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**Secession of South Sudan: The Voluntary and Enforced
Social Exclusion**

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International Social Welfare and Health Policy

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Abstract

Sudan has recently separated into two states after a long history of conflict that transformed into severe war lasted for fifty years interrupted with few years of fragile peace. Sudan, as a multicultural, multi-religions, multi-ethnic and multi-linguistic, country, has its unique complexity with different social relations between these different components. With special regard to the recent humanitarian crisis took place only few years before secession in Darfur, which has been described as genocide.

A prime aim of the this research is to assess and to determine whether the separation of Sudan into two countries is related to social exclusion and/or related social practices that took place among the peoples of Sudan.

This research is based on literature review. Primary and secondary have been analyzed and discussed. Literature studied and data compared to assess the exclusion and inequalities.

I have found that the selected dimensions of social exclusion, namely; social, socio-economic and political dimensions have a significant impact on the social exclusion processes in Sudan. All factors of social dimension of religion, language, ethnicity, stigma and slavery have a key role in increasing the social distance between Southern and Northern Sudan people. Comparison of reach, distribution and efficiency of education and health services between the two parts of the country showed a considerable variation between citizenship status of both Southerners and Northerners.

The research findings showed that identity, power and wealth are closely connected with regard to social exclusion and they have a degree contributing to social exclusion processes.

In conclusion, the overlapping and relational causes, factors, dynamics, indicators, forms and dimensions of social exclusion have influenced individuals in the end manifestation of social exclusion to vote in favor of secession instead of unity, which led to the secession of the country.

Key Words: Secession, Social Exclusion, Social Inequality, Slavery, Religion, Language, Identity, Sudan and South Sudan.

Abbreviations

BIBSIS	Norwegian Library System (Bibliotek-Systemet)
CBS	Sudanese Central Bureau of Statistics
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DFID	Department of International Development
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
GOS	Government of Sudan
GOSS	Government of South Sudan
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
JSTOR	United States-based Online System for Archiving Academic Journals, (short for: Journal Storage)
NCP	National Congress Party
NIF	National Islamic Front
NLP	Naivasha Language Policy
OCV	Out-of-Country Voting
PDF	Popular Defence Forces
PHC	Primary Health Care
SEKN	Social Exclusion Knowledge Network
SEU	Social Exclusion Unit – United Kingdom
SPLM/A	Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Movement/ Army
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee
WHO	World Health Organization

Preface

During the first master thesis presentation, I have been criticized for focusing on what some perceive as political dimension rather than a social political one. My supervisor, however, argued that the issue lies within the perspective of social policy since policies of inclusion and exclusion are central themes in current sociological researches. The topic of this thesis, Secession of South Sudan – the Enforced and Voluntary Social Exclusion, is associated with this academic context for more than one reason. First, there is a need to look at developments among the Sudanese people from the social science perspective rather than the political scientific one, which has dominated research on Sudan in recent years.

Second, this political framing has tended to downplay the existence of social exclusion and social division. There is a great need to expand our research focus to examine and analyze social phenomena - especially social indicators of various sorts as well as differences in wealth and power in this region and how these and related factors impact on the dynamics of social exclusion. Third, the study aims to explore and to discuss social discrimination in the multicultural, multi-ethnic, multi-religions and multi-class Sudanese society on both side of the line of demarcation established between its Northern and Southern regions. Fourth, the research delves deeper into the causes of social exclusion through history adopting historicism as a theoretical frame for examining social developments in this region.

Finally, the methods employed to conduct this study have been much influenced by the curriculum of the master program enrolling me. This has provided me with the opportunity to apply knowledge gained from the program to look at the most influential recent events in my country and to suggest leads for finding some logical answers to recent developments in the two Sudans.

It is worthy of mention that this thesis is written by one of those who belong to the Arabized center of Sudan who dominated the other cultures, and to the Muslims who are suffering abuse of Islam in Sudan.

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1 Chapter One

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 Background

The international media and some scholars have tended to view the conflict in Sudan as a direct reflection of political processes involving geopolitical struggles for power and wealth – especially oil wealth. The Washington Post, publishing a snapshot about Darfur and Sudan under a title of “Sudan at War With Itself” states that “Since gaining independence in 1956, Sudan has spent all but about 10 years in internal armed conflict” (Smith, 2006). Francis Deng (2006) used that same statement in his book “Sudan: A Nation in Turbulent Search of Itself” describing the peace in these ten years as “fragile peace” (Deng 2006, 155). The question that haunts many Sudanese and those concerned with Sudanese affairs is what are the factual causes of the problem in Sudan and whether they represent a particular political problem between north and south which resolved by the separation of Sudan into two states, or whether these developments concern all Sudanese people. Many contemporary Sudanese researchers have not managed to keep their findings from becoming purely academic because shifting political ideologies have unconsciously stained their valuable efforts. While some have tried to identify and to explore some of the root causes of the social problem such as Dr. Francis Deng, Dr. Mansour Khalid, and Dr. Mohammed Jalal Hashim, there is still much to be learned about aspects of the social causes of conflict which have not received enough attention by researchers.

In one sense, a main aim of this thesis is an attempt to address this imbalance by further exploring the social dimensions of the Sudanese problem in general – especially to consider those factors influence the South Sudanese population to vote for Secession. On the one hand, this will be done by looking into dynamics and dimensions as determinants of social exclusion and on the other hand, by identifying indicators and manifestations of social exclusion. Moreover, the thesis will also see if some of these social factors and configurations apply to other parts in the North.

1.1.1.1 Referendum results

In January 9, 2005, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed between Government of Sudan (GOS) and Sudanese Peoples’ Liberation Movement/ Army (SPLM/A) ending a the most two exhausting wars in Sudan; (1055-1972 and 1983-2005). The agreement stipulated the right to

hold a referendum for the people of South Sudan. This was perhaps the most important element in the agreement (Abulemoi, 2011, 1 - 3).

Table 1: Referendum results (South, North and OCV)

	valid voters	Unity	%	Secession	%
South	3,713,596	16,129	0.43	3,697,467	99.57
North	65,921	27,918	42.35	38,003	57.65
OCV	57,889	841	1.45	57,048	98.55
North and South	3,779,517	44,047	1.17	3,735,470	
Total	3,837,406	44,888	1.17	3,792,518	98.83%

(GOSS, 2011, 2, 12)

The referendum that took place from ninth to fifteenth of January 2011, was a main part of Mashakos Protocol which signed in 2002 between GOS and SPLM/A at the preliminary procedure of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA).

Figure 2: Votes in favor of secession

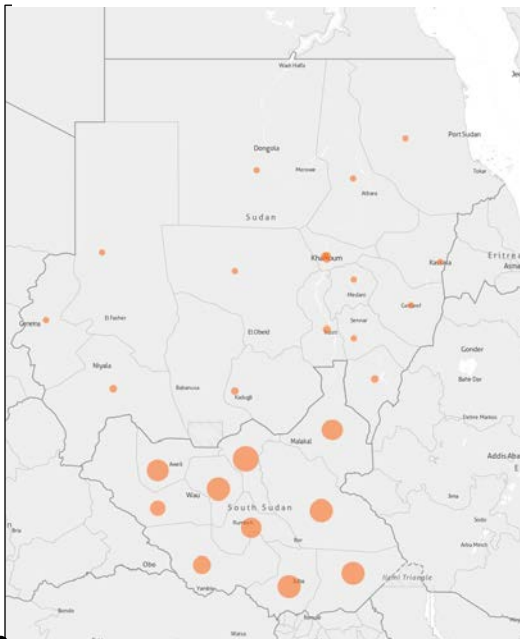
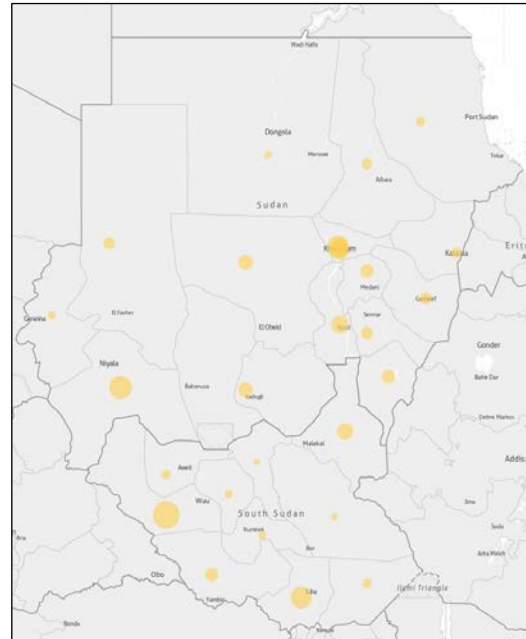


Figure 2: Votes in favor of unity



(GOSS, 2011)

The protocol states that both sides of the agreement should implement the agreement in a way that makes the unity as an attractive option especially for people of the South Sudan. Thus, when the result of referendum announced in February 7, 2011, it was astonishing to realize that the vast

majority of registered voters (98.83%) have voted in favor of secession compared to only 1.17% voted in favor of unity (GOSS, 2011). Table 1 above shows results of the referendum indicating numbers of votes in favor of unity and secession in South, North and Out-of-Country.

These statistics show that out of 3,713,596 valid votes, only 0.43% voted for unity in the South while 99.57% voted for secession compared to 57.65% who voted for secession while 42.35% voted for unity in the North. Ignoring results of the diaspora votes, we read that the percentage of voters in favor of unity were almost null in South while more than 50% in the North. Still, the percentage of votes in favor for secession in both North and South Sudan is 98.83% and the percentage of votes for unity is 1.17%, which shows that the 841 who voted for unity and the 57,048 who voted for secession in the diaspora have no significant effect on total statistics.

Figure 1 and 2 above show the distribution of votes in the South and North. Figure 1 shows the unity votes where we see that most of voters were located in urban areas in the North such as Khartoum, Nyala, Kosti, Medani and El Obeid. Simultaneously, figure 2 manifests that most of votes in favor of secession are almost located in the same areas (GOSS, 2011).

1.1.1.2 A brief History of Sudan and Social Status in Sudan

The name “Sudan” has always been the same all through history. it has been associated with the color of blackness such as Kush, Kerma, and al-Zarqa’ - the names of ancient civilizations in Sudan (Hashim, 2009, 1), (Abd Al-Rahim, 1970, 237). The significance of the name “Sudan” is important, because it bears very strong identity implications. The Arabized people of middle Sudan tend not to recognize themselves as black Africans. For the last five centuries, the nation of Sudan has belonged ideologically to this group and consequently, it has ended up identifying itself more with the Arabs than with black Africa. This issue is central to the contemporary problem of the reality of the Sudan and national integration. Sudan has 597 ethnicities that speak 142 Languages and over 400 different dialects. Split into two major ethnic groups: Sudanese Arabs of the largely Muslim Northern Sudan versus the largely Christian and animist Nilotic peoples living in Southern Sudan. These two main groups consist of hundreds of smaller ethnic and tribal divisions, and in the latter case, language groups (Hashim, 2009, 1), (Arnold, 2012, 4), (Nanjira, 2010, 16), (Abdelhay, 2007, 15).

