
by

Orelia Jonathan
Class of 2015

A thesis submitted to the faculty of Wesleyan University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts with Departmental Honors in History

Middletown, Connecticut April, 2015
# Table of Contents

Map ................................................................................................................................. 4

Introduction ..................................................................................................................... 5
  Male Youth in the Sudanese Civil Wars ................................................................. 6
  Finding South Sudan in Historiography ................................................................ 8
  Defining Terms: Youth Education, and Masculinity ............................................. 15
    Male Youth .............................................................................................................. 16
    Education and Livelihood ....................................................................................... 22
    Construction Masculinity ....................................................................................... 25
  Methodology ............................................................................................................. 27
  Outline of Thesis ..................................................................................................... 30

Chapter 2: Masculinity in Pre-War Southern Sudan ..................................................... 36
  Constructing Masculinity in Pre-War Southern Sudan .......................................... 37
  The British Colonial Administration and the Condominium Period ..................... 38
  Hunting ....................................................................................................................... 41
  Cattle-Herding ......................................................................................................... 45
  Fighting and Wrestling ............................................................................................ 47
  Singing and Dancing ............................................................................................... 49
  Hut Building ............................................................................................................. 52
  Cultivation ................................................................................................................. 54
  Initiation ...................................................................................................................... 58
  Marriage .................................................................................................................... 63
  Enlightenment and Education ................................................................................. 67
  Conclusion ............................................................................................................... 73

Chapter 3: Historical Context: The Sudanese Civil Wars ........................................... 75
  The “Southern Policy” Under the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Period (1899-1955)
    And the Wars ........................................................................................................ 78
      Development: Economic and Social Investment in the 1940s ............................. 83
      Sudanization: Preparation for Independence (1946-1955) .................................. 84
      The First Civil War (1955-1972) ....................................................................... 86
      The Addis Ababa Agreement and Peace (1972-1983) ...................................... 92
      The Second Civil War (1983-2005) .................................................................. 98
        The Emergence of Humanitarian Organizations and Reports ......................... 102
    Conclusion ............................................................................................................. 105

Chapter 4: Growing Up Anyanya: War as an Alternate Initiation ................................. 108
  The First Sudanese Civil War ............................................................................... 113
  The Second Sudanese Civil War ............................................................................ 121
    Motivations For Joining the Sudan People’s Liberation Army ............................ 123
    Protection ................................................................................................................. 124
    Defense .................................................................................................................... 125
    Support: Finding a Community in the Sudan People’s Liberation Army ............. 128
    Future Career ......................................................................................................... 130
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benefits From Joining the Rebel Movement</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced Conscription</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5: Growing Up Abroad - Education Refugees</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education Refugee Destinations: Khartoum, Kakuma, and Koboko</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khartoum, Sudan</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakuma, Kenya</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koboko, Uganda</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreating Tradition: What Migration Meant for Livelihoods, Marriage, and Culture</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant Movement: Internationally and Internally</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Available Livelihood Options</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage and Dowries: Affording Marriage</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recreation of Tradition and Disappearing Ethnic Identities</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilogue</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 1: Abbreviations</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix 2: Interview Scripts</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 1 Map of States in Sudan (1956-2011) – United Nations 2009, Map of States of Sudan, Wikimedia Commons, viewed April 8, 2015, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bc/Un-sudan.png. (permissions received by the United Nations Publications Board)
Chapter 1: Introduction

The night was cool and dark in Juba, South Sudan. After a long day of interviews, I had finally retreated to my little house in the compound to get ready for bed. The noise of crickets and frogs in the long grass adjacent to the house was distracting, yet I could still hear the quiet footsteps of my relatives also preparing to sleep, and the low hum of my father’s voice, conversing with his brothers in Arabic from his central chair in the compound. I fumbled around in the dimly lit room rearranging my things underneath my mosquito net so I could sit down and write about the day in my journal. Before I could slide underneath my net and into the protective covers of my bed, I heard three soft knocks on my door. “Yes?” I called out, trying to guess who it could be since I knew most of my cousins had gone to bed. “Orelia it is me Lemy,” a voice called from behind the door. As the door cracked open my fourteen-year-old cousin’s head peaked in, and I beckoned him in.

Lemy shuffled forward awkwardly, appearing more nervous than he had ever been in my presence, his hands held tightly around a set of papers. “I need some money,” he exclaimed, finally raising his head to meet my eyes, “I need to go back with you to America to go to school,” he revealed the papers in his hands—passport documents, filled out neatly in his handwriting. In shock because of his unusual seriousness and approach I felt myself sink into the chair behind me. “I need to go take my picture for my passport so I can buy a ticket, and I will go over there with you,” he said. Finally finding words I asked, “How much do you need?” Lemy paused for a moment, seemingly calculating the expenses in his head. “Oh, something of 150 South Sudanese pounds [about 26 dollars].” He looked to me hopefully, his eyebrows furrowing with intention, and looking back at him, I conceded. How could I deny him the opportunity: my
first cousin, my favorite cousin, and easily the best English-speaker of any of my extended family?

I was at a loss for words but found myself pulling at my suitcase to retrieve my wallet. As I handed him the bills I mustered up the courage to tell him this would not be enough, “Lemy, this isn’t enough to get you a ticket to America, but you can go file for your passport. It is not that easy. Getting to America takes time.” Lemy frowned at me in ready disbelief, confused, if anything, by what he may have done wrong. “Ok Orelia,” he said, turning to leave the room, his head slightly hung. “Please don’t tell my uncle,” Lemy blurted, referring to my father. I gave him an encouraging squeeze on the shoulder and smiled at him—smiled because he was trying to make an effort to change his own situation at fourteen years old, smiled because he was only pursuing a pathway to education that had become so important in Southern Sudan during the Sudanese Civil Wars. But inside, I felt lost, saddened, and heartbroken, for I knew, that he would not be coming to America with me.

**Male Youth in the Sudanese Civil Wars**

The civil wars in the Sudan, lasting from 1955 until 2005, have been characterized as a war between Muslims and Christians, dictatorship versus democracy, theocracy versus secularism and, finally, North versus South. While the history and socio-political dynamics of the Sudan have lent themselves to over-simplification, it is important, as historian Douglas Johnson argues in, *The Root Causes of Sudan’s Civil Wars*, to note that the ‘root causes’ of Sudan’s successive civil wars were both diverse and complex.¹ The causes of the civil wars in Sudan have been attributed to a number of aspects by academics, but the effects of the war on

---

¹ Johnson, Douglas H. *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*. Kampala; Bloomington: Indiana University Press,
the civilians have not been adequately discussed. The scholarly literature produced during the years of the civil wars, and even after a peace agreement was reached, on Sudan and the Sudan Civil Wars is often treats the causes of Sudan’s Civil Wars. However, this literature has failed to give insight to the lives of the Southern Sudanese during the Civil Wars. In the past decade, child soldiering has been prioritized in the agendas of academia and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) as the United Nation’s millennium development goals have encouraged all countries to denounce child soldier. Today, South Sudan is one of a few countries where child soldiers are active in the ongoing civil war. In the discussion of the wars and, more importantly, child soldiering, there is a one-sided viewpoint within the discourse—that children have been forced into warfare—as many of the organizations who write on the civil wars of Sudan are foreign non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and aid organizations.² Moreover, this discourse does not consider alternate reasons why youth may have chosen to not necessarily participate in the Sudanese Civil Wars.³

My research will look at Southern Sudan from the 1940s through the end of the Second Civil War with the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005. This research will draw connections between pre-war initiation practices and its transformation into initiation by soldiering or obtaining one education. Between 1955 and 2005 the territory of what is now the South Sudan (see map p. 4) suffered from civil wars. During the long period of intermittent war many male youth became “child soldiers” or left the region to seek education abroad. In a transformation of livelihoods, male youths increasingly became militarized or sought out a place other than Southern Sudan to pursue education. Through this double lens I will examine

---

³ Ibid
masculinity and what it took to become a man during colonial Southern Sudan (1920-1955) and the start of violence in the newly independent country of Sudan.

