND SISTERS BEING DEFENDED BY HER COLLEAGUES HOPING TO KEEP FRIENDSHIP LINKS WITH NS FRIENDS</p> <p>FEW CONTACT WITH NS WHILE LIVING IN KHARTOUM RELATIONSHIP WITH NORTHERNERS MERELY PROFESSIONAL (x2) ONLY CONTACT WITH NS AT WORK NOT FEELING UNDERSTOOD IN NS ROLE OF SOCIAL CLASS</p>	<p>Feeling that the relationship with North Sudanese is merely professional, and determined by one's social class.</p>
<p>SPENDING ALL HER LIFE IN KHARTOUM NEVER BEEN TO SS TRYING TO ACCOMMODATE TO SS FINDING IT HARD TO ADAPT TO SS SIBLINGS ADAPTING TO SS, BUT STILL FRUSTRATED</p> <p>CONCERNED ABOUT CONFLICT BETWEEN HER PARTNER AND HER FAMILY FOR TRIBAL REASONS</p> <p>VISITING SS FOR FIRST TIME IN 2010 PLANNING TO VISIT SS ON HOLIDAYS SHE HAS VISITED SS</p> <p>NOT BEING FAMILIAR WITH SS TRADITIONS LEARNING ABOUT SS LANGUAGES AND CULTURE SINCE SHE WAS BORN IN NS</p>	<p>After having spent most of or all their lives in NS, find it hard to adapt to SS lifestyle.</p> <p>Concerns about personal relationships when returning to SS because of tribal issues.</p> <p>Having 'visited' SS on holidays only > unrealistic and idealized vision of SS.</p> <p>Young people are unaware of local languages and culture.</p>
<p>FAMILY FOLLOWING FATHER'S DECISION FATHER TAKING DECISION TO LEAVE TO SS FEELING OF HAVING TO FOLLOW THE FAMILY MAKING FAMILYDECISIONS – LEAVE OR STAY MAKING FAMILYDECISIONS – LEAVE OR STAY SECOND GENERATIONS OF SS FOLLOWING FAMILY DECISIONS WHOLE FAMILY FOLLOWS THE FATHER (x3) REASON FOR FAMILY TO MOVE TO SS (FATHER LOST JOB IN NS) (x7)</p> <p>REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (FATHER'S JOB)(x7) MOVED IN NS FOLLOWING HER HUSBAND'S JOB</p> <p>TAKING DECISIONS REGARDLESS OF FAMILY'S WISHES FAMILY PREASSURE IS NOT IMPORTANT FOR HER DECSSION</p>	<p>Most interviewees and their families followed the father in his decision to go back to SS > Patriarchal society</p> <p>Initially moved in NS following her husband.</p> <p>Only some claim to take their own decisions, regardless of the family.</p>
<p>FAMILY ORIGINS FROM SS (x19) PARENTS FROM MIXED ORIGIN PARENTS NEVER MOVED TO NS</p> <p>MOVING IN NS WITH HER FAMILY MOVING TO NS AS A WIDOW WITH CHILDREN</p>	<p>Parents from SS > living in NS with SS traditions.</p> <p>Moving in NS with family > living in NS with SS traditions.</p>

<p>MOVING TO NS WITH THE MOTHER IN 1978 PARENTS MOVED IN NS DUE TO WAR</p> <p>FAMILY SOCIALIZATION PROCESS AFFECTING THE WAY OF THINKING ALWAYS LIVED IN NS WITH THE FEELING OF GOING TO SS PARENTS MOVED BACK TO SS BEFORE SEPARATION BECAUSE 'SOUTHERNERS ARE SUPPOSED TO GO BACK TO THEIR ORIGINS' RAISED WITH THE IDEA THAT 'NORTH WILL NEVER BE OUR PLACE.'</p>	<p>Living in NS within a SS environment > however, there is a concern of a lack of knowledge of Southern culture > family socialization into ideal SS traditions vs. daily life socialization into NS lifestyle.</p>
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EMPLOYMENT AND ECONOMIC ISSUES

CODES	CATEGORIES
<p>DIFFICULTY IN FINDING JOBS IN NS (x7) MOTHER NOT WORKING IN NS NO RELATIVES WORKING IN NS NOT POSSIBLE TO WORK IN NS (x4) NO WORK-ONLY STUDY IN NS (x4) PARENTS UNEMPLOYED IN NS CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATION REFUSING HIRING SS PEOPLE SS CIVIL SERVANTS LOSING JOBS IN NS SS DIPLOMATICS LOST THEIR JOBS EVEN BEFORE SEPARATION CLOSING OF THE MOTHER'S SCHOOL AFTER SEPARATION FATHER LOSING JOB IN NS AFTER SEPARATION FATHER USED TO WORK AT UNIVERSITY IN KHARTOUM (NOW DECEASED) FATHER WORKED IN NS (ENGINEER) FATHER WORKED IN NS AS PASTOR NOW RETIRED IN SS LOSING HER JOB AFTER THE SEPARATION LOSING JOBS AND PENSIONS</p> <p>REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (FATHER'S JOB)(x7) REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (FIND JOB)</p> <p>REASON FOR FAMILY TO MOVE TO SS (FATHER LOST JOB IN NS) (x7) REASON FOR MOVING TO SS (DIFFICULTY TO WORK IN NS)</p> <p>JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN NS DEPENDING ON CONTACTS (x2)</p> <p>FATHER MOVED IN SS IN 2004 BECAUSE HIS WORK AS LEGAL ADVISOR (HE'S TRANSFERRED EVERY 5 YEARS). MOTHER REMAINED IN NS UNTIL 2012 WIDOW WORKING IN A PRIVATE HOSPITAL IN NS MOTHER EMPLOYED IN NS (TEACHER)</p>	<p>Losing jobs in NS and difficulty of finding new ones after the separation. Most parents were dismissed in NS after the separation or moved with their companies/working posts to SS. E.g. University teachers at Juba University in Khartoum, moved to Juba and kept the same position.</p> <p>Job (especially father's job) as the main reason for moving to NS</p> <p>Father's losing his job as the main reason for the whole family to move to SS</p> <p>Finding and keeping a job in NS depends on the contacts one has [see 'Feelings of Insecurity']</p> <p>Male breadwinners tend to be more prone to leave to SS, while wives and female breadwinners tend to be more reticent; when possible they keep their jobs and stay in NS with their children or alone.</p>

<p>MOTHER KEEPING JOB IN NS AFTER SEPARATION WORKING FOR AN NGO IN NS WORKING IN A PRIVATE HOSPITAL IN NS WORKING IN NS AS A NURSE WORKING IN THE CHARITY/HUMANITARIAN FIELD IS NOT A PROBLEM. WORKING PARENTS IN NS STAYING IN NS BECAUSE OF WORK</p> <p>ONLY INFORMAL WORK OPPORTUNITIES RELATIVES IN NS WORK IN INFORMAL MARKET (x3) SUCCESS OF TEASELLERS SS IN NS CAN STILL WORK IN THE INFORMAL MARKET WORKING FOR DIFFERENT NGOs AS AN IRREGULAR WORKER WORKING INFORMALLY: TEACHING, TRANSLATING, ETC. WORKING IRREGULARLY BECAUSE OF NEW CITIZENSHIP REGULATIONS WORKING IRREGULARLY COLLECTING STRANDED CHILDREN FOR AN INTERNATIONAL NGO PROBLEMS FOR THOSE BREWING ALCOHOL PRIVATE SECTOR IN NS STILL HIRING SS</p> <p>SS OBTAINING HELP FROM ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS NS FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO BUILD A HOUSE IN 1990 NO SOCIAL HELP TO GET A HOUSE</p>	<p>Many opportunities in the informal market in NS, especially for women. Possibility to work also for the private sector.</p> <p>Possibility to obtain financial help from Islamic Organizations or Government in NS before the separation.</p>
<p>BEING ON A PENSION IN NS BROTHER IN LAW STILL IN NS WAITING FOR PENSION FATHER IS ON A PENSION IN NS ONLY SOME SS RECEIVED THEIR PENSIONS IN NS STAYING IN NS TO RECEIVE PENSIONS</p>	<p>Receiving pensions in NS is an important reason for many SS to remain in NS.</p>
<p>EASIER TO FIND JOB IN SS THAN NS ALL RELATIVES HAVE A JOB IN SS PARENTS EMPLOYED IN SS BEFORE MOVING TO NS PARENTS WORKING IN SS</p> <p>MOTHER NOW WORKS IN UPPER NILE UNIVERSITY MOTHER WORKED IN NS AND NOW IN SS (INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION) MOTHER AS THE FAMILY BREAD-WINNER IN SS MOTHER WORKING IN SS SISTER WORKING AS TEACHER IN SS</p> <p>MOTHER WAS ALWAYS HOUSEWIFE (x3) MOTHER WORKED IN NS (AS TEACHER OR NURSE), NOW HOUSEWIFE IN SS (X2)</p> <p>FATHER ALWAYS REMAINED IN SS WORKING TO SUSTAIN FAMILY FATHER WORKING IN SS (MECHANIC) FATHER WORKING IN SS AS FURNITURE SELLER FATHER WORKING IN THE MILITARY SERVICE BOTH IN SS AND NS</p>	<p>Believe that finding a job in SS has been easy for some relatives.</p> <p>Women keep on working in SS and are in many cases the main bread-winners.</p> <p>Some women, however, went from working in NS to becoming housewives in SS.</p> <p>Male heads of family working in SS.</p>