Up to July 9, 2011, Sudan was the largest African country in terms of territory and one of the largest countries in the world, with a multitude of ethnic groups and languages. In a capsule form, these unique attributes epitomizes much of Africa. But more than sheer size, Sudan’s

contrasts and complexity are what strike a visitor. Overlapping the desert and savannas of the north and the lush greens of the south, blending Arab and African cultures and traditions, whether bare-breasted Dinka dancers or the veiled secluded Rashaida women, paying allegiance of Islam, Christianity and African traditional believes, the country is a conglomerate of contrasts (Jonson, 2011). Hashim says that the Islamic State of Mahdia (1885-1899), which understandably followed a strict scholastic Islam, was ideologically Arabized when the so-called Jallaba paid their loyalty and put their huge military capability and resources at the service of the Mahdia revolution. The term Jallaba in Sudanese colloquial means the procurers (Hashim, 2009).

1.1.2 Methodology

This research is based on literature review. Most of the primary data for this thesis has been drawn from conducted analysis based on primary data in terms of official documents such as Sudanese Central Bureau of Statistics reports and publications, Ministry of Health reports, the 2005 comprehensive Peace Agreement and others. Important literature on the subject reviewed as secondary sources.

Different search engines were used to find required and relevant literature. These search engines included, but were not limited to JSTOR, BYBISIS and Google Scholar. I have also referred to various books from the master curriculum as well as outside literature. In addition, I visited the websites of Sudan and South Sudan governments such as the Sudanese Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), Ministry of Health, Ministry of Finance and others. Although most of the data is from scientific and papers published in scientific journals, I also used reports from organizations referred to the topic. I have also interviewed the researcher in Sudanese education, Professor Anders Breidlid.

Selecting process to determine what to include and what to exclude has required an extensive critical process. The literature was thoroughly read and necessary information extracted. I have tried as much as possible, to critically assess validity, objectivity and usefulness of data, through assessing what the information put forward was based upon and how the authors have addressed these issues in their findings and writings.

Many dimensions of social exclusion can be considered as criteria for comparing and determining the existence of social exclusion can be considered as criterions to compare and determine existence of social exclusion such as education, health, distribution of wealth, poverty, unemployment, development, social services et cetera. For the research purposes, and due to

limitation of time and space, the thesis will only compare education and health between Southern and Northern Sudan. Two important aspects influence estimating education as a factor of social segregation. The first is the extent and coverage of education among the Sudanese people and the second is the utilization of educational operation in delivering political and ideological messages instead of purely educational contents (United States institute of peace, 2008, 6). With regard to health, the research focused on comparative dimensions for measuring quality, coverage and beneficiaries of health services in both Southern and Northern Sudan.

1.1.3 Factors influencing the search and the selection of literature

Central to exploring the relevant literature were three Central Components of Scientific and Critical Thinking. These consisted of *empiricism*, exploring and analyzing empirical evidence: *rationalism*, or the practice of logical reasoning and *skepticism* possessing a critical and skeptical attitude “Skepticism” (Schafersman, 1997). It obtaining reliable and valid basis for the study, it was imperative to be able to prove the assumptions and/or to answer research questions. Validity and reliability were central in this process: the former involving how well the selected indicators assessed what are they designed to assess and the latter involving how selected indicators measured what they were designed to measure (Chambliss and Schutt, 2010).

A main challenge in conducting qualitative research is finding measures that are both reliable and valid. I have had to consider different strengths of different measures to apply on the selected data and literature. Most of the data and literature selected and gained before starting the research. Some definitions and other subsidiary data obtained during analysis and discussion. I succeeded in finding all the essential data and literature in English, with the exception of few governmental health reports and luckily, important and required tables and information are translated to English within these reports.

To help understanding tables and the comparison between North and South Sudan, the states that located in Southern Sudan are Upper Nile, Jonglei, Unity, Warrap, Northern Bahr El Ghazal, Western Bahr El Ghazal, Lakes, Western Equatoria, Central Equatoria and Eastern Equatoria.

1.1.4 Reviewing literature and the method of comparison

There are always two major problems with quantifying social phenomena involving definition and measurement (Levitas, 2007). This thesis is concerned with the social reasons that led to secession of Sudan, particularly, social exclusion, considering the vast range of exclusion

dynamics, indicators and dimensions. Taking into consideration concepts and theories of historicism, rationalism and realism, the designation of a comparative method is still markedly delimited to consider primary statistical data as means of qualitative study. Historicism demands recognition of importance of the historical forces such as religious, ethical ideas or economic mobility to permeate to the root causes of the problem through deep understanding and analysis (Popper, 2002, 36). “The essence of realism is that what the senses show us as reality is the truth: that objects have an existence independent of human mind” (Saunders *et.al*, 2009, 114). and rationalism that traditionally defined as a reliance on reason as a guide for belief and action (Swedberg, 2005, 223)

Consequently, it is extremely difficult to conceptualize mathematical precision with which the values of a variable can be expressed. The nominal level of measurement, which is qualitative, has no mathematical interpretation; the quantitative levels of measurements -ordinal, interval, and ratio- are progressively more precise mathematically” (Chambliss and Schutt, 2010, 88). In qualitative data analysis, the raw data to be analyzed are textual -words- rather than numbers. Qualitative data analysis tends typically to inductive - the analysis identifies important categories in the data, as well as patterns and relationships, through a process of discovery. A well done qualitative data analysis focuses on aspects of the interdependence between settings, groups or persons under investigation. (Chambliss and Schutt, 2010, 250 - 251)

1.1.5 Conceptual framework

To examine a social exclusion as a factor that led to the secession of Sudan and particularly to its dimensions that could possibly considered as manifestations of exclusion, there were a number of important aspects to be considered.

First: Examining overlapping manifestations of dimensions, factors, indicators and dynamics, was framed so as to prove or disprove exclusion rather than to distinguish between the terminology and definitions.

Second: In the developing countries, economic exclusion is a key dimension of exclusion and as such, it will be discussed only in relation to its importance in the political dimension. Conversely, the thesis aims to present an extended discussion of the roles of cultural and social factors such as religion, language, stigma and ethnicity in social exclusion.

Third: The exclusion that took place through history to the Southerners is inseparable from what earlier took place and is now taking place during the reign of the current Sudanese government.

Owing to this, the history of exclusion during the aforementioned period will also be slightly examined to keep the search as far as possible from the political perspective. Processes involving the monopolizing of power and wealth will be analyzed from a historical point of view to indicate something of their impact on exclusion.

Fourth: Figures and tables showing data about education and health are addressed as qualitative data without statistical analysis for two reasons. First, health and education are two elements among other socio-economic factors and it is beyond the scope and time limits of the thesis format to analyze all these factors. In addition, the direct comparisons illustrated by the tables' data are understood here as indicators of quantitative rather than statistical quantitative means fitting into the overall research framework of the thesis. Finally, it must be emphasized that the use of the labels "Northern Sudan" and "Southern Sudan," as well as any other labels and boundaries do not imply acceptance or endorsement of any political position but simply reflect how the data were collected and organized" (Decaillet, *et.al*, 2003, p. 1).

1.1.6 The focus and usage of the concepts in this study

There is intensive overlap and interference between causes, dynamics, factors, forms, indicators and dimensions of social exclusion. Accordingly, and for the benefits of research aims, in the Sudan case, concepts of social discrimination, social division, and social inequality will be crystallized in the broadened conceptualization of "social exclusion". Consequently, and considering that these concepts demonstrate different aspects of the exclusion manifestations, this thesis is adopting SEKN categorization of social exclusion four dimensions, namely, economic, political, social and cultural, (SEKN, WHO, 2008, 2, 7, 37), (Levitas, 2007).

As an example, for this overlapping and relationally, culture for instance stands as a cause for exclusion as it one of the main four dimensions and still it is impacts directly on other causes and forms such as gender, disability and religion. Education and health for example stand as indicators for the socio-economic dimension of social exclusion; yet, education and health are main indicators for race and ethnicity while race and ethnicity are dynamics. Still, education influences culture which is a cause and form of social exclusion. Taking into consideration that SEKN due to these definitional issues, confess that there is no single set of social exclusion indicators might have equal agreed-upon in different global regions, nations or states (SEKN, WHO, 2008, 8).

1.1.7 Research Hypotheses and Questions

A prime aim of this research is to assess and to determine whether the separation of Sudan into two countries is related to social exclusion and/or related social practices that took place among the peoples of the region. This study aims to scrutinize assumed social segmentation in Sudanese society and to see if this or other factors and practices might be considered as determinants or major influences on of social exclusion. In research processes, hypotheses typically are formulated in advance of data collection, and tested as they were originally stated since the researcher needs to hypothesize the significant relationships before the research is carried out (Chambliss and Schutt, 2010, 216), (Ulichny, 1991, 200-202). In the thesis research design, the key research hypothesis was that the high percentage of votes in favor of secession in the Sudan referendum on self-determination in 2010 could be understood as evidence of a significant degree of social exclusion and that those living in what officially became South Sudan took advantage of the opportunity of the referendum to alter this situation.

In this respect, the research aims to answer two questions:

- What are the factual dimensions of the social exclusion that affected the Southern Sudanese people?
- To what extent did social exclusion influenced on individuals' decision to vote for the secession?