While I focus on the period between 1955 and 2005 when the civil wars would have had the most effect on manhood, I also will consider the wider historical, political, and economic conditions that had an effect on boys and men. This project explores several intersections between manhood, child soldiering, and education and focuses on several questions: did rite of passage practices change for boys with the start of the war? What was the relationship between the war’s demand for child labor and the recruitment of male youth in schools? What impact did not completing basic schooling have on these men? And most importantly, what were the possible survival and livelihood strategies for male youth and young men during this time period?

**Finding South Sudan in the Historiography**

Studying the historiography of Sudan, it is difficult to find detailed histories of the indigenous communities in Southern Sudan, for they are often overshadowed by a multitude of books written on the politics of the civil wars. Sudan’s historiography is too often framed by presentism, in other words, historians have attempted to interpret past events in terms of modern values and concepts. After the start of the civil war in 1955, a number of accounts were written on class, ethnicity, and power in the Sudan more broadly. At independence in 1956, hopes were high for Sudan, a country that was wealthy in resources, and seemed to have the potential to cease ownership over the government. *Shadows in the Grass* (1983), by Robert Collins, an award winning book, is one of a four volumes series on Southern Sudan, talking specifically about the road to independence in Sudan, covering intensively the British involvement in Southern
Sudan—drawing heavily from archival sources and informants from the colonial administration.\(^4\) Collins, a renowned scholar on the Sudan wrote over eight books on the region, but is most notably known for *Shadows in the Grass*. While the book covers the colonial period in Southern Sudan, from roughly 1918-1956, the history focuses on the British colonial administration, and the voice of the Southern Sudanese is absent from these pages. Tim Niblock, a scholar who writes extensively on the political economy of the Arab world, wrote *Class and Power in Sudan: The Dynamics of Sudanese Politics* (1985), and emphasized the social and regional inequality that grew between the North and South during the British Colonial Period and how it intensified after independence.\(^5\) In particular, these scholars emphasized the British failure to build infrastructure such as roads, bridges, and schools in the South, whereas such projects proliferation in the North.

What is striking about academic works on Southern Sudan is the amount of time, during the civil wars, there was no literature written on Southern Sudan. Most scholars who wrote on Southern Sudan throughout the war either based their research on sources written before the start of the civil war, or used field research they had done before the war. In reading the books published in the 1970s, 1980s, and the 1990s, most of the work is based on the writings of earlier anthropologists and ethnographers who were able to conduct research before the outbreak of the war. Because of the extensive war, the present politics pre-determined what topics were studied in depth, such as the slave trade, diplomatic rivalries, missionaries, and the Southern Policy of the colonial administration. These questions emerged out of a collective effort by scholars to

---


understand the rift between North and South Sudan and why that divide was created and exacerbated.

What history is preserved of Southern Sudan is the history of the administration, not the history of the people. As Douglas Johnson, a scholar who specializes on the Sudan and South Sudan, and has also advised the Government of South Sudan, declared in his article on Southern Sudanese historiography, “The Future of Southern Sudan’s Past” (1981):

Because the colonial period is taken as the *de facto* beginning of Southern Sudanese history, and the assessment of the course of that history is derived almost exclusively from the European participants in that period, the scholarly description of the Southern Sudan has suffered from implicit value judgments that have obscured, rather than illuminated, the full complexity of the Southern Sudanese past. The themes of regional isolation, social primitiveness, resistance to colonial rule and the destruction of Southern Sudanese societies by outside forces predominate.⁶

Whereas great strides were made in African history in other countries post-independence through the collection of oral histories, Southern Sudanese historiography fell behind. Instead, most literature that was published on Sudan was published on the North, as it held the country’s capital. Instead scholars’ distant judgments and the pitying dialogue of aid organizations failed to give readers an in-depth understanding of the internal history of Southern Sudan. Words like “tribal” and “traditional” plague the texts of books on Southern Sudan, two words that are meaningless and give the reader no insight into the complexities of ordinary Southern Sudanese life before and throughout the Sudanese Civil Wars.⁷

In the early 2000s as the war began to wane and it appeared that a peace deal would be made between the North and the South, a large number of volumes on the history of the political

---

conflict appeared in the late 1990s and early 2000s. In addition, primary documents, such as: pamphlets, reports, and speeches given at conferences, criticizing the use of children in guerilla warfare began to appear from NGOs and other aid organizations, mainly the Human Rights Watch, who published *Children in Sudan: Slaves, Street Children, and Child Soldiers* (1995). The author Jemera Rone worked for the Human Rights Watch as the East Africa Coordinator, thus, she dealt extensively with human rights abuses and her work predetermined her research. This report discussed in detail the situation of children in Sudan and their role in warfare; however, it does not examine the reasons as to why children were participating in the war or that some actively chose to participate. This discourse reflected the awareness that began to be raised amongst international communities about human rights violations, following the founding of organizations like the Human Rights Watch Children’s Rights Project established in 1994 to monitor and promote the human rights of children around the world.

In Francis M. Deng’s *War of Visions* (1995), he sought to unpack how the Sudanese arrived at their present situation: a country entrenched in a war that had devastated the economy and the citizens for over forty years. Yet, Deng discussed the differing Sudanese identity, not in terms of the multitude of societies and cultures, but the multiple political identities, shedding light on the Arab-Islamic North as well as the African (in racialized terms), Christianized South. His argument rejected that the idea that the civil wars were based on the divergence between North-South identities, but that these group identifications were a myth that became a reality. In conclusion, Deng provides his own recommendations for coexistence between peoples living in communities across the Sudan. In *The Root Causes of Sudan’s Civil Wars* (2003), Douglas H.

---

9 Ibid
Johnson, examined for the first time the historical, political, economic, and social factors that perpetuated what seemed to be a never-ending civil war.\textsuperscript{11} Johnson handled the material well, as his analysis was clear and without political bias. Following the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 between the North and South, a number of works like that of Johnson’s were written, and even more so after the independence of South Sudan in July 2011. However, similar to those written throughout the war, these accounts focused largely on the political and economic history of Sudan and not on the social history.

Most recently, Christine Ryan’s, \textit{The Children of War} (2012), addressed child soldiering in South Sudan and sought to fill the gap in literature on case-specific studies of child soldiering with the voices of former child soldiers in South Sudan.\textsuperscript{12} Through the use of seventy-six oral interviews, Ryan’s contribution to literature on child soldiering challenged the conception that children were forced into conscription during the civil wars or did not think rationally before participating in armed conflict. Instead, through the voices of interviews with former child soldiers, Ryan highlighted the aspects of child soldiering that often go unheard by academia. This book shed new light on the youth motivating factors behind joining the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA), especially the political agency of these male youth. \textit{The Children of War} called upon academics more broadly to re-examine the way in which dialogue on child soldiers is framed and to approach the idea of child soldiering holistically.

The sources that became most useful for my project were the early social histories and ethnographies written on the various indigenous groups of Southern Sudan. \textit{Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan} (1932), by C.G. Seligman, established itself as one of the earliest ethnographies on

the social organization of the Nilotic groups: the Shilluk, the Acholi, the Nuer, the Dinka, the Bari, the Nuba, the Ingassana, and the Azande. Other ethnographies, such as E.E. Evans-Pritchard’s, *The Nuer: a Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People* (1940), followed Seligman in his work, but focused specifically on the Nuer.