<p>FINDING A JOB IN SS DEPENDS ON GOVERNMENTAL CONTACTS (x2) FINDING A JOB IN SS DEPENDS ON PEOPLE</p> <p>GOOD EXPECTATION TO GET A JOB IN SS (x8) POSITIVE ABOUT FINDING A JOB IN SS AFTER GETTING HER NS DEGREE SKILLED SS HAVE IT EASIER TO FIND A JOB</p>	<p>Like in NS, finding a job in SS highly depends on contacts.</p> <p>Good expectations and hopes to get a job in SS with a University degree.</p>
<p>CONCERNED ABOUT FINDING A JOB IN SS (x7) DIFFICULTIES IN JOB-HUNTING IN SS UNCERTAINTY ABOUT FINDING A JOB IN SS UNEDUCATED WOMEN CAN HARDLY WORK IN SS</p>	<p>Multiple concerns about finding a job in SS, especially for uneducated women.</p>
<p>GOOD CURRENT ECONOMICAL SITUATION IN SS (x7) ACCEPTABLE FAMILY ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SS (x3) BAD CURRENT FAMILY ECONOMIC SITUATION IN SS (x4) COMPLAINTS OF HER RELATIVES IN SS REGARDING MONEY CONCERNED ABOUT EXPENSIVE LIVING COSTS IN JUBA (x4) EXPECTING ECONOMIC HARDSHIPS IN SS</p>	<p>Positive family financial situation in SS, although there are concerns regarding the high living costs in Juba.</p>
<p>EXPECTATION TO IMPROVE ECONOMY THROUGH 4 FREEDOM AGREEMENT, BUT NOT PEOPLE'S FEELINGS EXPECTATIONS TO HAVE GOOD ECONOMIC RELATIONS NS-SS</p>	<p>Hoping to reach to an economic agreement between NS and SS.</p>
<p>DIFFICULTIES IN SENDING MONEY (x4) HARD ECONOMIC SITUATION FOR SS IN NS ECONOMIC MONTHLY PROBLEMS IN NS (x2) ABANDONED CHILDREN FOR LACK OF INCOME CHILDREN BECOMING STRANDED DURING VOLUNTARY RETURN PERIOD</p>	<p>Different economic problems in NS</p>
<p>POLITIZATION OF ECONOMIC CRISIS INCREASES THE HATRED TO SS POVERTY IS NOT EXCLUSIVE OF SS</p>	<p>Poverty in NS is not exclusive to Southerners > Politization of economic crisis in NS lead to hatred to Southerners.</p>

PERCEIVING AND DEALING WITH DISCRIMINATION AND HARASSMENT

CODE	CATEGORY
<p>AFTER SEPARATION SHE DRESSES MORE RESPECTFULLY 'NOT TO CAUSE PROBLEMS' 'IT'S NOT MY COUNTRY SO I HAVE TO RESPECT THE RULES' DRESSING LIKE A SUDANESE DRESSING LIKE A SUDANESE WOMAN WHEN GOING TO KHARTOUM FEELING FREE WHEN DRESSING AS A SUDANESE IN KHARTOUM</p>	<p>After the separation, the feeling of being in a foreign country makes some women dress according to the NS codes, whereas before the separation they used to dress uncovered, as if to highlight their non-Muslim identity. Now, since they have their own country with their own identity, being in NS leads them to act more respectfully.</p>

<p>NO PROBLEMS WITH DRESSING CODE: WHEN IN ROME DO AS ROMANS ADAPTING TO NS DRESSING CODE OUTSIDE UNIVERSITY</p> <p>MARGINALIZATION LEADING TO IDENTITY HIGHLIGHTING AUTHORITIES HARASSMENT FOR CLOTHING IN NS (x4) DRESSING CODE PROBLEMS IN NS (x4)</p>	<p>Some women, however, dress in a non-Muslim way and face harassment and problems with the authorities.</p>
<p>DISCRIMINATION AGAINST OTHER NATIONALITIES DISCRIMINATION AS PART OF THE CULTURE DISCRIMINATION EXISTED BEFORE THE REFERENDUM DISCRIMINATION NOT LIMITED TO SS</p>	<p>Discrimination is part of the NS culture, not specific towards SS.</p>
<p>AUTHORITIES HARASSMENT RELATED TO POLITICAL TENSIONS AUTHORITIES RANDOM HARASSMENT IN NS AND SS TOO NO AUTHORITIES HARASSMENT IN NS (x6) NO HARASSMENT BY AUTHORITIES (x2) NO PROBLEMS WITH AUTHORITIES IN NS NO PROBLEMS WITH NS AUTHORITIES</p>	<p>Harassment or problems with authorities (namely, police) are rare, and they usually happen more often when there are political tensions.</p>
<p>NO DISCRIMINATION FROM NS FRIENDS NO DISCRIMINATION FROM FRIENDS IN NS TREATED AS A SUDANESE AT THE UNIVERSITY FEELING ACCEPTED AND INCLUDED AT THE UNIVERSITY FEELING OF BELONGING WITHIN THE UNIVERSITY NO FEELING OF DISCRIMINATION IN NS (x6) DISCRIMINATION IS NOT THE MAIN TREND NO FEELING OF HARASSMENT NO VIOLENT CLASHES BETWEEN NS AND SS POPULATION SS ARE WELCOME IN NS AS LONG AS THEY WORK FOR THEIR INTEREST</p>	<p>Not outstanding feelings of discrimination in general, especially when it comes to NS friends and University.</p> <p>No discrimination where there is some economic interest in between.</p>
<p>DISCRIMINATION ON THE WAY YOU LOOK IGNORING RELIGION AS A GROUND FOR DISCRIMINATION (x2) DISCRIMINATION IN NS SCHOOLS FEELING DISCRIMINATION IN NS: NO CHRISTIAN RELIGION COURSE IN SCHOOL DISCRIMINATION LINKED TO THE SOCIAL STATUS (THE MORE POOR THE MORE SUSPECTED BY AUTHORITIES) EXPERIENCING SOCIAL PRESSURE IN NS (X3) SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION: SS SEENS AS SLAVES</p> <p>DISCRIMINATION IN PUBLIC TRANSPORT (x4) VERBAL DISCRIMINATION ON THE ROAD (x3) VERBAL DISCRIMINATION ON THE ROAD AND PUBLIC TRANSPORT (x2) VERBAL DISCRIMINATION BY UNEDUCATED AND POLITICIZED PEOPLE IN THE STREETS</p>	<p>Despite the well-known dichotomy 'Muslim North vs. Christian South, according to people's experiences, religion does not seem to be a ground for discrimination in public life, only in some schools. On the contrary, social class and economic status seems to play a more important role. This can be linked to the educational level of the person and the people surrounding them.</p> <p>Most forms of discrimination against SS in NS seem to come in the form of verbal aggression in public transport or in the streets.</p>