1.2 Defining Core Concepts

1.2.1 Social exclusion

Although the concept of social exclusion can be understood as an ancient one stretching back as far as Aristotle, a much more modern and testable understand of this process was suggested in 1974 by René Lenoir, Secretary of State Action in the French Gaullist government. He first popularized the concept of social exclusion (SEKN, WHO, 2008, 7). Influenced by Lenoir, the Department of International Development (DFID) defines social exclusion as “a process by which certain groups are systematically disadvantaged because they are discriminated against on the basis of their ethnicity, race, religion, sexual orientation, caste, descent, gender, age, disability, HIV status, migrant status or where they live. Discrimination occurs in public institutions, such as the legal system or education and health services, as well as social institutions like the household” (DFID, 2005, 3). Social exclusion is a concept that is widely

defined by various scholars and associations. The United Kingdom Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) describes social exclusion as a conception that distinguishes individuals or areas suffer from a mixture of related problems such as low incomes, high crime environments, lack of basic health services, poor housing and family breakdown (Levitas, 2007). SEU also terms it as alienation off the society mainstream through the difficulties in participation in economic, social, cultural and political life that describe the social integration (*ibid*). Social exclusion is in all presented versions is conceptualized as a multi-faceted problem. Social exclusion is virtually associated to poverty, especially when poverty is determined as it exceeds low income to the multi-dimensions of deprivation (Levitas, 2007). According to Fitzpatrick et al. (2006), Social exclusion denotes to the processes by which certain people remain out the mainstream which they belong to. He articulates that by describing the phenomenon within the community where certain groups or persons are categorized as ‘others’ and given a second-class citizenship. Additionally, he draws attention at an important thing, which is that the variable for social exclusion is discrimination. (Fitzpatrick, 2006, 1250). Social exclusion is of course a concept that is socially constructed. To some extent, it depends on an idea of what is conceived ‘normal’. In most of developing countries, where welfare state and adequate standards of living are almost absent, it is difficult to define what is ‘normal’. Accordingly, exclusion of people on the basis of exclusionary dimensions might be considered by the excluding society as ‘normal’ (Khan, 2012, 5).

1.2.1.1 Social exclusion as a process

Social exclusion can be understood as a process of a systematic denial of rights to services and resources and exclusionary processes could occur within families, villages, cities, and states. Naila Kabeer (2000) distinguishes three different types of attitudes fostering exclusion. She argues that these attitudes might occur consciously or unconsciously, intentionally or unintentionally, as well as formally or informally (Kabeer, 2010) The first of these she calls *Mobilization* of institutional bias, which refers to fact that certain people and groups are systematically and intentionally benefitting from dominating chain of traditions, ethical believes, costumes, rituals and institutional powers and that this benefit is at the expense of excluded others. Social closure, the second form, is a method that enables certain social group to build a social structure that helps them gain maximum rewards through restrictions to resources by monopolizing of opportunities based on the group characteristics such as race, language, social origin and religion. The final form, Kabeer calls *Unruly practices*, such as the informal

regulations of the UN headquarters where some employees are expelled after expressing the prejudices of their societies through their position, which refer to the gap between rules and implementation (Kabeer, 2010, 91-93), (Khan, 2012, 9). As shown by these and other observers, social exclusion is a dynamic, relational and multidimensional processes driven by unfair power relations that function along and interrelate across the four main dimensions involving economic, political, social and cultural factors. It affects people in several ways and levels including individuals, families, groups, communities, countries, regions and international levels (Khan, 2012, 4, 16), (SEKN, WHO, 2008, 7).

One useful feature of the concept of social exclusion is its emphasis on process and relations. It complements the concept of inequality, which focuses more on gaps between different groups of people. Social inequalities are conceptualized as constraints on opportunity, in getting education or healthcare for instance on bases of class and other status ascriptions such as gender, age or ethnicity (Khan, 2012, 4). The term social exclusion first originated in Europe, where there has tended to be a greater emphasis on spatial exclusion. The concept then had a strong policy focus on those living in ‘deprived areas’, where poor housing, inadequate social services, weak political voice and lack of decent work all combine to create an experience of marginalization.

However, there are various understandings of social exclusion and integration. In the seminal article summarized and discussed in the next section, Hilary Silver highlights these, and illustrates how they often stem from analysts’ own backgrounds and political traditions (*ibid*). Khan further argues that it is not enough to examine only the dimensions of social exclusion. Multidimensionality of this process should also include focusing on lack of access to employment, legal redress and markets, a lack of political voice and poor social relationships. Therefore, it is not enough to examine these issues individually; the links in between must be explored. (Khan, 2012, 6).

1.2.1.2 Voluntary Social Exclusion

The social exclusion that might occur to groups and individuals according to the presented definitions in the first part of this chapter could be voluntary or enforced exclusion. A distinction can be made between both forms of exclusion considering the case of the affluent isolate themselves from the life of the common people (Lødemel, 2010). Some minority groups voluntarily exclude themselves from wider society. This phenomenon should be distinguished from social exclusion, which occurs for reasons that are beyond the control of those subject to it

(Khan, 2012, 8). Barry (1998) surmises that it is important to distinguish between four concepts to set a reasonable conceptualization of 'voluntary social exclusion', namely, social isolation, polarization, social differentiation and inequality (Barry, 1998, 5-6). Social isolation, which refers to the phenomenon of non-participation of individuals or groups in the mainstream of the society's institutions, could also be voluntary or involuntary but isolation encompasses exclusion but is not confined to it. Moreover, some reasons for concern about voluntary social exclusion that does not apply on voluntary social isolation. When a member of a group intends to withdraw from participating in the society responding to any sort of discrimination, the actual withdrawal is definitely voluntary but the context in which the withdrawal happens it still makes it a case of social exclusion against their will (Barry, 1998, 4). The same author also elaborates that the voluntary social exclusion is over-determined. He argues that we might conclude that there is nothing wrong with voluntary social exclusion itself when we consider it is as a pure voluntary act but we must concern about the self-exclusion of individuals or groups exclusion when it arises from processes over which the individual or group has no control. Particularly when these voluntary excluded would be unable to break out of social isolation even if they wanted to (Barry, 1998, 4-5). To explain that, the same author says when a club for instance refuses a membership of someone on basis of religion, race, ethnicity or sex, the common sense suggests that he is excluded while he is subject to an exclusionary policy. Even if this someone claims that he would not want to belong to any club that would not let you in, what eventually does not change the fact of exclusion (Barry, 1998, 5).

1.2.2 Social Inequality

The concept of social exclusion focuses on process and relations. It is therefore, complements the concept of inequality, which focuses more on disparities between different categories of people. Social inequalities are conceptualized as constraints on opportunity such as accessing education or healthcare for example, which are based on class, ethnicity gender or age (Khan, 2012, 4). Fischer surmises that a reconceptualization of social exclusion from a static to structural enables to encompass vertical processes throughout the social hierarchies not just in their lower strata, which enables social exclusion to analyze stratification, segregation and subordination. He argues that three strengths comes through this redefinition of social exclusion, that is, 1) where exclusions lead to stratifying or impoverishing trajectories without any short-term poverty

outcomes; 2) where developments of poor people is restrained by exclusions processes among the non-poor; and 3) to situations of inequalities resulting of conflicts (Khan, 2012, 7).

Khan also says that the concepts of social exclusion and social inequality are thoroughly interrelated. She argues that inequality might lead to exclusion and social exclusion involves inequality. She further describes that vertical inequalities that focus on individuals and horizontal inequalities, which refers to inequalities between groups, are functioning similarly to social exclusion. She also says that both horizontal inequalities and social exclusion are multidimensional but the horizontal inequalities are not always severe enough to conformity social exclusion (Khan, 2012, 16).

1.2.3 Citizenship

Citizenship is a contested concept, and the definition of citizenship is part of political and social struggle (Bussemaker, 1999, 3,160), (Arthur, *et.al*, 2008, p. 96). T. H. Marshall (1963) defines citizenship as “a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed” (Marshall, 2010).

Abowitz and Harnish (2006) summarize that Marshall categorized citizenship into three categories, civil, political, and social citizenship what shows the complexity and the dynamic nature of citizenship. ‘Civil citizenship’ refers to individuals’ rights to speech, faith, and property, ‘political citizenship’ refers to the right of participating in the exercise of political power and ‘social citizenship’ which includes a broad range of rights from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right of living the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society (653-654).

This thesis is concerned about the definition that is not simply limited to referring citizenship to the set of legal rules governing the relationship between individuals and the state. It is relatively concerned with the three categories of Marshall and to the expanded Lister definition that refers citizenship to “the set of social relationships between individuals and the state and between these individual citizens” as the latter receiving, particular emphasis in the Scandinavian literature (Lister, 1997, 28-29).

2 Chapter Two – Key Literature

2.1 Designated Dimensions of Social Exclusion in Sudan

2.1.1 Social Dimension

The situation in Sudan is compounded by the absence of infrastructure and basic services, further aggravated by environmental factors such as seasonal floods and food insecurity. Prior to the referendum, UNHCR (2011) concerned its fears regarding the fate of “Southerners” in the north and “Northerners” in the south facing citizenship issues such as discrimination, expulsion or statelessness and other issues emanating from the outcome of the referendum (UNHCR, 2011, 52,53).

2.1.1.1 Religion

Islam arrived in Sudan in the early seventh century after the invasion of Abdallah ibn Saad and the signature of ‘bagt’ treaty where the first mosque was built in Nubia. Sultan Irbat (or Rubat) founded a mosque in the Funj sultanate (Holt and Daly, 2000, 13-25).

The Mahdia state was the first modern Islamic Sudanese state. Although the roots of the revolutionary Islam, which covered Sudan in the late nineteenth century, are commonly traced to the cruelty of Turco-Egyptian rule, some contemporary Sudanese nationalists refer to a complexity of internal tensions within the Muslim community at the time, as well as external variables of foreign interests and regulations (Fluehr, 1990, 614).