In addition to ethnographies, a number of missionary diaries and archives from the time period capture the varying lifestyles of people in the South, such as, *Before the Wind Changed: People, Places, and Education in the Sudan* (1948), by Ina Beasley. In this collection, compiled by Janet Starkey in 1992, one can find excerpts from Beasley’s diaries during her time working for Girls’ Education in Southern Sudan. Unlike the ethnographies, Beasley’s work gives a more personalized account of the practices of the groups prior to the start of the civil war by adding in her own commentary on these customs. These primary sources, although they are written from the perspective of missionaries and ethnographers will be key to sourcing early traditions mentioned by oral interviewees, and will provide the basis upon which the research will mark shifts in practice and reoccurring trends.

These sources are also relevant to the present project because they shaped and created a discourse about Southern Sudan that continues to influence how people talk about the region. Many of them overemphasized the primitivism of the societies and their warlike quality—a factor that gave little depth and diversity to the societies and peoples of Southern Sudan. Yet, these ethnographies and diary entries still help piece together the everyday life of different groups. They are descriptive, but also have biases, for example. For example, Evans-Pritchard’s

---

remarks on the “war-like” quality of the Nilotic groups. What he fails to take into account is that the fighting that took place between the groups was more likely a form of organized local governance, which may in fact be the reason he viewed these groups as war-like. This dynamic will be further discussed in Chapter 2.

At the conclusion of the war in 2005, a series of autobiographies and memoirs appeared by the supposed “Lost Boys” of Sudan who were displaced or orphaned during the Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005), placed in refugee camps, and then sent through a humanitarian aid program to America. *They Poured Fire On Us From The Sky* (2006), by Benjamin Ajak, Benson Deng, Alphonsion Deng, and Judy Bernstein was the pioneer autobiography written to share the stories of the Lost Boys who walked thousands of miles across Sudan in search of education and were instead enlisted into child soldering.\(^{16}\) Similarly, *War Child* (2009), a memoir by Emmanuel Jal, told of his conscription into the army at the age of seven.\(^{17}\) While stories, such as these, account for the untold experiences of the Southern Sudanese during the civil wars, these individual’s stories have represented for the United States and the West, the terrifying stories of child soldering, but do not cover and emphasize the complex histories of all South Sudanese during the war. There are other stories of young men who felt their contribution to the war was important, despite their young age at the time of their involvement. Many of these young men make up what is called today the Red Army Foundation, a foundation that was created for the male youth who fought in the Second Civil War.

The large gap in between the beginning of the war (1955) and the end of the war (2005) in primary sources will be where the oral interviews I conducted serve to document the period. In


addition to the oral interviews that were collected in August, memoirs and autobiographies will supplement my discussion of daily life for male youth during the wars.

**Defining Terms: Youth, Education and Masculinity**

This thesis draws heavily on three terms: youth, education, and masculinity. We will define each of these terms here, as they are relevant to my argument and Southern Sudan. Too often, when one looks at literature on the African continent, western conceptions are applied to African societies, societies that vary greatly in culture, social norms, and social order than that of the West. During my interview, many of my the interviewees felt that they became adults at a variety of different ages, some before they joined the military, others after they were a soldier for a period of time, others after they graduated from high school or college, and others not until after they got married and started a family in their early twenties. Alma Gottlieb, an anthropologist at the University of Illinois, has done a series of research projects on conceptions of age in Africa. Most notably her work, *Where Have All the Babies Gone? Toward an Anthropology of Infants (And Their Caretakers)*, helps to explain the differing conceptions between the West and African societies in life stages.  

Life stages vary from society to society, and in Southern Sudan, transitions between the stages were not based on fixed calendrical points. Instead, as Gottlieb suggests, Southern Sudanese societies during the 20th century, “[took] a more contextual approach.” In Southern Sudan, life stages were contingent on the development of a particular skill (whether in our case it was hunting, fighting, etc.). Once the male learned this skill, he was then able to move into the next life stage. The adults in within Southern Sudanese communities socialized youth into

---

18 Gottlieb, Alma. "Where Have All the Babies Gone? Toward an Anthropology of Infants (and Their Caretakers)." *Anthropological Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (2000): 121-32.
the various phases of their life, and these social educations were often gendered (a topic that will be discussed in Chapter 2).

In conversation with the responses of the interviewees, it is essential that we situate these interviews within the context of Southern Sudan during the civil wars. To understand the interviews and the background, which these interviews are rooted in, we will briefly discuss the definitions of youth, education and masculinity, concepts that differed greatly in Southern Sudan, from western conceptions.

(Male) Youth

Manhood, and entrance into adulthood cannot exist without defining “youth” or childhood. Conceptions of childhood began to develop during the 1600s in Europe, and today, in the west, at age 18, one becomes an adult. In the United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child (CRC), a child is defined as “every human being below the age of eighteen years.”19 This international stand was based on European derived understanding of age, childhood, and adulthood. During the past few decades, humanitarian groups have begun to focus their efforts of children and youth in Africa in order to address famine, conflict, and disease; however, these humanitarian groups specify children or youth as under the age of 18. The CRC’s definition of childhood directly conflicts with the responses of many of the interviewees about their lives, for many of them spoke of entering adulthood as early as 14 and as late as 22. The construction of the conception of youth is a complex process that evolves with globalization, but more importantly, is a concept that is fluid and ever changing—taking on new meanings with time.20

---

The rite of passage from childhood into adulthood is more complex than the simple transition of a child into adulthood biologically. The movement into adulthood also alludes to the power, authority, and social worth of the individual. As Catharine Christiansen argues in *Navigating Youth, Generating Adulthood*:

Generational positions, such as youth, are, in other words, intricately tied to social processes, and it is only when we move our focus from the realm of chronology or biology to the sphere of social life that we are able to fully realize the complexity of the position and able to illuminate how it is negotiated and unfolds in relation to dynamics and social interaction.²¹

Youth are shaped by their biological development, their experiences, and most importantly, the culture in which they live in. For example, as we will see in Chapter 2, male youths became men when they were initiated by their fathers into ‘male’ activities. Male youth would be prepared for this ceremony by learning how to dance, hunt, and fight appropriately before being deemed ready for the process. It is this ethnic society in which they are raised that will socialize them through lessons and education that will eventually lead to the transformation into adulthood. In achieving adulthood, young men would hold status and power, as well as the right to engage in community affairs and governance.

In the case of South Sudan, the elasticity and evolving conception of childhood and youth is especially important because of the ‘child soldiering’ that took place during the Sudanese Civil Wars and, allegedly, still occurs today. The concept of ‘child soldiering’ frames not only how scholars have previously examined refugees, but also frames how government, non-governmental organizations, and communities interact globally. However, as scholar, Christine Ryan clearly addresses in her book *Children of War*, the majority of the literature

---
written on child soldiering in Southern Sudan is massed together with other countries’ cases of child soldiering and civil war. Soldiering during the civil wars in the Sudan enabled male youth and young men to engage fully in community affairs. Without consideration of the multi-dimensional stories behind the individuals that took up arms during these civil wars, one can easily fall prey to the common humanitarian outcry against child soldiering. Humanitarian organizations speak only of the atrocities of child soldiering: forced conscription and the traumatic experience of guerilla warfare. Moreover, they do not seek to contextualize this experience in the larger social meanings of child, youth, adult, or the range of possible livelihoods. This thesis does not intend to comment on whether child soldiering is right or wrong, nor does it seek to define the legal age limit. Instead I seek to understand the militarization of youth during the civil wars by exploring the overlapping histories of changing masculinity, education, and livelihood in early 20th century Southern Sudan.