<p>FACING HARASSMENT IN THE STREETS IN NS (x5)</p> <p>SS HAVING SOME PROBLEMS IN NS EXPERIENCES OF DICRIMINATION IN NS BEING OVERCHARGED IN SHOPS IN NS FACING DISCRIMINATION IN JOB-HUNTING OPPORTUNITIES IN NS (x6) VERBAL DISCRIMINATION AT WORK DIFFERENT FORMS OF DICRIMINATION (SUBTLE TO HARASSMENT)</p> <p>BEEING SEEN AS A SERVANT IN NS SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION IN NS (NOT FACED PERSONALLY)</p>	<p>More specific forms of discrimination are related to finding job opportunities and being overcharged for services.</p>
<p>DIFFICULTIES TO FIND A JOB IN SS AS ARAB SPEAKERS DISCRIMINATION IN SS FOR SPEAKING ARABIC DISCRIMINATION IN SS FOR SPEAKING ARABIC AND COMING FROM KHARTOUM</p> <p>DISCRIMINATION OF RETURNEES IN SS SPECIALLY HARD FOR RETURNEES IN SS DIVIDING PEOPLE: TRIBALISM CLASHES BETWEEN EDUCATED AND UNEDUCATED IN SS HIERACHY SYSTEM IN SS, BETTER POSITIONS FOR THOSE WHO FOUGHT THE WAR. NOT BIG CONCERN ABOUT TRIBALISM SS ALREADY LIVING IN SS DO NOT CARE OF SS LIVING IN KHARTOUM SS PEOPLE DO NOT LIKE 'US' RESTURNEES TRIBALISM AND FAVORITISM LEADING TO A WASTE OF RESOURCES IN SS</p>	<p>Discrimination in SS against those SS coming from Khartoum and speaking Arabic.</p> <p>Additionally, a tribal and hierarchic system seems to be rooting in SS, whereby those who fought in the war in SS (normally uneducated) are given more chances that those returnees (normally from NS and educated).</p> <p>Creation of dichotomies within SS</p>
<p>BEING IMMUNE TO DISCRIMINATION IN NS LIVING SECLUDED AT THE DORM IN NS FOR FEAR OF PEOPLE'S COMMENTS (x2)</p>	<p>Reactions to discrimination go from not paying attention to feeling intimidated and leave the house as little as possible.</p>

PROPERTY ISSUES

CODE	CATEGORY
<p>FACING DISCRIMINATION IN PROPERTY OWNING IN NS (X2) ECONOMIC PRESSURE BY NS GOVERNMENT ON PROPERTY (SUCH AS NOT ISSUING THE DOCUMENTS TO SELL PROPERTY LEGALLY) (x5) FORCED TO SELL PROPERTY AT A LOW PRICE IMPOSSIBILITY TO SELL PROPERTY LOSING RIGHT TO OWNERSHIP</p>	<p>Difficulties imposed on SS to sell and acquire their property in NS.</p>
<p>POSSIBILITY TO KEEP PROPERTY PARENTS KEEP THEIR HOUSE IN NS PARENTS KEEP THEIR HOUSE IN NS (RENT IT) (x3) RENTING THEIR HOUSE IN NS TO SUSTAIN HERSELF AND HER FAMILY IN JUBA NOT WANTING TO SELL THE PROPERTY IN NS</p>	<p>Keeping and renting property in NS as a source of income.</p>

LIVING IN THEIR OWN PROPERTY IN NS KEEPING AND RENTING PROPERTY IN NS	
BROTHER SELLING HOUSE IN NS TO MOVE TO SS MASSIVE SELLING OF PROPERTY AND LAND AFTER 2011 REFERENDUM PARENTS SOLD THE HOUSE IN NS BEFORE GOING TO SS PARENTS SOLD THEIR HOUSE IN NS PARENTS SOLD THEIR HOUSE IN NS FOR A VERY CHEAP PRICE PLANNING ON SELLING THE FAMILY HOUSE IN NS	Selling property in NS before going to SS
LIVING IN A RENTED HOUSE LIVING IN CAMPS AS IDPs LIVING IN HOSTELS	Other forms of accommodations in NS
NO AFFORDABLE HOUSING IN JUBA UNLESS YOU HAVE RELATIVES THERE (x2) CONCERNED ABOUT LACK OF BIG CITIES AND HOUSING FACILITIES IN SS (x2)	Difficulties to find accommodation in Juba

WISHING TO GO OR STAY

CODES	CATEGORIES
HOPE TO REMAIN IN NS WITHOUT MAJOR PROBLEMS HOPING FOR FAMILY REUNIFICATION IN NS LIVING OK IN NS KNOWING MANY SS WHO WANT TO STAY IN NS MOTHER FEELING NS AS HER COUNTRY MOTHER WISHING TO STAY IN NS NO WISH TO GO TO SS FOR PERSONAL ATTACHMENT TO NS NO WISH TO GO TO SS FOR TRIBAL CONCERNS RATHER BEING A FOREIGNER IN NS THAN STAYING IDLE IN SS RATHER STAY IN NS THAN FACE THE DIFFICULTIES IN SS WISH TO STAY IN NS (x5) WISH TO STAY IN NS IF SHE FINDS A JOB (x2) RELATIVES LIVING IN NS NOT WISHING TO GO TO SS (x2)	Many wish to remain in NS for personal attachment to the country, job opportunities, and fear of hardships and tribalism in SS.
GOING TO SS AND RETURNING TO NS AFTER SEEING THE DIFFICULTIES (NO FOOD, NO JOBS)(x4) MANY SS WHO WENT BACK ARE WAITING FOR AGREEMENTS TO GO BACK TO NS RETURNING TO NS FOR LACK OF HEALTH SERVICES IN SS SECONDARY RETURNS TO NS AFTER EXPERIENCING HARSH CONDITIONS IN SS	Experiencing hardships in SS and deciding to return again to NS.
WISH TO GO BACK TO SS WHEN CHILDREN FINISH SCHOOL WISH TO MOVE TO SS AFTER COMPLETING STUDIES (x18)	Wish to return to SS only upon completion of University degree in NS. Wish to return to SS because of job-

<p>FEELING OF BEING FORCED TO STAY IN NS BECAUSE OF EDUCATION BECAUSE OF LACK OF UNIVERSITIES IN SS STILL STAYING IN NS FOR CHILDREN'S EDUCATION STAYING IN NS BECAUSE OF STUDIES WISH TO GO TO SS BECAUSE SHE CANNOT WORK HERE (x2)</p> <p>WISH TO GO TO SS (x11) WISH TO GO TO SS 'BECAUSE IT'S MY COUNTRY' WISH TO RETURN TO SS ('TO DEVELOP MY COUNTRY') EVEN IF SHE FOUND A JOB IN NS WISHING TO DEVELOP SS (x4) NOT WISHING TO LIVE UNDER SHARIA LAW MOVING TO SS RETURNING TO SS IN STAGES (x3)</p> <p>WISH TO GO TO SS BECAUSE OF FAMILY (x3)</p>	<p>hunting difficulties in NS</p> <p>Patriotic wish of returning to SS in order to 'develop' the country.</p> <p>Wish to return to SS following family wishes.</p>
<p>DIFFICULTIES IN ACCEPTING MOVING TO SS HESITATION ABOUT WANTING TO RETURN OR WANTING TO STAY HOPING FOR A BETTER FUTURE WITHOUT MARGINALIZATION AND EQUAL RIGHTS IN SS SIBLINGS FEELING FRUSTRATED TO HAVE TO GO TO SS MIXED FEELINGS ABOUT RETURNING TO SS IN THE FUTURE</p>	<p>Mixed feelings about wanting and/or having to return to SS.</p>
<p>WISH TO MOVE OUT OF SS AND NS MASSIVE RETURNS TO SS AFTER 2011 REFERENDUM NO FORCED RETURNS TO SS AFTER 2011 REFERENDUM NS LIVING IN JUBA REFUSE TO GO BACK TO NS REASON FOR MOVING TO NS (CIVIL WAR) (x9)</p>	