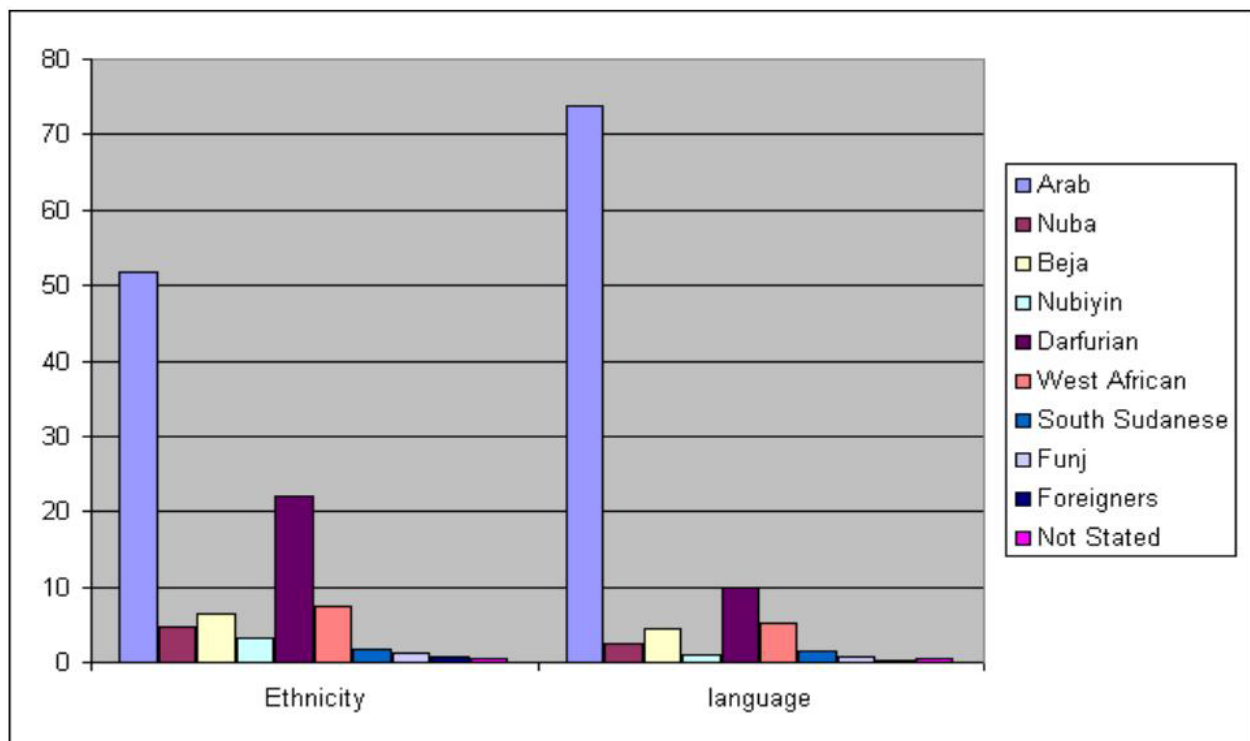
Hashim notes that all governments of Sudan since independent have commonly adopted Islamization and Arabization as state-dictated policies taking for granted that territorial midsection of Sudan represents the whole country and the rest of the country must accept this (Hashim2009, 16), while Deng considers Islam as the principal source of law and the moral code in Sudan (Deng, 1995, 14).

Breidlid (2005) argues that Islam is practiced in many ways in Sudan, from the Sufi orders to the Muslim Brotherhood and the National Islamic Front (NIF) which transformed itself later into National Congress Party (NCP). This party has imposed its dogmatic version of Islam ‘Islamism’ on other Muslims and also on non-Muslim groups. He claims that this resulted in severe reactions from non-Muslims and Muslims alike, and that it explains the volatile situation in which the Sudan finds itself at present (Breidlid, 2005, 248). (Ruay, 1994)

2.1.1.2 Language

Wright (2004) defines language as “The principal means of our socialization into our group and the principal means of our meaning making. Language can be a tool for inclusion and exclusion. Language builds human societies, solidarity and cooperation but it also plays a crucial role in the distribution of power and resources within a society and among societies. In non–democratic societies it serves to mark class and caste acquired through non–linguistic means; in democratic societies it is power itself, since authority in a democracy derives ultimately from a leader’s ability to persuade the electorate to accord to authority” (Wright 2004: 5, 7) cited in (Abdelhay, 2007, 11). Figure 3 below shows the variation between language and ethnicity in Northern Sudan, which indicates that the some other ethnicities than Arabs speak Arabic language.

Figure 3: Language and Ethnicity in the Northern Sudan



(Abdelhay, 2007, 236)

“Language not only furnishes a primary basis for ethnicity but itself becomes a political issue”. (Abdelhay, 2007, 47). Social groups usually identified by class, ethnicity or language struggle with each other to gain and sustain power. Abdelhay says that “Language planning and language

teaching necessarily require rehashing of existing power relations in societies simply because power is exercised in and through language”. As he says that finding an answer to the question of the ‘national language’ has always been the field of the civil war in in Sudan (Abdelhay, 2007, 88,9, 247).

Table 2 : Chronological Overview of Language Policies in Sudan 1920-2004

Period	Policy	Language policy	Results/ Other factors
1920–1950	Colonial ‘divide-and– rule’ policy: native administration. Southern Sudan: Closed district, anti–Islam/anti–Arabic policy.	Promotion of several southern Sudanese languages and English in southern Sudan. Wide use of Arabic in northern Sudan.	In spite of British efforts: Spread of Arabic as lingua franca all over the country. No regional languages developed.
1950–1956	Preparation for Independence in 1956.	Arabic becomes the official language.	Advantage for Arabic–speaking Northerners, discontent among Southerners.
1956–1972	National unity by Arabisation and Islam.	Arabic was the only official language. Attempts to transcribe southern Sudanese languages into Arabic script.	Civil war in the south. Arabic and northern Sudanese political, cultural and economic domination.
1972–1989	Addis Ababa Peace accord: Recognition of the cultural and linguistic diversity of Sudan, but still no defined roles for the Sudanese languages (besides being part of cultural heritage and as MOI in primary school).	Arabic the only official language, but English has a special status ‘as principal language’ in the south. Primary education in some southern Sudanese languages.	Civil war in the south and droughts in the 1980’s lead to mass migrations and urbanization, that resulted in increasing use of Arabic.
1989–2004	Promotion of Arabic and Islam. Arabisation of higher education. Anti–Western and nationalistic sentiments.	Arabic the only official language.	Continued civil war in the south and other regional armed conflicts resulted in migrations and urbanization, i.e., an increasing use of Arabic. Linguistic awareness awakened as a reaction against Arabisation.
2004–	Peace agreement: Recognition of the cultural and linguistic diversity.	Arabic and English are official languages, and all other Sudanese languages are categorized as national languages.	?

Source: (Abdelhay, 2007, 150)

Abdelhay (2007) claims that the colonial language policy has intended to separate the south from the north and that the (Rejaf Language Conference) of 1928 was an ideological project that intended to construct social and discursive differences between the south and the north. He applied different measures to linguistically differentiate the south from the north including the Rejaf Conference, the construction of no-man's land and the creation of the closed district order. Considering the postcolonial policies of Arabization in the north and the south, he maintains that Arabic was instrumental in the attempt to build a unified and homogeneous nation-state, which initiated the policy of Arabization and consequently strongly resisted by the Southerners. He further argues that the term 'indigenous' might have serious political implications in some social situations particularly in the CPA where it is ideologically motivated and where the use of the expression 'indigenous languages' in the NLP is compatible with the right to 'external self-determination' that stated in the Machakos Protocol (Abdelhay, 2007, 165,238).

2.1.1.2.1 Arabism and Islamism

Arabs have arrived Africa in the middle of the seventh century and have been steadily Arabizing Africans first with the Berbers in Northern Africa who have been to some extent resisting Arabization up to date. Hashim (2004) argues that the center of power and wealth is representing the interests of the Arabized people of middle Sudan by adopting Islamo-Arabism as main ideology. He argues that people from the margins are continually encouraged to join the centre by rejecting their African cultures, languages and believes in order to become Arabized. He also points out that there are different classes within the Arabized people of middle Sudan itself. As the centre is basically made up of Arabized Africans, the proper Arabs such as the purely Rashayda Arab tribe have not had significant status and become marginalized (Hashim, 2004). Although Islamic fundamentalism has become the most divisive factor today, it should be noted that originally, Islam in the Sudan was promoted by leading Sufi orders whose distinguishing feature was the degree to which they accommodated pre Islamic practices, allowing the syncretism of traditional African religious beliefs with Muslim rituals. Although Islamic values and institutions eventually prevailed over preexisting practices, the latter continued to enhance the former. Islam became identified with the local community and adopted many uniquely Sudanese characteristics. This aspect is important because it reflects a more tolerant and

accommodating version of Islam than today's politicized and intolerant use of Islam by Arabized Muslim leaders at the center (Deng, 2006).

Bankie (2009) points out that the persons designated as Arabs were only 31% of the Sudanese Population while 61% were registered as African and 8 % registered as 'others' in the last colonial census held by the Anglo-Egyptian Con-dominium colonial government in 1955. He indicates these others were of Nigerian and other African extraction which increased the registered African to 69% of the population. He further notes that the Jellaba who were the trading people of Sudan inherited power from the departing colonialists in Sudan. They were a privileged minority in Sudan, much like the 'Afrikaner' in South Africa and Namibia, which explains why they adopted the ideology of Arabism and political Islam to entrench themselves and to protect their privileged economic, political and social position in Sudan. Furthermore, he argues that the British and the Egyptians ensured a future of continuous war in Sudan by giving power to the Jellaba. since being a minority they could only hold on to power by force and oppressing the majority (Bankie, 2009, 2-3).

Bankie spoints out that the Islamic uprising Mahdist "al-Mahdia" in 1881 took place in the area of present day Darfur and went on to become the first Islamic hegemony being imposed in the country. The next was to be seen under the current NIF regime (Bankie, 2009). Since then, their racist-like ideology has been much involved in spreading the culture of Arabization and Islamization towards the north with the firm belief that they are the most superior people in the society (Deng F. M., 1995, 35). One result of this described by Hashim is that the "Sudanese people often are scrambling for Arab genealogies while they are still Africans: they have become are "Arabophone Africans" just as there are Francophone and Anglophone Africans" (Hashim, 2004).

2.1.1.3 Race and Ethnicity

Ethnicity involves not only skin color, physical characteristics, language, songs and dance. It is may also be understood as embodying values, institutions, and patterns of behavior (Deng, 1997). "Southern Sudan struggled for 17 years to break away from the North and in the end settled for autonomy in 1972. When the fight resumed in 1983, the stated goal was and remains the creation of a new Sudan that would be free from any discrimination based on race, ethnicity, culture, or religion" (Deng, 1997). Sudan offers an extreme example of ethnicity. According to Deng, the dominant North, a hybrid of Arab and African racial, cultural, and religious elements, is trying to

resolve its identity crisis by being more Arab and Islamic than its prototypes. Worse, this distorted self-perception, heightened by the agendas of political elites, is projected as the framework for unifying and integrating the country, generating a devastating zero sum conflict between the Arab-Muslim North and the indigenously African South, whose modern leadership is mostly Christian (Deng, 1997).