During the Second Sudanese Civil war in the 1980s, many humanitarian groups began to provide aid to Sudan, such as: OXFAM, United Nations Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF), World Vision, and Doctors Without Borders (MSF). With the arrival of these humanitarian groups, however, rhetoric began to evolve surrounding the use of youth, under the age of 18, in the civil war. These organizations characterized these youth as victims, helpless, and underdeveloped intellectually and emotionally. The assumptions made by this rhetoric raise two major concerns. First and foremost, in victimizing those under the age of 18 involved in the civil wars, humanitarian organizations were single handedly dismissing the possibility that these children were able-minded individuals who had their own motivations and thoughts.

---

23 Ibid
about the conflict. Secondly, the humanitarian organizations made no effort to ascertain the differing cultural contexts motivating these youths to go to war. By failing to seek out the motives and reasons why youth, particularly young males were involved in the war, there was and has been a lack of respect for the political agency of these individuals.

In the discourse of humanitarian organizations, words such as “kidnapped,” “warehousing,” “abduction,” and “force” provided the Western world with a one-dimensional view of the child soldier experience in Southern Sudan. Christine Ryan’s work and interviews with over seventy former child soldiers proved the lacking depth of knowledge on the experience of the child soldier, as many interviewees exclaimed that their involvement in the military was more complex than the simplistic label of forced conscription. The motivations of male youth to join the military will be explored in more depth in Chapter 4. One of the key issues that arise within this debate is the political agency of these youth. My own interviews go beyond the work of Ryan, linking the motivations of these young men to the pre-war characteristics of manhood.

As defined by social theorist, Alex Callinicos, an agent refers to an individual or social group that is capable of exerting power or change, and further, these agents have personal, public or collective goals. Agents, however, do not always have the ability to exercise their power; some have a greater capability to do so, while others lack that advantage. The ability to wage one’s agency, as Ryan carefully exclaims in her work, can alter during conflict, “agency

under contingency refers to how the agent functions and interacts under war conditions.”

While youth in Southern Sudan tended to be initiated at various times, the humanitarian approach completely denies agency to those who were under the age of 18 under the belief that they were incapable of rational thinking and logic. These very assumptions undermined the agency of young men during the civil war.

Formerly, in literature written by organizations, such as the Human Right’s Watch (HRW), about child soldiers, the work has focused on the horrific aspects of child soldiering, and the duties that these children were forced to do during their experience. In concentrating on these features of the child soldier experience, past researchers have failed to capture the child’s political interpretation or the exercise of their agency in the conflict. Similarly, humanitarian agencies have aimed to alter legislation around the recruitment and abduction of youth into child soldiering, or released series after series of estimated statistics on child soldiering, completely overlooking the individual experience of each child soldier. For example, the HRW wrote the following excerpt during the 1990s in Sudan:

These children did not learn anything other than war and destruction. They do not have the chance to get education. They are totally tormented. Most of the children have witnessed the killing of their parents or sisters. Many people believe it will be very different to rehabilitate them after the war. The warring parties in Sudan have been engaged on recruitment of children as ‘Child Soldier.’

---

31 Ibid
What the Human Rights Watch failed to take into account was that these youth were at the heart of the political struggle with the Sudanese Government, as well as the human rights abuses that were committed against Southerners. Additionally, education and schooling were at center of the conflict, and throughout the war: the Islamization of schools, the bombing of schools, and the shutting down of schools directly affected youth across the South. In other words, youth often felt the heat of the Sudanese Government’s oppression through their schooling systems. In fact, youth were often at the center of the political struggle in Sudan as it related in great capacity to the education system, which will be further discussed in the next chapter.

During the Islamization of the education system beginning in the 1950s in Southern Sudan, the Northern Sudanese government attempted to reconstruct the identities of Southern Sudan to replace the English, Animist, and Christian identities with Arabic and Islam. Youth were at the center of this major change, and many of them, as the result of the switch in language instruction struggled to take on the new identity the Government of Sudan (GoS) wished to construct.\(^{33}\)

Male youths in the education system became the center of the struggle in Southern Sudan during the civil wars. However, these youths varied greatly in age, as initiation practices varied amongst the various groups in Southern Sudan. As a result, the term youth in this research will be used with a relatively loose definition—the age range being roughly between 7 and 22. Some were ‘men’, as they were 18, and others were not yet 18 and internationally would have been defined as children. These were the ages that male youths began to be socialized into adulthood by the communities they lived in. Henceforth, breaking with the definition formed by the CRC, many individuals felt they became a man earlier than the

specified age of 18. This result is due to the various forms of education that a male youth went through before his initiation—whether it was traditional schooling or formal schooling.

**Education and Livelihood**

Today, when one conjures up an image of education, one thinks of a school with classrooms, desks, chairs, chalk boards, and libraries. However, education during the time period of this research differed greatly from this Western conception. In the West, schooling is “book taught,” or in other words, heavily relies on concepts from textbooks and ceases to teach the societal norms and culture of the wider community.  

Prior to colonialism in Africa, the education of a child was a socialization process in which the larger community was heavily involved. For example, as we will see in Chapter 2, male youth began to learn how to hunt from their fathers, they learned how to properly herd cattle, and how to cultivate certain crops. This education informed a child how to operate within the social, political, and cultural realms of the society. 

Western schooling, or what we will term here as formal schooling, is the system of schooling where a child goes to school to acquire knowledge in a specific area: such as math, science, or history. On the other hand, African education, what we will term as traditional education, integrated the social, cultural, artistic, religious, and recreational life of the ethnic group. In other words, education was largely based on the learning of valuable skills, as well as societal and cultural practices. While sending one’s child off to school in the West was done at a specific age, traditional education began from the birth of a child and would continue until the

---

36 Ibid
initiation of that child into adulthood. Thus, traditional education was a part of everyday life, and there was no clear distinction between learning time and playtime. This education took the form of gendered societal roles. Girls, for example learned housekeeping as well as the roles of mother and wife, while boys were socialized to be hunters, herders, and agriculturalists.

Lessons took various forms, but none were more important than the oral narratives of a group. Oral narratives, as instruction, took the form of: folklore, riddles, stories, dramas, histories, myths, legends, songs, proverbs, and other expressions, such as dance. These narratives sought to teach both ideal behavior and morality.

In addition, these forms of education did not take place in a classroom, as they were very much a part of everyday life. Instead, the classroom was around the fire, in the home, at the market square, or in a community space, and the main mode of teaching was through socialization. In these spaces, the teachers of this schooling were the parents, elders, and extended members of the family in the community—each of these an expert in their field. For example, the men who initiated male youths into adulthood were specialists who were in charge of that certain event. As opposed to textbooks and grammar, the key curriculum was life experience, practiced via social interaction and observation. Handed down from one generation to the next, elders not only encouraged the continuation of the oral tradition, but also influenced children to emulate this behavior through role-play amongst each other. This system of education intended to equip the individual with the social history, belief systems, and culture

38 Interview by author with Bennett in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 15, 2014); Interview by author with Leye, P. Issa Eliaza in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 12, 2014); Interview by author with Dr. Evans in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 16, 2014)
39 Interview by author with Cyrus in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 15, 2014); Interview by author with Dr. Evans in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 16, 2014); Interview by author with Leye, P. Issa Eliaza in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 12, 2014)
of the group. The socialization prepared the youth to function within the social life of the community and the world they live in. Although the oral transmission of ideas and identity was common, other forms of education were also common such as the sharing of expressions through festivals, ceremonies, games, and artistic performances (dance, song, and ritual).\(^{41}\)

In Southern Sudan, the emergence of missionary schools in the 1920s brought great change to the traditional education systems of the varying groups across the South. Every form of education intended to transmit value to the pupils, the value being raising strong men, fierce warriors, excellent cattle herders, and brave hunters was called into question by missionaries. The arrival of formal schooling with the missionaries brought an entirely new system of values to communities in Southern Sudan. These new values challenged the oral tradition that had reigned in the South during prior to the 20\(^{th}\) century. Formal education took place in the classroom, was based in textbooks and instructed in English. Especially as the British Colonial Administration developed the Sudan, formal education increasingly became the route through which South Sudanese males could obtain wealth, status, and economic security, thus competition for entrance and access to schools was high.\(^{42}\) If young males were unable to obtain access to education, or their education was hindered, as during the time of Islamization, they became dislocated from their societies—unable to obtain necessary wealth and status in their communities. As male youths in the south were denied access to equal educational opportunities and schools, attending school increasingly became a way in which one could express resistance to the post-colonial Sudanese Government. Formal education was a highly masculinized institution upon its arrival, and for the most part, only male youths attending missionary schools. This brings us to our last important term: Masculinity.