EDUCATION, HEALTH AND FACILITIES

CODES	CATEGORIES
<p>HER CHILDREN ATTENDING SCHOOL IN NS SHE AND SIBLINS REMAIN IN NS STUDYING LEAVING KIDS WITH NS FRIENDS FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES BROTHER STUDYING IN NS CONSIDERED A NATIONAL AT THE UNIVERSITY (x3) MOTHER STUDIED IN NS MOTHER STUDYING IN KHARTOUM MOVED IN NS ALONE FOR STUDIES NO POSSIBILITY TO CONTINUE UNIVERSITY STUDIES IN SS SCHOLARSHIP HOLDER IN NS SS STUDENTS REMAINED IN KHARTOUM STUDYING IN KHARTOUM (x3) UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CAN STUDY IN NS</p>	<p>University students were allowed to remain studying in NS after the separation, which many of them did. [See 'Wishing to go or stay': education is the strongest reason for many SS to remain in NS]</p>
<p>BEING CHARGED AS A FOREIGNER FOR STUDENT</p>	<p>Fees as students are random and while</p>

<p>ACCOMMODATION IN NS PAYING AS A NATIONAL IN AHFAD BENEFICIARY OF INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP</p> <p>CLOSING DOWN OF JUBA UNIVERSITY TO MAKE A 'SOUTHERN' CURRICULA: MANY STUDENTS LEFT OUT. CLOSING OF SEVERAL SS UNIVERSITIES IN KHARTOUM AFTER SEPARATION HAVING TO CHANGE UNIVERISTY AND WASTING 1 YEAR IN BETWEEN CONCERNED ABOUT THE VALIDITY OF HER DEGREE (IN ARABIC)</p> <p>SIBLINGS STUDYING IN SS (x3) RELATIVES IN JUBA SCHOOLS CONCERNED ABOUT THE SPREAD BELIEF THAT WOMEN SHOULN'T BE EDUCATED IN SS</p> <p>SIBLINGS LIVING AND STUDYING ABROAD YOUNG BROTHER STUDIES IN MALAYSIA BECAUSE OF BETTER UNIVERISTIES THAN IN SS FATHER STUDIED IN EGYPT RELATIVES MOVING ABROAD TO STUDY</p> <p>FACING DISCRIMINATION IN SCHOOLING IN NS (x2) GOVERNMENTAL SCHOOLS STOPPING SS CHILDREN FROM STUDYING LEAVING CHILDREN OUT OF SCHOOL</p> <p>HIGH COST OF EDUCATION AND HEALTH FOR BOTH SS AND NS EXPENSIVE SCHOOL FEES EXPENSIVE UNIVERSITY FEES</p>	<p>some centres charger them as nationals, some others are foreigners.</p> <p>Difficulties in SS Universities: closing after the separation, adapting curricula, validation of degrees obtained in NS...</p> <p>Only mention of male relatives studying in SS, which together with the concern that 'women shouldn't be educated in SS' points out to a harder situation for women.</p> <p>Many male relatives studying abroad, which supports the former point.</p> <p>SS children being left out of school in NS</p> <p>Expensive public service fees for all, Northerners and Southerners.</p>
<p>PERSONAL SITUATION BETTER IN NS LIFE IN SS BEING HARDER THAN IN NS</p>	
<p>AUTHORITIES USING FAKE MEDICAL REPORTS TO SEND PEOPLE TO SS FEELING OF INSECURITY IN NS HOSPITALS LOOSING ACCESS TO MEDICAL CARE AND LOANS AS THE MAIN PROBLEM LOOSING RIGHT FOR DISABLED SOCIAL HELP</p> <p>BEING CHARGED AS A DISABLED NATIONAL OUT OF SYMPATHY STILL USING A NS HEALTH INSURANCE UNTIL 2013</p> <p>CONCERN ABOUT BEING A DISABLED IN SS CONCERN ABOUT THE LACK OF HEALTH FACILITIES. UNCERTAINTY ABOUT HOW TO COPE WITH HER DISABILITY IN SS HIGH COST OF HEALTH FOR SS</p>	<p>Besides losing rights for social help and having worse access to health care, there is a feeling of insecurity regarding treatment in hospitals, fostered by media especially [see 'feelings of insecurity'].</p> <p>As pointed out in 'feelings of insecurity', getting to know people makes it easier to obtain services that in principle are only available for nationals.</p> <p>There is a palpable concern regarding the lack of health facilities in SS.</p>

<p>POOR HELTH SERVICE IN SS RELATIVES WITH HEALTH PROBLEMS IN SS – HAVING TO MOVE TO UGANDA FOR TREATMENT VERY CONCERNED ABOUT HEALTH SYSTEM IN SS</p>	
<p>CONCERNED ABOUT SS INTERNAL PROBLEMS CONCERNS ABOUT POOR FACILITIES UNDER- DEVELOPMENT IN SS (x4) SS GOVERNMENT IS IMPROVING THE FACILITIES (REALLY??) WHEATHER, HEALTH, FOOD, INSECURITY IN SS;</p>	<p>Concerns about SS underdevelopment and internal problems.</p>

THOUGHTS ON SEPARATION

CODES	CATEGORIES
<p>FEELING DISAPPOINTED BY THE SEPARATION FEELING OF SADNESS FOR THE SEPARATION NS FEELING HURT BY THE SS DECISION</p> <p>DIFFICULTIES OF INDEPENDENCE SEPARATION WAS ECONOMICALLY WORSE FOR BOTH SIDES FEELING THAT THE SITUATION BEFORE THE SEPARATION WAS BETTER HOPES THE COUNTRIES WILL UNIFY AGAIN</p> <p>SITUATION WAS BETTER BEFORE SEPARATION FOR SS IN NS (x5) DISCRIMINATION IN THE STREETS AFTER THE SEPARATION SS HAVE NO RIGHTS OF PROTECTIONS IN NS AFTER THE SEPARATION NO SOCIAL PREASSURE OR HARASSMENT BEFORE THE SEPARATION FEELING SCARED RIGHT AFTER THE SEPARATION BIGGER CHALLENGES AFTER SEPARATION REGARDING MONEY AND PAPERWORK (x3)</p>	<p>Negative feelings about the separation: disappointment, sadness.</p> <p>Felling that the overall situation, especially economically was better for both countries before the separation.</p> <p>Feeling that the situation for SS in NS was better and safer before the separation.</p>
<p>FEELING THE SITUATION AS A FORCED SEPARATION MANY PEOPLE WERE NOT AWARE OF THE SEPARATION MEANING AND CONSEQUENCES BELIEVING THAT THE MAIN REASON FOR SEPARATION IS POLITICS GAME OF POLITICS, PEOPLE ARE NOT AGAINST EACH OTHER NS AND SS GOVERNEMNT USING PEOPLE AS CARDS POLITICAL MOVED INFLUENCING HER WISH TO SECESSION SS SHOULD HAVE POSTPONED SEPARATION 2 MORE YEARS QUESTIONING THE SO-CALLED 'DEVELOPMENT OF NS' – REALISTIC AND PRAGMATIC VISION</p>	<p>Feeling the separation as a political move only, whereby people were not really given any chance to decide, due to political and media pressure and lack of information of what secession would really mean for people.</p> <p>Questioning the Northern</p>