Table 3: Ethnic affiliation and mother tongue in Northern Sudan according to the 1993 census

	Arab	Nuba	Beja	Nubiyin	Darfurian	West Africa	South Sudan	Funj	Foreigners	Not Stated
Ethnicity	51.79	4.71	6.41	3.22	22.12	7.42	1.74	1.31	0.77	0.50
Language	73.84	2.49	4.55	0.94	9.99	5.22	1.59	0.74	0.21	0.43

Source: (Abdelhay, 2007, 16)

Based on the 1993 census, information in table 3 above indicates an increasing discrepancy between the ethnic first language and tribal identity in Sudan. Sudan has more than 600 ethnic groups; virtually all ethnic groups in the country have their primary roots in the black African tribes. Evidence of this fact is still visible in all the tribes, including those in the north who identify themselves as Arabs. Their identification with Arabism is, however, the result of a process in which races and religions were ranked, with Arabs and Muslims respected as free, superior, and a race of slave masters, while Negroes, blacks, and heathens were viewed as a legitimate target of slavery, if they were not in fact already slaves. Given a situation where non-Arabs were allowed to improve their lot dramatically by converting to Islam, learning to speak the Arabic language, intermarrying with the Arabs, and identifying genealogically with the master race, the move to assimilation was irresistible (Fadlalla, 2004, 25), (Deng, 1995, pp. 4-5). Race as a principle of colonial typology has often been manipulated by Northern sectarian governments as an edge mark of ‘us’ against ‘them’. Van den Berghe (1981, 1995) has maintained that the ethnic layering of populations into ‘mondokoro’, which means (Arabs), and ‘abid’, which means (slave). Northern racial pride focuses on the right brown color of the skin, considered the standard for the north and therefore for the Sudan. The color of the Arabized groups is informally constructed and interpreted as ‘brown’, which has been represented as the standard stereotypical representation of the north, and by extending the whole country. If the person is too light for a Sudanese is to risk being considered as a foreigner or a ‘Khawajah’ which means (European), a Middle Eastern Arab, or worse, a ‘Halabi’, which is a term that used

for a Gypsy-type racial group, which also considered among the lowest of the light-skinned races. Conventionally, of course, looking down at the black race as inferior, Northern Sudanese racism and cultural prejudice is therefore, undervalue both of very dark and the very light skinned. “This social construct has become an effective exclusionary boundary marker of the Northern identity” (Deng, 1995, 5), (Abdelhay, 2007, 204).

Class is used to refer to “social strata, a structural category of analysis and define it as an expression of a relationship to the means of production. A similar definition of social class is a social forces which occupy different positions in economic production. Social groups identified by class, ethnicity or language continuously struggle with each other to gain and sustain power” (Abdelhay, 2007, 88-89).

2.1.1.4 Stigma

Hashim (2004) stigma in Sudanese society in this way: “The more black and African you are, then, the more stigmatized you become”. He says that indigenous African features become part of this process of stigmatization in Sudan; thick lips, broad nose, curly short hair, blackness, having an African language, and, lastly, being a non-Muslim and the most stigmatized are those who combine more than one factor of physical features, cultural characters and a non-Islamic religious belief. (Hashim, 2004). He argues that the Africans of Nuba Mountains and Ingassana in Southern Blue Nile come immediately after the Southerners in the stigma consequence. Followed by the peoples of Western Sudan regardless their ethnical affiliation followed by the Beja people of Eastern Sudan who, although light-skinned, but their mother tongue is not Arabic and they cannot speak Arabic fluently and lastly the Nubians in Northern Sudan (*ibid*). In discussing the paradox of the black Arab who is anti-black, Hashim coined the neologism “Prestigma” from ‘prestige’ to serve as an oppositional term in relation to stigma, arguing that the this racial attitudes works through the mechanism of categorization, by using:

(1) The stigma of slavery, which judges the Africanism and the blackness and to the margins and to the lowest class of society, and

(2) The “prestigma” of the so-called free, non-blacks and Arabs. to entrench themselves on the top of the society and the centers of power. Moreover, Hisham argues, “this racial ideology works to reinforce a process of alienation and domination in its drive to achieve self-actualization, creating a category of black Africans who do not identify themselves as blacks or Africans. While those who are posing to be whites do not hold proper white people, tend

consciously and unconsciously to dominate the Africans by enslaving and stigmatizing them. Consequently, they imprisoned themselves in the process of Arabization to be the degree of feeling that they were Arabized more than the Arabs themselves” (Hashim, 2004).

2.1.1.5 Slavery

Section 270.1 of the Australian Criminal Code Amendment defines the term slavery as “the condition of a person over whom any or all of the powers attaching to the right of ownership are exercised, including where such a condition results from a debt or contract made by the person” (**Criminal Code 1999**). Alexander J (2001) points out that the definition of ‘chattel slavery’ frames the ‘slave’ as “A human being who is the property of, and entirely subject to, another human being under the religious, social and legal conventions of the society in which he or she lives”. Noting that the term ‘property of’ stands for an owner who is able to buy, sell, free, adopt, maltreat or even kill his slave or his children as they also belong to him. Alexander points out that in contrast, the slave has no personal rights or freedom (Alexander, 2001, 45). According to Rodney (1973), a small amount of local slavery had come into existence in the Western Sudan by the time of 13th and 14th centuries,, and by the end of the 15th century there were both ‘chattel slaves’ and ‘domestic slaves’ (Rodney, 1973). He also notes that many Africans captured in Sudan and East Africa to be sold to Arab buyers. This is known as the ‘Arab Slave Trade’ (*ibid*). Whereas Alexander (2001) states that slavery existed in Nobatia, Maqurra and Allodia (Alw’a) kingdoms at the coming of the Arab Muslim army in the seventh century and that the ‘Bagt’ treaty signed between the invading army and these kingdoms required the latter to ‘pay’ 350 slaves annually (Alexander, 2001). Breidlid (2011), states that the slave trade existed for centuries in Sudan. During the Funj era at the late 17th century up to the 18th century, the use of slaves which was for the for domestic purposes until then, was extended to the husbandry services. The trade center was Shandi in the north. In the 19th century the slave-trade started to grow-up to fulfill the growing demand from the Muslim world (Breidlid, 2011)

2.1.2 Socio-economic Dimension

2.1.2.1 Education

It is possible to use three main dimensions for measuring and sensing the impact of education as an indicator of social exclusion between north and south in Sudan. These are the extent and

coverage of education services, educational attainment and the Arabizing of education language in the higher educational institutions.

The 2008 census shows that 45.2% of Sudanese were illiterate. Of which, 71% are of South and 38.8% in the North (table 4). noteworthy that the same census documents that only 25.5% were currently attending school. Of which, 27.2% are of Northerners and 18.5% were Southerners (table 5).

Table 4: Percentage of Illiterate in Population 6 Years and over by Region and Mode of Living

	Total	Urban	Rural	Nomads	Population	
Total	45.2	23.6	52	78.5	39154	100%
Northern Sudan	38.8	20.3	44	78.5	30894	78.90%
Southern Sudan	71	49.3	76	—	8260	21.10%

(CBS, 2008, 289)

Table 5: Percentage of Population 6 Years and over by School Attendance

	Currently Attending	Previously Attended	Never Attended	Not Stated	Population	
Total	25.5	25.4	44.6	4.5	39154	100%
Northern Sudan	27.2	29.1	38.1	5.6	30894	79%
Southern Sudan	18.5	10.5	71	0	8260	21.10%

(CBS, 294-296)

Comparing this percentage with the populations in both arts of the country shows considerable imbalance and variation.

Children with different social backgrounds experience major inequalities in educational attainment (Hassler, *et.al*, 2007, 237).

The same census's reports also show that there a significant variation among the literate percentage among the Sudanese states compared to population (Appendix-1, 2 and 3).

Census reports also show that out of the 8.3% without educational attainment, only 7.2% from the north population and 15.8% from south (CBS, 2008).

It seems clear that the educational system in Sudan designed in a way that would only enhance the Islamo-Arab ideology to dominate and assimilate. (Hashim, 2009, 17).

Regarding the present educational status, situation, Breidlid (2005) points outs that the national education system has been based on Islamic values and ideologies on all levels since 1990. New curricula redeveloped for school and university levels to suite these ideologies. Basic education

system consists of a two pre-school years in Islamic believes and practices ('Khalwa' schools) where the students are to study Islamist ideological views of society as a stable, universal, unchangeable and protected by firm principles of law and morality. Breidlid also has shown that the pervasiveness of the Arab Islamic culture is mono-cultural even in the English textbooks. All the names and clothing in pictures represent Arabic and Islamic culture (Breidlid, 2005, 248-261).

It is not only the Arabization and Islamization of the university curriculum; the NIF required that all male students spend time in Popular Defense Forces (PDF) training camps before they could begin their studies. One of the Sudanese writers describes the camp program as a process of ideological and religious brainwashing and an attempt to transform them into subordinates and obedient species to enshrine fundamentalist ideologies into their mindsets (United States institute of peace, 2008, 6).

2.1.2.2 Health

There are massive difference between health services between north and south Sudan. The World Bank (2003), the 'Sudan Health Status Report' states, "At present, the health administration in the Southern parts of Sudan is embryonic. With virtually no budget and few staff, its capacity is extremely limited. Narrowing the existing gap in capacity between the Northern and Southern parts of the country and empowering the Southern health administration in particular with regard to coordination should be seen as a key priority for the Bank's action" (François *et.al*, 2003, p. 100). In 2010, the Sudanese ministry of health annual report for that year indicated that the situation described 7 years earlier in the World Bank report still persisted. Appendix 5 shows the number and distribution of hospitals and table 6 shows primary health Care Units among Sudanese States (Federal Ministry of Health - Sudan, 2010). The comparison of distribution between north and south shown in table 6 below indicates that only 6.55% of health centers and basic heath units are located in Southern states.

Table 6: Comparison of Primary Health Care Units between North and South

	North	%	South	%	North and South
Health centers	1780	95.90	76	4.09	1856
Basic health units	3992	92.38	329	7.61	4321
Total	5772	93.44	405	6.55	6177

Source: (Federal Ministry of Health - Sudan, 2010, 15)

Analysis of data from Appendix 4 (Hospitals in Sudan), which presented in table 7 below shows that only 7.06% of the hospitals in Sudan are in Southern states counting 43 out of 610 (one hospital in was missed from calculations and the total is 172 instead of 171). No federal hospitals existed in the south, the same held true for sectorial hospitals where the south possessed only 1 hospital of 172 private sector ones and 10 of 106 general hospitals (Federal Ministry of Health - Sudan, 2010, 16). The same report shows that of 1115 ancillary medical services units such as blood bank, radiology labs, dialysis services, etc., only 45 were located in the south. Regarding the distribution of health workers, the report shows that not a single of the 2112 medical specialists in the whole of Sudan was found in the south. However, the report noted that the information regarding the Southern states referred to 1980-1981. The same pattern also existed in relation to 86 technicians in the south out of 9482 and 3774 nurses in the south of the total of 20,566 in the whole of Sudan in 2010 (Federal Ministry of Health - Sudan, 2010, 26 - 34).