\(^{42}\) Ibid
Constructing Masculinity

The term masculinity, as defined in *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa*, “refers to a cluster of norms, values, and behavioral patterns expressing explicit expectations of how men should act and represent themselves to others.”43 The distinction between manhood and masculinity is also clarified in this work. Manhood, “refers to indigenous notions explicitly related to a man’s physiology, often recognized in terms of male adulthood,” while masculinity “is a broader, more abstract, and often implicit.” Thus, masculinity was fluid and varied from society to society.44 Throughout the history of the African continent, constructions of masculinity have been continuously contested, challenged, and transformed.45

Despite these changing constructions, over the course of the 20th century, no single characteristic became the sole identifying quality of masculinity. Instead, as Stephen Miescher, an African historian wrote in his book, *Making Men in Ghana*, “men created their own synthesis of different cultural practices, shaped by specific social contexts.”46 In other words, a male’s gender identity was informed by his wealth, age, seniority, and ritual authority.47 In the 20th century, manhood was, therefore, attained through the recognition of a variety of social roles, for example: as a husband, a father, a son, a grandson, an uncle, or a grandfather. These roles were taught to male youth through gendered upbringings.48

44 Ibid
At a young age, boys and girls were divided in order to educate each gender about the norms and expectations for men and women. For boys, this meant spending time with their fathers or other male elders within their community to learn gendered skills, for example: bravery and hunting. Certain crafts were similarly gendered. In the Akan of Ghana for instance, women were potters while men were goldsmiths, weavers, and wood carvers. To learn these gendered tasks, boys would take on apprenticeships with elder males. Thus, in the division of men and women within societies, gendered spaces developed within ethnic societies.

The arrival of missionaries in Africa challenged these notions of masculinity. Formal education brought a new mode of being to African communities, in other words, for the Southern Sudanese, this meant Christian morals. These morals established that a husband would show allegiance to one wife, as well as his children. While African men married for the purpose of companionship, communities raised children together, not individually. The establishment of colonial rule had a similar effect on African societies, for colonialism and Western norms challenged the established forms of authority and social relations with in African communities. Despite the differences that formal education, missionaries, and colonial rule brought, as previously mentioned, men adapted to these new challenges in a various ways, depending on their social context and traditional ethnic practices.

For Southern Sudanese male youth and young men, in the 1940s and early 1950s, the arrival of formal education was emasculating. When the British Administration began to give positions to educated Northern Sudanese men, Southern Sudanese men whom were traditionally educated and socialized into manhood by their community were disadvantaged. Without an education, Southern Sudanese men were unable to receive employment within the government.

Thus, Southern Sudanese men who learned all of the social norms and customs of their ethnic groups, but had yet not received a formal education, were powerless to shape the new post-colonial government when Sudanese independence were granted in 1956. As a result, Southern Sudanese men were forced to adapt and shape new pathways to manhood.

**Methodology**

My research will be center on thirty-three oral interviews that I conducted in South Sudan this past summer (2014). In addition, these oral interviews are supplemented by archival research, first hand accounts of child soldiers, ethnographies, as well as secondary sources. My journey to conduct oral interviews in South Sudan began on August 6th, 2014, when I arrived in Juba, South Sudan. My interest in the region stems from the fact that my very own father as born and raised in Southern Sudan, and I still have family living in South Sudan or within the region. I interviewed exactly thirty-three people while in Juba. The interviews were centered on their childhoods and upbringing in Southern Sudan. Initially I had intended to interview specific groups for

![Figure 2 Photo of author with interviewee Gasim Kennedy Moses (who gave his permission to use this photograph). Photo taken in August 2014.](image)
the research project, but that was difficult to do, especially with the current political tensions. The questions that I posed in my interviews came from a script that I prepared with my thesis advisor, Professor Laura Ann Twagira, when I submitted my Institutional Review Board application in May (Appendix 2). However, many times the questions served as a base of talking points, and the conversation opened up into a wide array of topics. I interviewed men, women, and children, spanning from ages 8 to 71, in order to approach the topic of life during the civil wars. There were three major challenges that arose while conducting my interviews: the first was that I only had a month to conduct my interviews, which meant conducting a high volume of interviews daily.

Secondly, transportation and scheduling became an issue as I first began my interviews. Initially, I began by inviting people to set up a time and location for the interview. After making three appointments with citizens, all of which the interviewees did not show up, I realized that this method of interviewing would not work. The roads in Juba were caked on dry days and muddy sinking pools the next because it was the rainy season; hence, I was working in tight circumstances because people could not make the interviews on account of the weather and unreliability of transportation. South Sudanese also function on what they call “Juba Time,” meaning interview

![Figure 3](image-url) Photo of Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan. Photo taken by Orelia Jonathan, August 2014
would occur an hour or two later than the scheduled interview time. Therefore, I decided to conduct the majority of my interviews in the corner of my aunt’s stall in Souk Juba, a bustling market place in downtown Juba, or in the stalls of the shopkeepers I was interviewing. Luckily I did not end up having to use a translator, and all of my interviews were conducted by myself in either English or Arabic.

Lastly, finding interviewees from the three distinct groups I initially listed in my Davenport Grant Proposal was difficult due to the amount of fear instilled within the citizens about the current ongoing conflict in Juba, which is perceived to be ethnically based. Therefore, I had to forgo attempting to find people from these specific groups. Instead, I positioned myself in the market place and began to snowball sample, or talk to citizens who were willing to sit and have a thirty-minute to an hour-long conversation with me over tea or light snacks. Because I am South Sudanese, interviewees were pleased that as a child of a South Sudanese diaspora I have taken an interest in my “home.” Therefore, once I sat down with interviewees they were more than willing to share their stories with me. Had I blatantly asked around to speak to people from a specific group, I believe I would have created paranoia in my interviewees and some feared something would happen to them. For this same reason, I decided to not reach out to members of the South Sudanese government and officials to ensure both the safety and the confidentiality of the individuals I was interviewing. At least ten people declined to be interviewed, hence I was prompted to change the way I went about finding interviewees.

However, despite all of these challenges, the interviews that were obtained were thorough and noteworthy. As I myself am South Sudanese, I believe that many of the South Sudanese felt comfortable in chatting with me, for they wanted to teach me about my own culture, and wanted me to know their history—the history that has not been told by textbooks.
For many of the interviews I conducted, individuals were very pleased in the stake they would have in creating a new national history that was not solely centered on politics, but on the experiences of daily life. I will rely heavily on these oral interviews because there are few sources originating from by the Southern Sudanese themselves, and these interviews will reveal the in-depth experiences of male youths and men during the war.