	'development' vs the Southern under-development as a grounds for separation.
BEING PROUD OF THE SEPARATION DESPITE THE CHALLENGES FEELING GOOD ABOUT NOT BEING CONSIDERED ARAB OR MUSLIM ANYMORE RESTRICTIONS BEFORE SEPARATION: NO CHRISTIAN HOLS. SEPARATION BROUGHT MORE GOOD THINGS THAN BAD SEPARATION WAS FOR THE BETTER SEPARATION WAS GOOD FROM AN IDENTITY AND RIGHTS PERSPECTIVE (x2). THE SEPARATION WAS FOR GOOD, NOW SS DOES NOT DEPEND ON NS AND CAN DEVELOP ITSELF. NOT SEPARATION BUT INDEPENDENCE THE SEPARATION HAPPENED IN PEOPLE'S HEARTS	Positive feelings about the separation come more from an identity perspective, and are based on feelings of pride and self-sufficiency.
FEELING THE SITUATION IS PRETTY MUCH THE SAME AS BEFORE THE SEPARATION WISHING THE COUNTRY WOULD HAVE STAYED UNITED OR SEPARATED BUT WITH CLOSE RELATIONS FEELING THE SITUATION IS PRETTY MUCH THE SAME AS BEFORE THE SEPARATION: NO OPPORTUNITIES FOR SS FEELING THE SEPARATION AS SOMETHING OBVIOUS SINCE 2009 STOPPING APPLICATIONS FOR LOANS, SOCIAL HELP, ETC. BY SS BEFORE THE SEPARATION	Feeling that the situation has not changed much for SS after the separation: many social differences already existed before.
MAIN REASONS FOR SEPARATION: WAR, UNDER-DEVELOPMENT SEPARATION HAPPENED BECAUSE OF RELIGION AND RIGHTS	

PATRIOTIC OR NATIONALIST FEELINGS

CODES	CATEGORIES
AWARENESS OF CHALLENGES IN SS BUT 'I WILL TRY AND ADJUST TO THESE PROBLEMS' EXPECTATIONS OF SS IMPROVEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT EXPECTING SS GOVERNMENT TO END TRIBALISM GOOD EXPECTATIONS TO GET A BETTER LIFE IN SS GOOD EXPECTATIONS TO OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES IN SS HOPE TO GET A BETTER LIFE IN SS	Being aware of challenges in SS, but still, expecting the situation to improve

TRUST THAT THE NS GOVERNMENT WILL PROTECT THOSE SUPPORTERS OF THE NCP	
<p>ENNUMERATING POSITIVE ASPECTS OF SS: WEATHER (x2), PEOPLE ALWAYS HAPPY 'EVEN IF THERE'S NO FOOD' BECAUSE 'THEY WENT BACK TO THEIR ORIGINS',RELATIVES, JOB OPPORTUNITIES ACCORDING TO YOUR DEGREE</p> <p>FEELING SUPPORTED BY PEOPLE IN SS</p> <p>PATRIOTIC FEELING: WE ARE ALL BLACK, WE RESPECT EACH OTHER</p> <p>BEING FREE IN SS (x2)</p>	<p>Extolling and idealizing certain aspects of SS, which contradict facts and reality: weather is considered a blessing, but facts prove that floods prevent the construction of roads regularly; people are 'happy' even if they starve because they have their country, but many of those starving have tried to return to NS; job opportunities, which are badly paid, which leads many to re-migrate [See interview with Gloria and Christine]; respecting each other because of the 'blackness' contradicts the fact of faced discrimination because of the language spoken; ambiguous concept of freedom, is there freedom for all, men and women in SS?</p>
<p>BEING PROUD OF BEING SS (x2)</p> <p>PATRIOTIC FEELING-HAVING MY OWN COUNTRY</p> <p>UNDERSTANDING THE FEELING OF HAVING 'MY OWN COUNTRY'</p> <p>HAVING A COUNTRY TRANSLATES IN RESPECT AND IDENTITY PROJECTION</p> <p>CRITIZISING PATRIOTISM AND BLINDNESS OF SS</p>	<p>Being proud of having 'my own country' > what is the real meaning of that?</p>
<p>EMPHASIZING SUDANESE IDENTITY</p> <p>EMPHASIZING THE SS IDENTITY</p> <p>FEELING OF PATRIOTISM AND ETHNIC BELONGING 'OUR OWN BLACK PEOPLE'</p> <p>HIGHLIGHTING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NS AND SS PEOPLE</p> <p>IDENTITY HIGHLIGHTING, DEPENDING ON THE CONTEXT</p>	<p>Emphasizing identities, 'us' vs 'them' > however, who is 'them' now?</p>

APPENDIX II

DIARY (11/07/2012-30/11/2012)

Sunday, 22nd July 2012

Today I went with Tayseer to the Administration office in order to get some phone numbers for some South Sudanese (SS) Students at Ahfad with whom to conduct interviews. At the office they told me that, although last year they had some 350 girls, this years many had gone back to the South and some other were still in the process of acquiring the necessary paperwork to come back, so they did not have a complete list of girls (no phone numbers or any other possible way of contacting them).

However, suddenly a Southern Sudanese girl (A) walked in and she offered to hold an informal interview with me. [See appendix (A)] She gave me her phone number and e-mail and promised me to find other SS colleges for me.

Monday, 23rd July 2012

Today I went to the Documentation Unit, where they publish the magazine *The Promising Half*, and I talked to Hadia Hassaballah, the woman in charge of the publication. She very kindly gave me some of the magazines they had related to diversity at Ahfad, and also helped me to contact some other SS girls. There I met another girl (B), who told me that she would be able to give an interview tomorrow.

Tuesday 24th July 2012

Today at 11h I met (B) at the door of her faculty. She excused herself for not having been able to bring any other girl with her, but they were busy. We sat at the Documentation Unit in a room offered by Hadia, and conducted the interview. B was not very comfortable with me recording it, so I took notes of all her answers. Since her English was not very good, most of the interview was held in Arabic. [See appendix (B)]

Afterwards, A called me and told me to join her and one of her SS friends (C). I was not expecting this meeting, and C did not have much time either, so we talked informally. She told me she had arrived from Juba one week ago, and that she was facing a lot of paperwork problems in order to be able to stay here legally and have no problems. She said she was living here alone (cause all her family were in SS) on a two month visa, which she should renew.

Once in the office where I am conducting the internship, I talked to one of my colleagues, who happens to have a SS woman as a housemaid, and she was telling me how a couple of weeks ago she was stopped by the police, and since she did not have all her paperwork in order, the police asked her to pay (unofficially) 1000 Sudanese Pounds.

Wednesday, 25th of July 2012

Today Tayseer put me in touch with three more Sudanese girls studying at Ahfad University. While we were exchanging telephone numbers and arranging for an interview meeting, one of the girls was commenting on how her sister was still in Juba, and although she was a scholarship holder at Ahfad, she had already been missing 3 weeks of lectures because of missing paperwork. Moreover, she was telling how they had to renew their visas every 2 months (208 Sudanese pounds, some 100USD), because they were not allowed a residence permit.

Thursday, 26th of July 2012

Today I have had my first meeting with Ahmed Gamal el-Din, my supervisor. I discussed with him the topic I was interested in, as well the topic of 'transit migration', which also catches my attention. After going through the pros en cons of each possibility, we decided that the first one was more realistic and doable.

Sunday, 29th of July 2012

Today I conducted another interview with another South Sudanese girl. She agreed on recording her. She seemed to be quite comfortable with answering the questions. The interview was a bit longer than expected, because some of her answers lead me to ask her further questions, initially not included in the questionnaire, so all in all it lasted for some 40 minutes.

Monday, 30th of July 2012

Today we went to the Department of Alien Affairs to get our residence permit. I found the whole experience very confusing, frustrating and time consuming, even though a responsible person from Ahfad came with us to have things sorted. Besides the 250 Pounds for the Residence permit, we had to pay another 250 Pounds for a 'medical check-up', which consisted on a simple blood-test. It was really amazing how many people were there, and how hard it must be for many of them, both for economic and bureaucratic reasons.