Table 7: Hospitals in Sudan: Types and Distribution

		North	%	South	%	Total
Federal	General	5	100.00	0	0	5
	Specialized	18	100.00	0	0	18
State	General	96	90.57	10	9.43	106
	Specialized	36	94.74	2	5.26	38
	Rural	219	87.95	30	12.05	249
Private Sector	General	171	100.00	1	0.58	171
Sectorial	Police	15	100.00	0	0	15
	Military	6	100.00	0	0	6
	Other	1	100.00	0	0	1
Total		567	93.10	43	7.06	610

(Summary of appendix 4: Hospitals in Sudan: Types and Distribution)

The Sudan Central Bureau of Statistics (2009) report shows that the ratio of hospitals per 100,000 persons for the year 2009 was 36.66% in the south, compared to 72.2% for the whole Sudan (CBS, 2009, pp. 235 - 236).

2.1.3 Political Dimension

2.1.3.1 Power and wealth

When the Sudan gained its independent in 1956, one of the seven major issues was to handle an armed confrontation that took place only six months before the independence due to the sharp

division between north and the South arising from cultural divisions that deepen further by the colonial sectarian policies, inherited fears, history and geography. One observer described the first years after independence as one characterized by a struggle for power among the traditional political parties, the divisions among Southern political parties, outside intervention and the repressiveness of Abboud's military regime. This situation did not help create the necessary confidence for unity or even for negotiation. The conflict escalated into armed conflict (Beshir, 1982, 116-120).

Hashim (2004) suggested adopting a new approach of 'Centro-Marginalization' to understand the social dilemma in Sudan and argued that the Sudanese centre is not a geographical or ethnic one; it is rather one adding to culture factors encompassing both power and wealth. The Sudanese power centre, Hashim maintains, is an enormous complex. It is not related solely to race, culture nor geographical positioning. Furthermore, he argues that this culture is neither about Islamic nor Arabic origins and associations. he assumes that "it is about elitism, existing as an elitist centre of power and wealth, which makes use of all available sectarian clichés to determine and entrench status and privilege among the people of Middle Sudan". Its depiction as Islamo-Arabist is more or less a reference to its core ideological bearing (Hashim, 2004). This power and wealth centre processes itself through the clichés of Islam and Arabism. It is involved in the oppression and subjugation against Africans of those who are themselves black and African. He argues that the Arabized people of Sudan are victims of the country's racial processing. They are deluded to consider themselves as winners (Hashim, 2004). Mansour Khalid in a different way condemns the Northern elite of "myopia, dogmatism, ethnocentricity, factionalism and in the case of some, religious bigotry" but he assumes that those of the south must share this condemnation too (Khalid, 1990, 11).

The Round Table conference that took place in Khartoum in March 1965 was to elaborate on what has been called 'the problem of South Sudan' as regards its root causes, effects and magnitude. Ruay (1994) reports that the conference which is attended by 27 Southern delegates, six Northern political parties and the representatives of government of Sudan, has totally failed to achieve any of its entire main objectives (Ruay, 112-114). The same author refers this failure to the attitudes of both sides who were not genuinely serious to hold such conference as they were not exhausted enough by the war (p 115).

The first government of Ismail al-Azhari that formed after the independence had only two southern ministers. At the beginning, they were without ministries and later became in charge of the ministries for animal resources and natural resources. In the transitional government of SIRR el-Khatim el-Khalifa that formed in 1965 consisting of 15 ministers, only two were from the South and it is worth noting that both these ministries were important ones (Ruay, , 1994, 86-110).

2.1.3.2 Question of Identity

The question of identity is often spontaneously phrased by people in the form of the self-inquiry: Who am I?. Understanding of what is of crucial importance to us is the answers to this question. It is commonly interpreted as a question about personal style, i.e. how do people distinguish themselves by means of consciously selected manners of dress, speech, cultural likes and dislikes, and so on. Questions of “identity” mark numerous arguments on gender, sexuality, nationality, ethnicity, and culture in relation to liberalism and its alternatives (Fearon, 1999, 21, 1). Margalit and Raz (1990) argue that national identity is appealing as a locus for political rights precisely because it is typically a matter of birth rather than achievement, and that it reinforces self-respect since it is more reliably founded on something (like nationality) that can't be taken away from us (Margalit and Raz, 1999, 24). Deng (2006) has observed that Sudan is painfully searching for itself. He argues that national identity crisis is at the root of earlier regional conflicts and civil wars in south Sudan as well as those recently in Darfur. Furthermore, he claims that Arabization, Islamization and slavery have played a pivotal role in shaping the identities in the contemporary conflict (Deng, 2006, 155). Hashim argues that the transformation from African identity to Arab identity is reflected in the ideological cliché of dropping the ‘matrilineal system’ and adopting the ‘patrilineal system’. That is by compensating for their vulnerability by claiming the noble descent such as descendants of Prophet Muhammad (Hashim, 2004). Deng maintains that the identity crisis in Sudanese society is represented in the case of Misseriya Arabs. The paradox is that in terms of race and culture, they are more likely to be closer to black African racially and yet they are proud of Arab identity. This demonstrates that the more ambiguous the identity, the greater the tendency to resort to the legend or myth to compensate for a sense of inferiority through the allegation of purest identity (Deng, 2006, 160 - 161).

The same author argues that “we” as Sudanese need to address two sets of contradictions: First, consensus of the Arabism self-identification with Africans dominant objective factors and the degree that enables us as Sudanese to say that the Arab-Islamic model is representing a country of pluralistic in race, ethnicity, religion, and culture. Furthermore, he argues that what is being revealed now in Sudan is challenging the legends of identity and revealing the complexities of the country’s racial, ethnic, cultural, and religious configuration. Armed with the realization that the south that resisted Arab domination, declared African identity, and struggled for equality, other non-Arab groups in Africa have started to claim their rights (Deng, 2006, 159), (Hashim, 2009, 11).

3 Chapter Three – Discussion and Conclusion

This research thesis intended to investigate the factual dimensions of social exclusion that affected southern Sudanese people and the impact of social exclusion on individuals' decision to vote for secession. The thesis provided an overview of the referendum results, key literature and a data of education and health services reach and distribution in Sudan. The core hypothesis, which depends on an observation, is that there is a significant degree of social exclusion in the country. To answer the two research questions: 'What are the factual dimensions of the social exclusion that affected the southern Sudanese people?' and 'To what extent did social exclusion influenced on individuals' decision to vote for the secession?' literature studied and data compared to assess the exclusion and inequalities between the two parts of the country before secession.

"Political scientists tend to see a particular issue in fragile or failed states as the lack of a 'social contract' between the state, ethnic communities and incumbent elite groups. This lead to a politically fragmented state, which is further aggravated by the junction of numerous social, ethnic and resource exploitation related issues" (Khan, 2012, 18).

Before discussing research findings and the key literature, I would like to highlight an essential concept of 'adverse incorporation' to distinguish between and understand interrelating between enforced and voluntary exclusion. The concept of 'adverse incorporation' which perceives poverty and inequality as results of unequal relations of economic and power, relatively complies with the purpose of this study as it expands the dimension of exclusion into the other direction of the concept: the voluntary exclusion. In fact, many excluded people are included, but on highly adversative way. Total exclusion on all levels and dimension is extremely difficult and rare, so, "adverse incorporation might be a preferable term to social exclusion for many situations" (Khan, 2012, 7). Davis (2011) argues that "the concept of adverse incorporation draws attention to relationships where a party extracts disproportionate benefits from another's efforts, even while the disadvantaged party may be included in other ways" (Davis, 2011, 4). I argue that the term, which explains the phenomenon of positioning of individuals and groups reacting to the social exclusion in an adverse way, is missing in the social exclusion discourse. Applying the conceptualization of the definition of voluntary social exclusion does not express the tension of individuals and/or groups to react positively or negatively towards the exclusion processes. Furthermore, I claim that it is more likely to apply the definition of 'adverse social exclusion' instead of 'voluntary social exclusion' since it is not voluntary even when it occurs on what are

perceived as voluntary isolation according to available definitions of voluntary exclusion. Barry (1998) says, “Taken in context, the exclusion is no more voluntary than is the departure from a job of somebody who resigns one step ahead of the sack. Suppose, however, that we are satisfied that we have a case of genuine self-exclusion by an individual or a group” (Barry, 1998, 1-2).

Three dimensions of social exclusion were discussed in the second chapter to answer the research questions, namely, social, socio-economic and political dimensions. Findings from the social dimensions show that there was an exploitation of religion “Islam” that considered as a principal source of law and moral code in a religious-pluralism country. Recently, a dogmatic ‘Islamism’ version of Islam was imposed on the non-Muslim groups in the country.

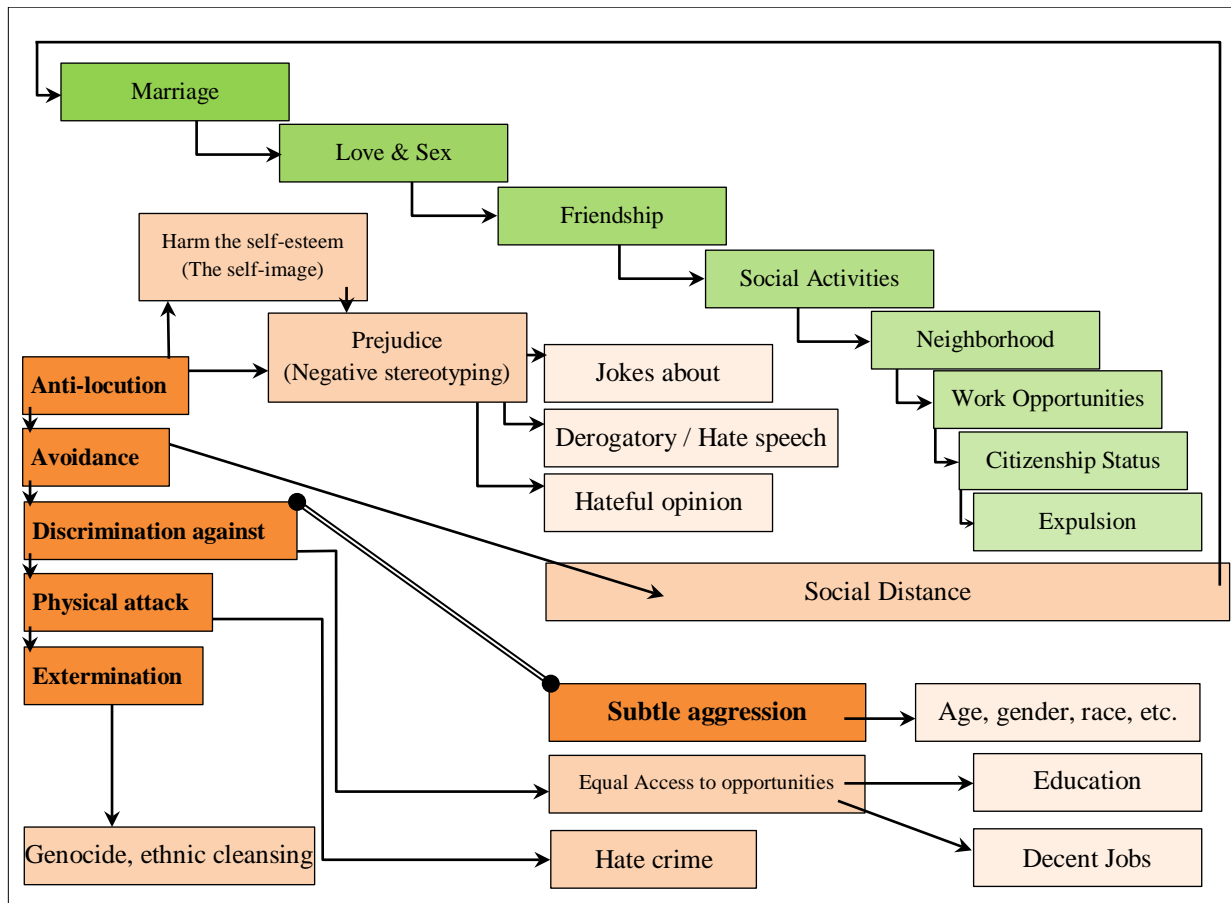
The chronological overview of language policies in Sudan from 1920-2004 (table 2) shows that Arabic was the official language for Sudan from 1950 to 2004 whereas English was added as official language too. From 1972 to 1989, English language was considered officially as a principal language and the educational language for some primary schools in southern Sudan. In contrast, the Arabs out of the total population of Sudan were 31% in 1955 and 51.79% in 1993.