**Outline of Thesis**

*Chapter 2* is a discussion of masculinity and manhood in Southern Sudan before the war. In the context of the oral interviews I conducted, there were a range of livelihood possibilities for young men in pre-war Southern Sudan, such as: cattle-herding, cultivating, and hunting. Elder men within the communities socialized male youth into their manhood and these livelihoods by teaching them how to: hunt, build huts, cultivate, dance, sing, fight, and herd cattle. Learning these various skills contributed to a boy’s preparation for manhood, and without them he could not undergo initiation into manhood. The elder males within the community decided the moment at which a boy was ready for his initiation. In order to make this transition, boys went through different practices and celebrations. For some initiates, this meant spending a period of time in the bush, and demonstrating his ability to fend for himself for a set period of time. Other initiates endured a scarification celebration, where an elder male within the community gave him the markings of his ethnic groups on his face. Ultimately, these customs prepared young men for marriage, and gave them the tools they needed to take care of their families. This chapter will serve as a basis from which I will begin to examine historical shifts after the war broke out in what it meant to be a man.
Chapter 3 outlines the history and political context of Sudan between 1940 and 2005 so as to situate soldiering, education, and masculinity in Sudan during that time period. The British Colonial Administration sought to develop their colonial state by producing literate employees in the lower and middle tiers of the government by creating schools that prepared boys and young men for clerical, judicial and technical posts in the North. These schools were conducted in English and modeled after British public schools in order to create a “modern” elite, or men who represented Western modes of living in their fluency in English, Western style of dress, and professionalism. In completing education in these schools, graduates received, instead of applying for, government jobs.\textsuperscript{51}

Educational opportunities in Southern Sudan, in contrast to the North, were much more limited. Before the end of World War One, the British government in Khartoum declared that only “a few educated blacks” were required in order to fill insignificant clerical posts in the South.\textsuperscript{52} Those few blacks were not just any locals from the South, but instead, sons of soldiers and officers. The British government did little to improve the educational sphere in the South, and the responsibility increasingly was left upon Christian missionaries and religious bodies. Thus, when independence was granted, there were few Southern Sudanese men equipped with an appropriate level of experience to join the government.

As a result of the lacking Southern representation within the political sphere, in 1955, Southern soldiers mutinied across the South. This was the start of the First Sudanese Civil War. The soldiers who mutinied, shortly after retreating into the bush, named their guerilla movement, the Anyanya. In 1956, when Britain granted Sudan independence, Southern


Sudanese were given menial secretarial roles within the government, if any position at all. Conditions for Southerners deteriorated when General Ibrahim Abboud came to power in the Sudanese Government in 1958. General Abboud Islamicized the schools, changing the language of instruction to Arabic as well as implementing Islam. Southerners were angered by this change, and many youth dropped out of school and joined the Anyanya Movement. Those that continued their education were often forced to restart their educations, although this time in Arabic. During the Sudanese Civil Wars, the Sudanese Government changed the school curriculums a number of times, a pattern which was detrimental to young men/male youth in the South. However, despite the challenges Southern youth faced in the education system, many continued their educations, some of which would travel abroad to finish their education.

Chapter 4 turns to masculinity and manhood during the war. The civil wars in the Sudan have most often been presented as growing out of basic binary tensions: Arabs versus Blacks, Muslims versus Christians, dictatorship versus democracy, theocracy versus secularism and, finally, North versus South. Before the war boys became men when they could hunt well, fight, or build their own hut, but a shift in the dialogue developed during the war period that centered on a boy becoming a man after he had finished his education or if he joined the guerilla army. Many boys and young men were unable to attend school due to the war, and thus these boys were forcibly conscripted into the guerilla movement or willingly joined because the guerilla movement offered some educational possibilities. The male youth/young men that joined the Anyanya or SPLA often spoke of characteristics that traced back to aspects of pre-war social education, such as: protection, defense, and fending for oneself. Joining the military was a livelihood, occupation, and an alternate path to manhood. This chapter looks at the factors that motivated youth to join the rebel movement, including: defense, protection, future career, and
support. From protection to learning how to defend oneself, joining the military was neither easy nor every male youth’s choice, but the experience played a role in making those who participated feel that they had transitioned into manhood during their involvement in the movement.

**Chapter 5** discusses a trend in the oral interviews where male youth began to seek education outside of Southern Sudan as an alternative to the war and lacking school facilities of the South. This chapter will examine the education experience for male youth and young men living outside of in the regions such as: Khartoum, Sudan, Koboko and Kampala, Uganda, and Kakuma, Kenya. Education abroad allowed Southern Sudanese males to access a range of cultural and material resources that were necessary to secure a livelihood, status as a man, and ensure they could marry. Within the interviews there is a notable difference between boys who were educated outside of Southern Sudan versus those who remained in the South during the wartime (1955-1972; 1983-2005). At the very same time, migration led to several social changes, most importantly, the recreation of education as a “tradition.” Education became another key to survival. During the First Civil War, most males who educated themselves were guaranteed to find work after their graduation, as many of them became involved in the South Sudanese Government. However, at the conclusion of the Second Civil War, while obtaining and education abroad had previously meant access to a role in the government, more recent graduates struggle to find positions of stature in modern day Sudan.

The conclusion will revisit the questions I begin the project with: historically, what opportunities did boys/young men face at the outbreak of the war? Drawing on the historical perception a relationship has established between manhood and educational soldiering, what impact did participation in the war have on the formation of this generation of young men? What might this history alter for contemporary political discourse, for example, the frame “child
soldier” used by most international groups is inappropriate for fully understanding why young men chose to participate in the war.

The conclusion will turn to modern day South Sudan, now its own country but still a country plagued by violence and war, and most importantly, a country in which “child soldiers” can still be found. The shift in conceptions of manhood from before the war to during the war was extremely detrimental and emasculating for male youth in the South. Male youth had to scramble to adjust to ever changing curriculums, the constant absence of schooling in their communities, and the continuous violence that ravaged the South. To survive, male youths took to two different livelihoods to assert their power and masculinity: soldiering and education, both of which showed glimpses of pre-war traditions such as notions of bravery, power, and resistance. While some men made it through the education system, South Sudan still suffers from the effects of poor development in the educational sector, a consequence that disallows male youth from seeking livelihoods outside of guerilla warfare or traveling abroad for school. This project will weave together an archive of sources, blending together the meaning of childhood and manhood in conversation with ethnographic accounts as well as the recreation of these traditions in order to survive. This history will be more than just oral history, as it will tie the oral interviews to ethnographies, colonial archival materials, memoirs and autobiographies.

To conclude, South Sudan has yet to have an extensive history written about Southern Sudanese societies, people, and individuals throughout the wartime that does not focus solely on the political aspects of the country. One of the difficulties with research in South Sudan is the absence of well-established research institutions. As a result, most of the research done on the region today is donor-funded or supported by NGOs. Discourse on Southern Sudan has, thus, been dominated by the atrocious images of war and child soldiering; however, it is here where
this research project will interject. Those who write on the country, today, are fly-in-fly-out journalists, who only capture a snapshot of time rather than an extended in-depth analysis. Rather than dwell on the histories of entire groups, this project will string together the lives of individuals to connect masculinity and manhood to education and child soldiering during the civil wars in an effort to hear about other aspects of life during the civil wars.

Time after time, literature on child soldiering and the conflict in the Sudan has over-simplified the experience of the child soldier, whether it has been a lack of understanding of the motivating factors, or a complete disregard for the political agency of the youth in Southern Sudan. Too often, child soldiering has been associated with the negative images of children forces into the front lines of war; however, building off Christine Ryan’s research, this research will illumimate the options that faced young boys in Southern Sudan during the war, and what ways they could access their manhood. This research will continue to build upon and highlight the individual experiences of young males. Together we will explore the paths that young males took to achieve manhood and gain access to status within their communities.
Chapter 2: Masculinity in Pre-War Southern Sudan

The sun was beginning to duck behind the trees as we arrived in Mundri, Western Equatoria. My father and I had left Juba at 10:30am, and set out on a 75-mile drive to Mundri. Nearly 6 hours later, we had finally pulled up in front of the village lodge for visitors. The road had been touch because it was the height of the rainy season, and the roads were thick with mud pools which waited hastily to trap the many trucks that were on route to deliver aid, supplies, and cargo to the state of Western Equatoria and even beyond to the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic. I had begged my father to travel to the countryside, for I felt that I needed the stories of those outside of Juba to make my thesis well rounded.