Thursday, 2nd of August 2012

Today I went to Khartoum University to talk to Professor Manzoul Assal about my research topic. Out of the interview [see interview annex] there were some aspects that made me reflect quite a lot on the issue:

The 'actual enforcement' of SS returns to the South. As he pointed out, there were no officially direct implemented methods to make people leave Northern Sudan. Nevertheless, there were a series of aspects that 'put pressure' or 'encouraged' people to leave the country. Besides the UN and IOM support to the returns, there was this 'go home' campaign organized, as well as a series of changes (such as the restrictions on visa issuing, the travelling expenses in transit in a third country, the loss of jobs of many civil servants, the aggressive media against Southerners, etc.), which pushed people to leave the country.

The situation of women. Although I was expecting a more negative answer, in Manzoul perspective, women did not suffer social discrimination or any sorts of harassment as badly as men, simply because society tended to be protective with women and ignore them. In other words, women are kind of invisible, with no agency whatsoever; nothing to worry about.

Sunday, 5th of August 2012

Today I went to All Saints Cathedral in Khartoum, to meet Bishop Ezekiel Kondo. I had contacted him when I was still in Spain, and he always answered me very warmly and welcoming. I arrived there at 9am, and they were holding a mass, attended by 3 men and 4 women. While I waited for the end of the service I talked to another Reverend at the Cathedral, who was from the Nuba Region, and who informed me of the different services and masses available.

During the mass, Bishop Ezekiel introduced me to the attendees as a Spanish student conducting some research on Southern Sudanese women in Khartoum and encouraged the present women to talk to me after the mass. One of the women turned out to be from Togo, and the other one from Uganda. There were only 2 from South Sudan, and they gladly gave me an interview. It was very interesting to see the different way of thinking of these two women compared to the students at Ahfad. These were women who had had to work in Khartoum to make a living and who were not so fond of leaving. They did not refuse to leave either, and they also showed some kind of 'passion for their land' but still they seemed to be more sensible when balancing the pros and cons of going or staying. They were also more aware of their legal rights and of major changes happening since the separation of the country.

After the interviews, I went back to Ahfad, where another Southern girl called me to give me another interview. Her situation was different, in that she had come here alone only to study, so her intentions to stay were non-existent.

Monday, 6th of August 2012

Today I went with Rasha to meet the Dr. Al-Bakir Al-Afif, the Director of Al-Jatim Adlan Center for Enlightenment and Humanitarian Development. He gave me a lot of information, both theoretical and practical, on the situation of Southern Sudanese people living in Khartoum. It was interesting how he pointed out the closed mentality of the Government, when it comes to the implementation of religion in the political life, comparing the current situation with the Medieval Ages. He pointed out the lack of rights of Southern Sudanese when it comes to acquisition of property and the right to work. He was not very sure though, on legal procedures and documentation (namely, what kind visa/residence permit, etc. are SS entitled to, etc.). I am starting to think that: a) the procedures are very blurry and complicated, so no one knows for sure which their rights are; or b) there is a lack of information on the issue.

His point of view on the situation of SS women was more in my line of thinking. That is, he told me they were more vulnerable than men, because of the Public Law (which targets women's behavior and dressing code). However, when I told him about the perspectives of the women I had talked to, he seemed to be quite surprised.

Saturday, 11th of August 2012

Today I talked to Samia el-Nager at Ahfad. She told me about the follow up she had done on her previous research and on how she still kept in touch with some of the SS people she interviewed for her research.

It struck me that she did not know much about the legal rights of SS regarding the ownership of property. She thought they were allowed to own and buy property, but then again, the law says the contrary. Her main conclusion in this respect is that, whatever the law says, since there's no rule of law in the country, everything can be changed from one day to another, which creates this general feeling of confusion and uncertainty amongst all the citizens.

It was also striking that from her perspective SS women living in Khartoum were in a better position than their male counterparts, because they could have access to the informal market, and undertake jobs such as house-cleaning, tea brewing, etc. She did not seem to consider the fact of increased vulnerability to exploitation, especially as domestic workers.

She gave me the contact of Suzanne, a SS woman living at Haj Youssef.

Sunday, 12th of August 2012

Today I went to Haj Youssef to have an interview with Suzanne. It took me like 1h to get to the area, and once I got to Libya Station Suzanne and I took a rickshaw to get to her place, Istad Al-Baraka. On the way we passed by some slums where people were 'living'. She told me they were SS people waiting to be returned to the South because they did not have the money to afford the flight.

Her house was humble, but still, it was a house. The most striking thing was that she was living there with her 6 children and also 13 other stray kids, who had been left by their parents or separated from them. I wondered how they could make it to survive every month.

She seemed to be a very clever woman, who spoke quite good English and was quite aware of her rights and situation. Before the separation she had been working for several institutions, but after the independence she had been fired and so she worked (I guess voluntarily) for Save the Children (Norway and Sweden). She was also the leader of the community, which had been saving her many trouble with the police.

During the interview, all of her children were there. The elder daughter was studying at University, but the other older ones were doing nothing.

Tuesday, 14th of August 2012

Today I went to the UNHCR to have an interview with Bilqees Ismail, an expert in the field of citizenship in Sudan. She gave me a lot of information regarding the legal issues of citizenship and nationality for SS in Sudan. When I told her that people I had interviewed told me different things about their visa/passport/permits, she told me that it was perfectly normal, since the rules changed continuously, and even if there was an established law, Governmental and Permit Issuing Bodies were not organized at all, so it was totally possible for two people in the same situation to go to the same institution applying for the same documents, and getting different answers from different civil servants.

Afterwards Sweiba introduced me to Walaa Salah, a lawyer who informed me about certain issues on Southerners rights in Northern Sudan. She told me about the Public Order Law, which targets women more than men, and about the Government taking no measures to avoid harassment in the streets. At some point, the Northern authorities made pay a fine to those Southerners who spent extra days in the North without permission. She told me about the problems existing with University students at Southern Universities which had branches in the North. Since all of these Universities moved to the South, the ones in the North were transferred to Bahri University, and they had students from different years together in the same class. Then, for those who finishes, they had to go to Juba to get their certificates.

She also told me about how there's no rules regarding compensation and retirement benefits, which highly depends on the company.

From a gender perspective Walaa suggests that before the separation many SS women suffered from discrimination and worked in the informal market as alcohol brewers or as domestic workers. According to her, and in contrast with Dr. Samia el-Nager, now it's worse, because most of these women have no residence permits, so they are illegal migrants, so they are more vulnerable to exploitation. However, they seem to accept their situation and even see it from the positive perspective, namely, they can still work and provide for their families, while men have it more difficult.

Afterwards I met another SS girl in downtown Khartoum. She took me to a very seedy place where men (Muslim and non-Muslim) were sitting and eating food during Ramadan. She told me she was usually there with her boyfriend, who was sitting next to us during the interview. At some point he also took part, and he was very nice. He worked drawing cartons and comics, but was unemployed, although he managed to 'make some money in Khartoum'. She was finishing her MA degree at Khartoum University. Amongst the most shocking things was the fact that she told me that when she was a kid, and until she went to University, she had only seen Northerners on TV. Then I realized why, for some of them, going back to the South would only mean a change of scenery, that's all, because for all the time they've been here in the North, it's been kind of living in a SS ghetto.

Saturday, 18th of August 2012

Today I had an interview with a SS girl living in the dorm. I went to her room and she was extremely nice to me. One of the most shocking experiences she told me was that her live consisted on: Going to University and returning to the dorm (50m away). Indeed, that's one of the reasons why her father let her come back to Khartoum to finish her degree and decided to keep her brothers at home in Juba, because boys are more free to go places, and therefore get in trouble, or being caught by the police, whereas she, as a girl, would only move from University to home. I really had the feeling that yes, it's 'safer' for girls, but for which price? Being locked up in the dorm?

Monday, 20th of August 2012

Yesterday I went to visit Muna Abu Zaid, a journalist studying at Ahfad, who invited me to her place to see if could contact some SS people living nearby.

She receive me and Giedre at her house in Al-Mamoura, and talked to us for quite a long time about how this SS camp had been there since she had arrived in the area, some 2 years ago, but that she had

never established any sort of contact with them. The only contact happened with children ringing her bell and asking for money or food, and also some SS woman asking for work.