Religion and language have been used to monopolize the power and wealth amongst the ruling elites of Arabs. The Arabized Muslim leaders in the north adopted the Arabism and Islamism as an ideology to keep the privileges that gained through the history and spread the culture of Arabization as state-dictated policies that the whole country must accept it. Bankie believes that Arab slavery is still occurring in South Sudan under the name of ‘abduction’ amongst certain ethnicities (Bankie, 2009). The stigma of slavery, race, ethnicity, religion and language has an immense impact on exclusion processes. The society’s stigma that considers the criteria of ‘purenness’ starts from the ‘brown’ color, ironically stigmatizes the black skinned, non-Arabs and non-Muslim, and the stigma increases against those who combine two where the maximum stigma is against those who have the three attributes.

To simplify the processes of exclusion and to identify the selected dimensions of exclusion, The Gordon’s ‘Allport’ of 1954, in figure 4 below indicates that the social exclusion processes that might influence individuals or groups have five levels of manifestations (Spagnoli, 2008). Applying the reviewed literature accompanied with my personal observation, the exclusion processes encompasses religion, language, race, ethnicity, slavery and stigma, lies consequently, according to the exclusion degree, in the ‘anti-location’, ‘avoidance’ and ‘discrimination against’

levels. The ‘social distance’ includes a markedly daily-witnessed violence that increases the rupture of the society.

Figure 4: : Analysis of social exclusion in Sudan according to Gordon’s ‘Allport’



Among the socio-economic dimension I selected the two factors of education and health. The educational reach, school attainment and education status indicates that out of the 45.2% illiterates of 6 years and older in Sudan, only 38.7% are from the north while 71% from south. Similarly, 27.2% out of the 25.5% currently attending school of 6 years and older in Sudan are in the North, while only 18.5% in the south. Regarding the present status of education, the Arabization of the syllabus from one hand and the cramming of the Islamist ideological values on all educational levels since 1990 have negatively impacted the non-Muslim students. The observation is that most of the dominating discourse about utilization of Islam, not only within the educational process, terms the ‘Islamist ideological values’ as ‘Islamic values’ which is completely different. Consistently, the research is not concerned about abuse of religion and its use in education by the government; it is rather concerned about the insertion of the ‘Islamist

ideological values' in the syllabus and its impact on the social exclusion. It is not fair to teach Islam to the non-Muslim students and the modification of the curriculum to suite the Islamo-Arabs affects negatively on non-Muslim and non-Arab students.

The enormous variations between north and south represented in the distribution of health services represented in tables 6, 7, and 8, which shows that Only 6.5% of health centers and basic health units are located in south Soudan compared to 93.44% located in the north. Only 43 hospitals of 610 are located in the south scoring 7.6% of the total compared to 93.1% in the north. The World Bank in 2003 described the health administration in South Sudan as “embryonic” and the federal ministry of health report in 2010 shows that the current situation of health services in the South might be the same as 2003. Actually, it is not only about health services and its distribution; what shows the inaction of the authorities is that in some tables in the annual health report of 2010, it is remarked that “the information about the Southern States refer to 1980-1981” and “Southern states information is hidden” in some other tables (Federal Ministry of Health - Sudan, 2010, 23,40,41,43,45). This indicates that there was no information about some southern states for 30 years.

Professor Breidlid says that the impact of the education abuse is massive and that he faced difficulties in hiring local staff to assist him in his project on education in Sudan since the authorities trace his assistants and the data was obscured (Breidlid, 2011). However, Breidlid has done a great research and he managed to expose how Arabs and Muslims are abusing education in Sudan.

The question of identity is formed to enable reformation and conversion of African identity towards Islamo-Arabizm identity. Deng says, “Sudan is a nation in turbulent search of itself”. The search for identity in itself is related to the cultural, ethnic and religious superiority, because African identity in Sudan does not require research; it is obvious and proved by nature. The diversity in Sudan shows that the answer to the question lies in the question itself. Since Sudan is multicultural, multi-religion, multi-linguistic, and multi-ethnic country, then the identity of Sudan, quite simply, is pluralism.

Identity, power and wealth are closely connected with regard to social exclusion. After a simple review of the discussed literature, it is quite possible to conclude that those who are claiming Arab affiliation with the dominant culture in the north of Sudan are neither Arabs nor Africans. This situation of that they are Africans in origin and not Arabs in reality, having the African

characters, color and facies and still and still claim that they are Arab, impacts negatively on both dominant culture (the Arabs as they call themselves) and the oppressed of non-Arabs and non-Muslims of Sudanese. On the one hand the Arabized have the sense of inferiority they are less degree of Arabs which they are trying to belonging to. Thus, they intend to satisfy the shortfall through oppressing and violating oppressed Africans to prove their false superiority. On the other hand, it generates a sense of social injustice among the Africans. Which blames all Northerners due to the lack of adequate education that caused by northerners themselves as explained in the second chapter.

What has been introduced and discussed allows concluding that social exclusion manifestations in Sudan have had a direct impact on the decision of individuals to vote in favor of secession. The sense of social injustice of southern citizens, in both north and south Sudan, have made the self-determination as an opportunity for the individuals to get rid of the second-class citizenship status. Voting in favor of the separation as discussed previously, was a predicted result of all interrelated factors, which contributed separately and collectively in formation of collective sense of social exclusion and the necessity to escape from it.

Pant (2004) says that active citizenship presumes the ability of the state to provide protection to the citizens and to ensure an equitable access to basic services such as education, basic health care services, safe drinking water and other (Pant, 2004, 10-11). The case of the inability of the Sudanese state to fulfill these tasks for south Sudans' civilians, which is not because of the fiscal deficit only as discussed earlier since some other areas of north Sudan have a better level of such services. It is then, according to the above-mentioned discourse, a matter of social exclusion, which is based in this particular example on social discrimination based on race, ethnicity, language and religion. Consequently, it leads to the reaction that developed in its end in the separation of South Sudan from Sudan.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Table of Mid - year population by state and corresponding percentages for the years 2007 – 2009

States	2009		*2008		2007		الولايات
	النسبة المئوية %	السكان (بالآلاف) Population (000)	النسبة المئوية %	السكان (بالآلاف) Population (000)	النسبة المئوية %	السكان (بالآلاف) Population(000)	
Sudan	100	40299	100	39154	100	37239	السودان
Northern States	78.9	31797	78.9	30894	84.9	31623	الولايات الشمالية
Northern	1.8	719	1.8	699	1.8	654	الشمالية
River Nile	2.9	1153	2.9	1120	2.8	1026	نهر النيل
Red Sea	3.6	1437	3.6	1396	2.0	740	البحر الأحمر
Kassala	4.6	1842	4.6	1789	4.7	1752	كسلا
El Gadarif	3.4	1388	3.4	1348	5.0	1843	القضارف
Khartoum	13.5	5428	13.5	5274	16.7	6203	الخرطوم
El Gezira	9.1	3680	9.1	3575	11.1	4130	الجزيرة
Sinnar	3.3	1323	3.3	1285	3.8	1404	سنار
White Nile	4.4	1781	4.4	1730	4.7	1762	النيل الأبيض
Blue Nile	2.1	856	2.1	832	2.1	783	النيل الأزرق
N. Kordofan	7.5	3006	7.5	2920	6.5	2424	ش. كردفان
S. Kordofan	3.6	1447	3.6	1406	4.6	1704	ج. كردفان
N. Darfur	5.4	2175	5.4	2113	4.9	1821	ش. دارفور
W. Darfur	3.3	1346	3.3	1308	5.0	1863	غ. دارفور
S. Darfur	10.5	4213	10.5	4093	9.4	3514	ج. دارفور
Southern States	21.1	8502	21.1	8260	15.1	5616	الولايات الجنوبية
Upper Nile	2.5	993	2.5	964	4.1	1542	أعالي النيل
Jonglei	3.5	1398	3.5	1358	-	-	جونقلي
Unity	1.5	603	1.5	585	-	-	الوحدة
Warrap	2.5	1001	2.5	972	-	-	واراب
N. Bahr Elghazal	1.8	742	1.8	720	-	-	ش. بحر الغزال
W. Bahr Elghazal	0.9	343	.9	333	-	-	غ. بحر الغزال
Lakes	1.8	716	1.8	695	-	-	البحيرات
W. Equatoria	1.6	637	1.6	619	-	-	غ. الاستوائية
Central Equatoria	2.8	1136	2.8	1103	-	-	الاستوائية الوسطى
E. Equatoria	2.3	933	2.3	906	-	-	شرق الاستوائية