Voyaging to the countryside is both dangerous, and difficult, and finding a driver to agree to make the 12-hour trek took almost a week.

When we finally arrived we dropped our bags off at the lodge—a small simple hotel that had small cement rooms with beds in each room. But just as I thought we were about to settle in, I was whisked back into the car and driven a mile from the lodge to my extended family’s homestead. When we arrived, nearly twenty of my extended cousins came running from their tukuls, huts, to greet us. While dinner was being prepared I spent time playing with my cousins and passing out small presents I had brought with me. Since my father, an esteemed elder in the community, was visiting, three chickens were slaughtered and prepared for dinner. When the women, my cousins, had finished cooking, they ate in a circle amongst themselves with the children while I was given a place to eat with the men.

We returned to the lodge soon after, especially since it was getting dark, and as I prepared for bed I mustered up the courage to find some men who would speak to me. As I exited from my small room, which I was sharing with my father, I heard him conversing with
Bennett, another man who had grown up with my father during the 1940s. Bennett was my first interview in Badgji, however, our conversation was less of an interview and more of a story, in which I sat and listened while he reminisced on “good times” with my father. Together we sat on the veranda underneath the stars, the crickets chirping loudly, the village for the most part silent and dark except for the laughter of two or three men in the distance. As I listened, it became clear that Bennett’s early childhood was in a very different time, a time where war was not present and his early education took place amongst his family members, not in a classroom. My conversation with Bennett sparked my interest in the period before the war—and hence I knew I could not properly develop a thesis without examining masculine identities before the war.

**Constructing Masculinity in Pre-War Southern Sudan**

At the beginning of the 20th century, manhood for ethnic groups in Southern Sudan was characterized by a number of different practices. There are a number of common elements between the ethnic groups that were crucial for a male youth to learn. In order to make the transition from boyhood into manhood, boys were educated by elder males in: hunting, cattle herding, fighting and wrestling, dancing, cultivating and hut building. Each activity prepared boys for manhood. The older males within a community socialized male youth into manhood through these practices. This education that did not take place in a classroom, instead, this classroom was everywhere—it was in the woods while hunting, it was in front of the community while dancing, or it was at the homestead in the fields while cultivating. These experiences prepared males for their passageway into adulthood.
With the arrival of missionaries in the 1920s, these practices began to change. Before the arrival of Western-style education within missionary schools, there were various ways in which youth were educated. Sometimes boys would learn from their elders while sitting around fires at night. In other areas, boys would learn from their peers while playing together during the day. Lastly, boys often learned a certain kind of professional training from a father or mentor, for example, if a boy was the son of a blacksmith, a weaver, woodcarver or stool maker, the boy would spend a considerable amount of time each day learning the trade of his father. This system of gendered social education was standard practice until it was joined by missionary and government schools in Southern Sudan. In learning these various practices, male youth were prepared by fathers and grandfathers for their initiation into manhood, for without these skills, boys would be deemed weak men, not men at all, unable to care for their farms, or unable to participate in community governance. These lessons equipped male youths with the tools they needed to participate in the social governance of their communities, prepared them for marriage—teaching them how to take care of a family, and gave them status within their group.

**The British Colonial Administration and the Condominium Period**

During the Condominium Period in Southern Sudan (1898-1956) the people of Southern Sudan lived with little to no formal intervention in education and local politics from the colonial government due to the Closed Door Policy. During this period the Closed Door Policy, which closed off Southern Sudan to all outsiders, left the Southern Sudanese relatively free to continue practicing their own traditions for there was little intervention into the domestic or social life. One significant cultural shift that occurred during this period, however, was the arrival of

---

54 Ibid
missionaries. In retrospect Southerners viewed the Condominium Closed Door Policy negatively for its role in enhancing the disparity in development between the North and the South, but the British claimed it largely protected the South from Northern slave traders, and other foreign bodies that wished to intervene with the various groups’ ways of life. With the arrival of missionaries, formal education was introduced in the South. Formal education forced a Christian way of thinking and being on the Southerners. This included studying the Bible, learning how to read and write, as well as “proper” hygiene and morals. A new tradition surrounding education and the increasing acceptance of formal education thus occurred across the South during the 1940s. Male youths were thus able to derive both authority and power out of their ability read and write.

The British divided Southern Sudan into three provinces: Equatoria, Bahr Al-Ghazal, and Upper Nile. Each province had slightly different climates and environments that informed the ways and practices of the various groups of Southern Sudan. The varying weather of these regions played an essential role in determining the livelihood possibilities for each group. Bahr al Ghazal is a low grassy plain where rainfall occurs from April until October. The plains are marked with the jebels (mountains), and eventually transforms into the vast swamps and the

---

Sudd of the Upper Nile region. A network of tributaries from the Nile feeds the plains of Bahr al Ghazal during the rainy season making it very difficult for both military operations and travel in the region. However, during the dry season, these tributaries often dry. Three large cattle-owning Nilotic groups dominate the Upper Nile and Bahr al Ghazal regiona: (1) the Dinka, (2) the Shilluk, and (3) the Nuer.\textsuperscript{56}

The Dinka, is a large ethnic group with many subgroups, settled between amongst the swamps of the Upper Nile and the tributaries of Bahr al Ghazal. The Dinka, as described by E.E. Evans- Pritchard, had fierce warrior-like qualities; however, interethnic divisions often weakened their strength. The Shilluk are a people whom were spread across the banks of the White Nile in central to Northern Upper Nile and, like the Dinka, were described as peoples of a combative quality.\textsuperscript{57} The third group is the Nuer, a people whom were protected from Europeans by the swamps of the Sudd, which made their land inaccessible to colonial invaders. Like the other Nilotic groups, the Nuer were characterized as well by their militaristic qualities.\textsuperscript{58}

Although Bahr al Ghazal and Upper Nile received rainfall, Equatoria was the wettest region of Southern Sudan. A large number of ridges, hills, and low rising mountains can be found in Equatoria, a plain that borders the Congo-Nile watershed.\textsuperscript{59} In this region a number of relatively smaller groups could be found, namely the Moru, Latuka, and Bari. Some divisions of the Dinka, who used the stretching grassland to graze their cattle, primarily dominated Northern

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid
Equatoria. The Nilo-Hamites of Equatoria, unlike the cattle-owning Nilotic societies were agriculturalists that were often subject to foreign invaders and slave raiding.\textsuperscript{60}

Southern Sudan is marked by four seasons: (1) dry season (December through February), (2) rain season (March through May), (3) wettest season (June through August), and (4) harvest season (September through December). These different seasons, helped to determine the livelihoods of each of the groups mentioned above. For some, like the Dinka and the Nuer who lived in more arid lands and tended to be more nomadic, they tended to own more cattle and farming served as a supplement to cattle herding. For the Moru in the southwest, where the lands were amongst the most fertile in the region, they tended to be primarily farmers and would supplement this farming with hunting. One custom that was common amongst most, if not all, groups was that of hunting. Hunting was not necessarily a main livelihood, as it was accompanied by other practices, but it was an important skill for young men to learn during their upbringing.

**Hunting**

For the Moru of Equatoria, hunting was a major activity during the dry season. The Moru were largely agriculturalists and lived off the produce they planted during the rainy season. To supplement their cultivation and gardens, which will be discussed later, wild animals provided an important food source for the Moru. Men who were skilled at hunting and an excellent marksman were highly esteemed in Moru society because hunting was so important to the community.\textsuperscript{61} Learning how to hunt well also established that one would some day be able to hunt for his family and be responsible for feeding both his wife and children.