I told her some details about my research, and how shocking I found that many of the SS students I had interviewed wanted to go back to the South, even though they were unfamiliar to the place. Muna told me that, from her perspective, they were lying, in that deep inside they would like to stay in the North, but admitting it would be like a treason to their families and they long-wanted independent country. I don't think of it as LYING, but more as a confusing situation and state of mind. Namely, most of the answers I've been getting from the interviews are contradictory: on the one hand, they want to live in the South because it's their country and they're gonna treat the better, but on the other hand they all are very concern about livelihood opportunities and services (hospitals, schools, etc.) as well as security. I wonder, would you like yo go to a place which is: a) foreign to you?; b) underdeveloped?; c) and with a lack of security? What's the main factor influencing your decision: your family? The (no so obvious) discrimination in the North? The media reports and image of the SS/NS situation?

Then we went to visit the SS people living in this compound, right next to Muna's house. We approached a woman, who led us to the 'leader' of the group, an old man who could speak English. We sat next to the barracks and he kindly told us about his experience. He was married to a NS woman, who was living with her mother, and regularly visited him in the compound. When I asked him why didn't he go and stay with her, he said that he decided to move in the slums in solidarity with his people. I found that extremely altruistic and unselfish. He used to be a teacher, so he was well-educated and knew what he was talking about. Again, he agreed that women in the compound were those getting money for their families by brewing alcohol and cleaning houses. As for the former, they risked a lot, cause very often police took them and released them only for money. Then I wonder: yes, women get more agency in becoming the bread-winner, but to which price? It is not that clear than women have it easier than men.

Monday, 10th of September 2012

I had an interview with a PhD student at Ahfad.

Wednesday, 12th of September 2012

Today I had a group interview for the first time. 4 SS girls at Ahfad came for the interview and since they were close friends they preferred to have the interview together. I also thought it was a good opportunity to try this technique and see if I could obtain more information this way.

However, as I was also fearing, while 2 of the girls dominated the conversation, the other 2 stayed mainly in silence and agreed to whatever was said. One of the silent girls, when asked whether she wanted to go back to the South, remained silent and did not agree or disagree. Additionally, one of the talking girls, when asked that question for the first time also remained silent, while her friend asserted that she did want to go back without hesitation. I had the feeling that her opinion was somehow different but she was kind of scared or maybe ashamed of expressing it. When I asked her again, she also agreed that wanted to go but that of course she had grown up here, and that neither she nor her mum wanted to go when her father decided to do so. Indeed, she later claimed that if she could find a job here she would like to stay to support her family economically. I had the feeling that she had mixed-feelings about leaving or staying, but that family and social pressure was bigger than her real hopes.

All in all, the general feeling that could be grasped is that the moving reasons to go to SS are their family and a kind of nationalistic feeling of 'developing their country'.

Thursday, September 20, 2012

Yesterday I attended the lecture by Professor Al-Ghaffar on multiculturalism, and he gave me some ideas. On the one hand, this whole concept of 'Soft Borders', whereby people from each country can move freely and work, buy property, etc. Would this be the best solution for SS and NS? Namely, the independence has given them their own longed for identity, but now both countries are facing hardships due to the cut of any relation between them, besides the conflict over oil resources in border areas. By

the information I am obtaining in the interviews, there is an important lack of human capital in SS, while NS has been and will be more affected by a lack of economic capital, which is basically in SS. Thus, could the separation be for good if both countries would eventually agree on the signature of the 4 Freedoms Agreement? A possible title for the Thesis could be 'The Price of Identity'.

Friday, September 28, 2012

Dr. Omeima put me in touch with an activist friend of her, who gave me the contact of a girl called Naba3, who had a SS mother and a NS father. I called her and met her yesterday to have an interview in Khartoum. She was very nice and helpful all the time. There was a bit of a communication problem, because she could not speak English and I had some problems to understand her Arabic, but she repeated whatever I could not understand.

It was very striking for me to find out that she had been part of the SPLM and that she had been to jail several time because of political reason, and still she was not afraid of giving me all the information she gave me. One of the most interesting things was the fact that she told me that the separation was nothing new; the country in people's hearts and minds had been separated for decades, the only new thing was that now it was on paper. She told me that it would not have happened if the South would have been given the chance to have its own Government. She couldn't tell whether she felt SS or NS, so simply felt Sudanese.

Then in the evening I met some of my neighbours, who I had met before, and one of the boys also told me that he was half SS (her mother was Dinka). He told me how his grandparents fought one against the Mahdi and the other with the Mahdi, depending on whether they were taken by the British or not. When I asked him how he felt about the separation, he told me that, economically, it had been bad for both countries, but that for the Southerners it had been better, because now they had no one looking down on them, or questioning their religion, their customs, and so on.

Khartoum, Friday 2nd of November 2012

Today I was having a coffee with a Sudanese friend and we ended up talking about the South Sudan separation. It was very interesting listening to his ideas on the role of the international community in the country separation. While I thought that the oil factor had been a key one, in that for the West, dealing with a Christian country was easier than dealing with an Islamic one, Mohammed told me that from his perspective, the main reason was to create a new country, which is relatively easy to manipulate by bigger powers. According to him, before the separation most Western countries were happy to 'make business' with Khartoum in that it had a very pragmatic country, which only understood about money, so as long as the money was flowing, the relationships were good. However, the current trend of the West is not getting so involved in other countries issues; the civil war in Sudan had been going on for too long, and during that period many Western powers had invested lots of money and efforts in keeping peace between the parties, which implied get into national sovereignty issues. Now, with the two countries apart, it's easier for the international community to say: 'Now you're separated, it's your business to deal with your neighbours'. So maybe the whole issue is turning more and more regional, as it was once intended by the British ruling, in that South Sudan should be part of East Africa.

He also pointed out that the country, as a new country, still has to work a lot to build the identity of its peoples, which is not clear at all. Here I thought whether the identity defended by the SS girls interviewed is constructed uniquely as opposition to the North Sudan identity. Indeed, he added that the 'Southern Identity' in most people had been constructed as a political tool to achieve independence.

MEMO WRITING

07-10-2012

After deciding that 'grounded theory' is going to be the methodology I will use to analyze the data collected, I have started to code all the interviews, from where I have seen some commonalities.

Common patterns:

1) Most of them stay because of their studies and want to return (or go for the first time to SS) after finishing.

2) Most of them are aware of the challenges awaiting in SS but still they say: "they have to go back" because their families are there and "to develop their country". This makes me think of a nationalistic or patriotic feeling, a kind of a romanticized vision of independence ("our people" have been fighting for an independent SS and now that we have it we have to go). There is a struggle between accommodating the past or totally breaking with it, which leads to the loss of many people. Indeed, after the separation, a total break-up with the past is what both Governments have been trying to do (with nationality issues, blocking air paths, etc.).

3) Only some would consider staying if they managed to find a job (the question is: could the Four Freedoms Agreement be a solution? Would that solve the issue of identity while at the same time there will be more financial and human capital exchange?).

4) When it comes to choosing between staying or leaving, the interviews revealed that people, in general, had very little information in order to make the best decision. Indeed, many decisions are taken in a vacuum of information. People should be able to go and try their luck, and then return if it does not work.

5) Issues of identity. Some talk about racism in SS, when many people refer to them as Arabs. Indeed, the Southern identity developed as a return of the war. Now that the war is over, the SS identity has not changed much. The question is: will they manage to build a national identity based on citizenship and rights, common to all or will they go back to tribalism? The place where one stays during the conflict affects your personal life, your status with the home and the host society. After the separation, those having lived in the jungle and fighting had the 1st priority. Those with the 2nd priority were those who remained and lived in SS. The 3rd priority ones were those living in foreign countries. Those with the 4th priority were those living at the "enemy country". [Priority in terms of humanitarian assistance, job access, housing, etc. Addis Ababa Agreement, 1972]. This is a vicious circle, because many returnee soldiers want to work but are not trained. Those SS having lived in NS are far better educated but they are seen as traitors.