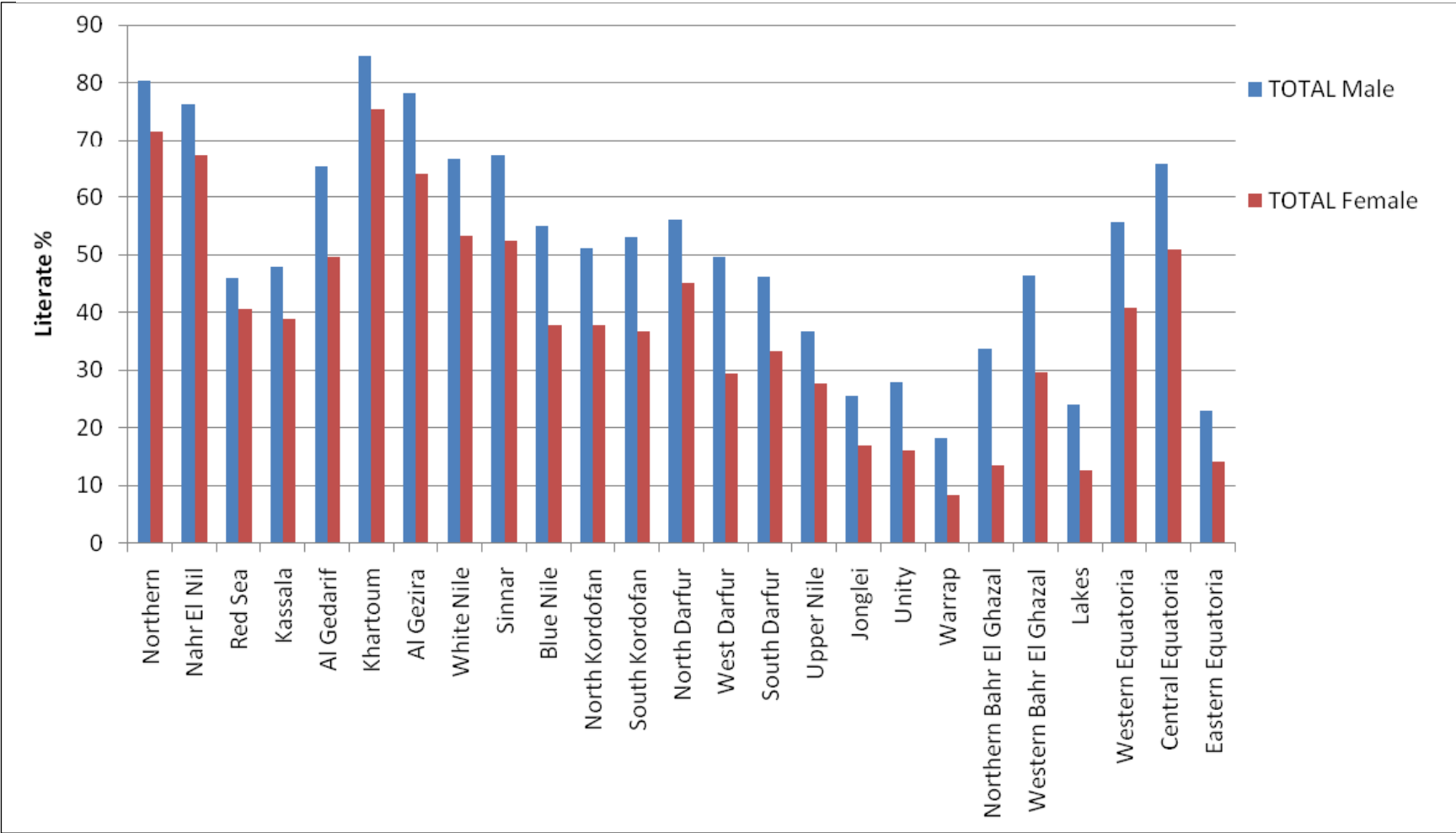
Source: (Sudan Central Bureau of Statistics, 2009, 44 - 45)

**Appendix 2: Table of Percentage of Literate in Population
6 Years and over by State, Sex, and Mode of Living**

STATE	TOTAL			URBAN			RURAL			NOMADS		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
Northern	76	80.4	71.6	77	81	74	77	82	73	7	9	4
Nahr El Nil	71.8	76.3	67.3	84	88	80	69	74	64	6	9	2
Red Sea	43.7	46	40.7	74	79	67	30	32	27	12	13	9
Kassala	43.8	47.9	38.8	67	72	62	40	46	33	11	12	9
Al Gedarif	57.2	65.3	49.6	68	74	62	54	63	45	3	5	2
Khartoum	80.3	84.7	75.3	83	88	78	67	72	63	—	—	—
Al Gezira	70.7	78.2	64	80	85	76	68	77	61	6	11	1
White Nile	59.7	66.6	53.3	76	82	71	53	60	46	10	14	6
Sinnar	59.5	67.2	52.5	74	78	70	57	66	49	3	4	2
Blue Nile	46.3	55	37.8	63	70	56	43	52	34	4	6	3
North Kordofan	44.1	51.2	37.8	72	79	65	42	50	35	12	16	8
South Kordofan	44.7	53.1	36.8	72	79	65	40	50	31	13	19	8
North Darfur	50.7	56.1	45.1	79	85	73	51	47	44	25	29	20
West Darfur	39	49.7	29.4	60	70	51	41	53	30	12	17	7
South Darfur	40.1	46.2	33.4	62	70	55	41	50	32	18	21	14
Upper Nile	32.5	36.8	27.8	57	65	49	20	24	16	—	—	—
Jonglei	21.5	25.6	16.9	17	23	12	22	26	18	—	—	—
Unity	21.9	28	16.2	39	53	25	17	21	14	—	—	—
Warrap	12.9	18.2	8.3	32	42	21	11	16	7	—	—	—
Northern Bahr El Ghazal	22.8	33.7	13.6	48	58	35	21	32	12	—	—	—
Western Bahr El Ghazal	38.2	46.5	29.7	60	67	51	23	31	15	—	—	—
Lakes	18.4	24.1	12.7	17	19	14	19	24	13	—	—	—
Western Equatoria	48.3	55.7	40.8	68	78	60	45	53	38	—	—	—
Central Equatoria	58.4	65.7	50.8	72	80	63	52	59	46	—	—	—
Eastern Equatoria	18.5	22.9	14.1	42	49	34	17	21	12	—	—	—

Source: (CBS, 2008, 292)

**Appendix 3: Figure of Percentage of Literate in Population
6 Years and over by State, Sex, and Mode of Living**



Source: (CBS, 2008, 293)

Appendix 4: Table of Hospitals in Sudan: Types and Distribution

تأمين		منظمات		قطاعية			قطاع خاص		ولائي State			Federal اتحادي		State	الولايات
ريفي R.	عام G.	تخصصي Sp.	عام G.	اخرى Oth.	عسكري Milit.	شرطة Pol.	تخصصي Sp.	عام G.	ريفي R.	تخصصي Sp.	عام G.	تخصصي Sp.	عام G.		
					0	1		1	18	0	8	0	0	Northern	الشمالية
					0	1		14	25	0	7	0	0	R. Nile	نهر النيل
					0	1		7	9	4	2	0	0	Red Sea	البحر الأحمر
					0	1		2	16	4	7	0	0	Gadarief	القضارف
					0	1		18	10	3	2	0	0	Kassala	كسلا
					0	0		0	0	0	0	13	5	F. Ministry of Health	الصحة الاتحادية
					0	1	39	61	9	8	13	0	0	Khartoum State	ولاية الخرطوم
				1	2	1		10	27	9	21	5	0	Gezeria	الجزيرة
					0	1		8	16	1	7	0	0	Sinnar	سنار
					1	1		3	22	0	5	0	0	White Nile	النيل الأبيض
					1	1		0	12	1	2	0	0	Blue Nile	النيل الأزرق
					1	1		1	18	1	7	0	0	N. Kordofan	شمال كردفان
					0	2		1	8	1	8	0	0	S. Kordofan	جنوب كردفان
					1	1		0	14	3	1	0	0	N. Darfour	شمال دارفور
					0	0		3	4	0	2	0	0	W. Darfour	غرب دارفور
					0	1		3	11	1	4	0	0	S. Darfour	جنوب دارفور
					0	0		1	7	1	1	0	0	Upper Nile	أعلى النيل
					0	0		-	3	0	1	0	0	Gongly	جونقلي
					0	0		-	3	0	1	0	0	Unity	الوحدة
					0	0		-	2	0	1	0	0	Warab	واراب
					0	0		-	0	0	1	0	0	N. Bahar Elgazal	شمال بحر الغزال
					0	0		-	1	0	1	0	0	W. Bahar Elgazal	غرب بحر الغزال
					0	0		-	2	0	1	0	0	Buhyrat	البحيرات
					0	0		-	6	0	1	0	0	W. Equateria	غرب الاستوائية
					0	0		-	2	1	1	0	0	Bhr Elgable	بحر الجبل
					0	0		-	4	0	1	0	0	E. Equateria	شرق الاستوائية
	301			1	6	15		171	249	38	106	18	5	Total	المجموع

ملحوظة : مستشفيات القطاع الخاص تشمل المستوصفات

Source: (Federal Ministry of Health - Sudan, 2010, 16)

Appendix 5: Table of Primary Health Care Units in Sudan

المجموع Total	وحدات اساسية Basic health units		مراكز صحية Health centers			State	الولايات
	مقولة	عاملة	منظمات	ريف	حضر		
303	48	142		107	6	Northern	الشمالية
340	39	109		155	37	R. Nile	نهر النيل
263	35	185		21	22	Red Sea	البحر الأحمر
316	26	233		0	57	Gadarief	القضارف
314	41	150		79	44	Kassala	كسلا
-	-	-		-	-	F. Ministry of Health	الصحة الاتحادية
579	0	168	249	37	125	Khartoum State	ولاية الخرطوم
758	0	447		0	311	Gezeria	الجزيرة
277	114	94		55	14	Sinnar	سنار
454	41	291		70	52	White Nile	النيل الأبيض
415	0	371		27	17	Blue Nile	النيل الأزرق
616	2	523		14	77	N. Kordofan	شمال كردفان
78	-	-		65	13	S. Kordofan	جنوب كردفان
376	145	152		53	26	N. Darfour	شمال دارفور
255	170	72		6	7	W. Darfour	غرب دارفور
428	14	380		21	13	S. Darfour	جنوب دارفور
69	-	59		-	10	Upper Nile	أعلى النيل
10	-	-		-	10	Gongly	جونقلي
39	17	9		-	13	Unity	الوحدة
0	-	-		-	-	Warab	واراب
10	-	6		-	4	N. Bahar Elgazal	شمال بحر الغزال
61	-	59		-	2	W. Bahar Elgazal	غرب بحر الغزال
0	-	-		-	-	Buhyrat	البحيرات
17	-	12		-	5	W. Equateria	غرب الاستوائية
91	-	72		-	19	Bhr Elgable	بحر الجبل
108	-	95		-	13	E. Equateria	شرق الاستوائية
6177	692	3629	249	710	897	Total	المجموع

Source: (Federal Ministry of Health - Sudan, 2010, 17)