Thus, is the secession the best solution to acquire their own identity, even if economically both countries are worse off? Has the separation created a sort of "moral duty" to go back to the "unknown" for many? Is staying in the North regarded a treason their people? Has the media had any impact on this?

Southerners are not a homogeneous group. They have different experiences related to different factors: religion, job, family status, education, access to information, institutional support, etc.

So far a couple of issues have caught my attention:

- 1) While most of them told me that women in SS are equal with men, in most cases the decision to leave or stay was taken by the father, mostly because of his job.
- 2) Not many of them mentioned the word 'discrimination' (most of them didn't even know the word in English), although they described situations which implied it.
- 3) While most of the students argued that the situation for SS female in the North was easier than for SS males, in that 'they were treated with sympathy', most of the experts and scholars agreed that it was much worse for women, because they became in many cases the bread winners through illegal activities, becoming thus more exploited.
- 4) The feeling of patriotism changes from the hardships and practicalities people have to go through.
- 5) According to the statement of one interviewee '*It's not a problem, we are working for the interest of these people, not for the people in the South*' and the comments of the director of Al Khatim Center, it seems that finding a job as SS in NS is not a problem if you have the skills to cover a certain position needed, since private companies can hire them. Even Christine, a retired nurse, is called from time to time by the hospital she used to work in to cover shifts that cannot be covered by nationals. Can it be understood that the Government used the pretext of the separation to get rid of all the unskilled and economically dependant people? This can also be linked to the fact of men being more targeted than women, in that they are the ones receiving pensions from the Government. As the director of Al Khatim Center, the experiences of a poor SS woman are not the same as the experiences of a rich one. Does it all reduce to money and class?

01-11-2012

After talking this last week with some Sudanese friends with strong opinions on the separation of South Sudan, I started to reflect a bit more on the IDENTITY issue that is so fascinating to me, in this and other secessionist cases, and how the 'price' paid in order to articulate such Identity has been far too much for both countries socio-economically speaking.

In this case, it's interesting to see how the Southern Identity has been politically constructed in direct opposition to whatever represents the Northern Identity:

Language policy: establishing English as the only and official language, disregarding the fact that, until 2011, Arabic was the official language, and even if in the South there were other socially recognized languages (such as Dinka, Nuer, Bari, etc.), there were many Southerners living in areas where Arabic was the main working language. It is thus incoherent imposing a language that many people, especially the uneducated ones. Additionally, there is a severe shortage of English teachers and English-speaking teachers in the scientific and technical fields. Indeed, this was one of the biggest concerns of some interviewees.

Education system. While Juba University was transferred to the South after the separation, it still maintained the curricula it used to have when it was established in the Republic of Sudan. As many interviewees pointed out, the University was suddenly closed for months because they wanted to have 'their own' educational system (similar to the Kenyan one), not the one 'given by the North', which resulted in many students having to drop their studies for an unknown period of time.

Oil cuts. My Sudanese friends saw the SS Government's decision of stopping oil flows towards the North as a way of 'showing off their power' as a new country with the natural resource that the long-hated neighbor needs.

Transport cuts.

Citizenship regulations: which I see as a way of homogenizing the population in both countries, NS and SS. However, can we possibly cut social and personal bonds from one day to another? Can both countries bear the economic impact this has? Is it preferable having unskilled (but national) staff rather than skilled (Northern) staff?

All in all, two main issues strike me as problematic: First, is it possible to erase everything that related a people to the identity of other people (language, religion, etc.)? Is it possible to erase history in a matter of years? Second, while creating this identity by opposition to the Northern-Arab-Islamic one, is the South (and maybe the North too) not falling the same problem of ignoring other minorities? Can homogenization happen in a country where tribalism seems to be rooted in every aspect?

MEETING WITH AHMED (12th November 2012)

Include information on SS IDPs/migrants to NS

'Jellaba' or 'Manduquru' = traitors

Benefits of being in NS during the 5 CPA years: jobs in the public service, education, etc.

At SS it's expected to talk English + the local language, but the reality differs.

In SS Arabic is not substituted by the ancestral languages, but by English, the colonial language. This is used by NS as an argument to criticize their weak identity, because they prefer the colonial language rather than the language of their people.

Talk about the situation of the Universities before and after the separation.

Dichotomy: at a micro-level they would like to stay but at a macro-level they are patriotic.

INFORMAL CONVERSATION WITH A UNHCR STAFF MEMBER (22nd November 2012)

The Project with vulnerable South Sudanese is not likely to be happening in the foreseeable future because of the negative of the Sudanese Ministry of Interior. Indeed, since the GoS considers un-registered Southern Sudanese living in Khartoum as illegal migrants, it's not the UNHCR business helping them to get the necessary documentation to get their pensions, access health and education services, etc. Indeed, it is seen as helping them 'to stay here in the North' while actually what the GoS wants is to get rid of them.

On the other hand, the UNHCR considers them IDPs. UNHCR cannot consider them refugees because they do not fall within the refugee definition of the 1951 Convention.

Additionally, the GoS is not recognizing any SS claiming asylum in Sudan, because if they would, there is the belief that many would come and that would imply a large financial investment in protection issues and so on.

When I asked him whether the 4 FA is likely to be implemented soon, he told me that not really, since the priority of the GoS is security and the one of the GoSS is oil agreements. Additionally, the GoS is not too keen on implementing the concept of 'soft border' since they believe that huge amounts of SS would arrive in search of jobs, services, etc. Apparently in the Darfur area there have been important in-flows of SS to Sudan recently.

MEETING WITH AHMED (12th December 2012)

Rethink title: "*Going 'home' for the sake of the nation? Challenges of South Sudanese Women in Khartoum.*"

Compare the wider level vs. the individual level.

SECESSION: Tackle the fact of the both countries undergoing a nation-building process.

BACKGROUND:

From 1956 until Secession – Sudan has been a country undergoing a continuous process of nation-building (explore economic, political, social and developmental dimensions) and creation of national-identity.

Challenges of state formation within the context of N/S struggle. Namely, the conflict has contributed to the perception of N/S as opposed homogeneous societies. [THIS CAN BE USED LATER AS REASONS FOR SECESSION. LOOK AT *War of Visions* by Deng and *Many Agreement Dishonored*]

CIVIL WARS: how the conflict has contributed in the shaping of SS identity as opposed to NS identity. SS is, however, very tribalised and after the secession all this tribalism is emerging both in N and S, because neither of them is homogeneous. Both are starting a process of self-searching.

This is the context within which SS women operate and have to take decisions/challenges on what to do and its consequences/experiences in their daily lives. Where do they fit in this context? Also the individuals, as women, try to shape their own identity.

RETURNING: for many of them, returning to their area of origin does not make sense because they've always lived in Khartoum. Additionally, most SS return to Juba or other urban cities, which are not their original cities.

SECOND REPUBLIC in NS: Now NS is a clear homogeneous Islamic Country.

The identity that helped to liberate SS is no longer relevant. The S identity can become the National identity, which is the main current challenge: constructing a secular democratic state by citizenship and nationality. Another challenge is: Is Juba going to become a new Khartoum, namely, a centralizing development agglutinating city?

MIGRATION HISTORY IN KHARTOUM

RETURN HISTORY AFTER THE CPA: Government help/stranded people.

THOSE WHO REMAINED: touch on the different people who remained in NS and then focus on my specific group. Tackle the decision on what to do and the impact of such decision in their lives. Many would prefer to stay in NS/maintain both links if they made their decision at an exclusive personal level/influence of peer pressure, identity, nationalism...makes them chose another thing. The decision is both personal and national.

It's important to make clear that I'm interested in women experiences as women, I DON'T INTEND TO COMPARE THEM with men's experiences.

MM41 MA Dissertation

Declaration of authenticity

I hereby declare that the dissertation submitted is my own and that all passages and ideas that are not mine have been fully and properly acknowledged. I am aware that I will fail the entire dissertation should I include passages and ideas from other sources and present them as if they were my own.

Name: ESTER SERRA MINGOT

Date and Place: 29th June 2013, Alcoi

Signature: 