\textsuperscript{61} Ibid
According to ethnographer, Elhanan Were Iyeggah, who lived among the Moru in the 1930s and 1940s and conducted research in the 1950s and 1960s, “one would narrate with pride as to how he shot such and such animal and as to how he already passed the stage of tapi (initiation).” If a young male had not killed a required number of animals by his mid twenties, he was subject to insult and ridicule by his age mates, for hunting was important to the lives of Moru men and offered them a chance to showoff their manhood. As hunting was also an essential skill to the daily lives of the Moru, one who lacked the ability to appropriately use a bow and hunt would not be able to provide for a family let alone himself—two key factors in determining ones manhood. Conversations about marksmanship and one’s ability to kill fast moving animals were common amongst men, especially aspiring male youth. These exchanges between males established a way in which young men, as a community, could assure that other male young and young men learned the proper skills they needed to be a man.

Among the Moru in the 20th century, Iyeggah identified several different types of hunting for the Moru: the mara, the lindi, Kyimba, Individual hunting (Arigo and Lara utu), Gawa, and fishing. The mara was group or communal hunting that took place on one’s

---

ancestral area and own land with s, arrows, and sometimes spears depending on the type of animal that was being hunted. *Mara* hunting was further divided by both small-scale hunting and large-scale hunting. Male family elders organized small-scale hunting excursions for the benefit of the immediate family. The larger scale hunting was done for large celebrations and could only be done if the oracle was consulted and permitted the hunt. Oracles were to be consulted before any mara hunting activities could take place. These hunting expeditions exhibited and tested the agility and strength of men as they often entailed covering long distances, an arduous task if one was physically weak. Male youth would accompany men on these hunts, which would test their ability to keep up with the other men in both quickness and skill.\(^6^3\)

The *lindi* was the opposite of the mara in that it did not require nearly as much physical strength. This hunting would take place on overgrown properties that were cultivated, by the owners, to attract large number of wild animals. After a couple of years, men would surround the land and set it on fire, killing animals as they attempted to exit the land. The owner of the land, in this case, would then decide when the hunt would occur based on whether or not he thought the land was ready. These hunts were social events for men, for the landowner would invite others from the group to join in on the event and fix a date for the hunt. As a social event for men, this provided a platform for male youth to assert themselves as males who were potentially ready for their transition into manhood, depending on their performance at the event.

Individual hunting, or *Arigo* and *Laru utu*, was done by one man alone and could be conducted anywhere, not necessarily just on one’s own land. Most famed hunters preferred *Arigo*, for it usually involved moving stealthily near the animal and either shooting them with

arrows or spearing them with a spear. For male youth this was the best display of masculine hunting prowess. This required great athletic skill and patience, as one would need to stalk close to the animal. *Laru utu* differed from *Arigo* in that a male would wait on a platform (in a tree, hidden amongst grass or flowers) for hours until he could surprise his prey at dusk or dawn when animals were most likely to feed.

Camping, or *gawa*, was done during the dry season when entire families would leave their homestead for an extended period. These trips were usually made because of the need for additional food sources during this season. *Gawa* could be a collection of many different types of hunting such as the small scare *mara*, *lindi*, or fishing. These camping trips served as another opportunity for male youth and young men to show their hunting skills in front of their family members. Camp would be set up in a relatively remote and uninhabited area, and then men would begin their hunting and trapping expeditions. While men and male youth were hunting, women and children would remain by the camps to cook and prepare meals for those that were out hunting. *Kyimba*, was another type of hunting was done by the entire family, thus it did not have a special mark on one’s manhood. As women and children would take part in this hunting, only small animals would be hunted, and the hunts often involved neighboring families.

In contrast with the other forms of hunting, fishing was another occupation during the dry season. However, where as expertise in hunting bestowed one pride, status and admiration, the skill of fishing was not nearly as esteemed. Catching fish was not nearly as exciting and difficult, and thus did not hold the same clout as hunting large animals. Individuals, families, or even entire communities carried out fishing, and the practices varied depending on whether or not it was a standing or flowing body of water.
For the Moru, and for other groups in Southern Sudan, hunting was an activity that allowed male youth to showcase their expertise in order to gain esteem and status within their communities. By hunting certain animals that took great skill to kill, such as cheetahs or lions, or large animals, like elephants, youth could be deemed ready for their rite of passage into manhood. The ability for men to hunt and successfully kill large animals during the dry season when food was often more scarce was important for agriculturalist groups who relied on their crops during the wet season, but in turn, needed to supplement their crops with meat. In other societies, as we will see in the next section, hunting was a part of the initiation process, as male youth would retreat into the bush for a set period of time in which they were to fend for themselves by both hunting and building places of shelter.

**Cattle-Herding**

Amongst the Nilotic groups, while fishing and hunting were vital to the community, the most important livelihood for men was cattle herding. The relationships that were established between a man and his cows or a boy and the bull his father presented him with when he came of age were everlasting. Cattle herding was more than an occupation. A man’s herd was closely linked to his identity as a man because cattle allowed men to participate in the larger society and even exert authority in their society. A man’s cattle were his wealth, and without cattle, it would be difficult to afford dowries for marriage, a point which will be further discussed in the next section. For this reason, it was emasculating for men if they were victims of cattle raiding and had their cows taken from them. However, in the same way, fighting and cattle raiding was seen

---

as a way for a youth to prove himself and his masculinity. For example Huffman observed among the Nuer in the 1930s:

A man’s work usually begins at sunrise. He has probably slept in the barn. He usually stays among the cattle until he is called to his breakfast at about nine o’clock… Then he eats and is ready to spend the day among the cattle. He takes them out to graze at about ten o’clock in the morning and returns with them in the late afternoon. He loves his cattle. His day is a happy one spent in their midst, his human companions being other men who have taken their cattle out to graze also. His spear and club are ever with him. In the late afternoon he comes home with his cattle, finding his supper is being prepared…

This passage specifically linked the importance of cattle to the daily life of a Nuer male in the 1930s. Cattle were also important to a male youth because it was his wealth. It is from this wealth that he would be expected to pay a dowry to his future wife’s family, and these cattle would continue to both represent the wealth of this male. Without his cattle, a man could not expect to pay afford the dowry for a wife, meaning he would not be able to start a family— one of the most important parts of being a man. These cows would eventually be passed down to the male children of this man when he began a family of his own. As a Nuer man one was expected to know each one of the animals in his herd, and the herds of his neighbors. From the shape of an animal’s horns and the social bonds between family and friends, to its history and ancestry, a man was expected to know it all. This also helped a man identify his cattle if it were stolen in a raid.

The older males within each respective group taught the young boys how to care for their herds. Each morning, the youth were expected to follow the older males to herd the cattle.

---


In addition, the youth were taught how to milk the cows.\footnote{Seligman, C. G., and Brenda Z. Seligman. Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan. London: G. Routledge & Sons, ltd, 1932. (170)} For cattle herding groups, the date of the performance of the initiation ceremony would be decided upon by the cattle chief, who would determine the date at his own discretion, possibly depending on when his own sons would be initiated.\footnote{Ibid, 22}

**Fighting and Wrestling**

For many societies in Southern Sudan, like in any community, there were various reasons and causes for fighting, according to Evans-Pritchard: (1) a dispute over a cow, (2) a cow or goat eating another man’s millet, (3) a man striking another man’s son, (4) adultery, (4) watering rights in the dry season, (5) a man borrowing an object without asking the owner’s permission, and (6) pasturage rights. Many of the Nilotic groups were prone to solving their issues through fighting, thus, it was uncommon to see a man who did not bare the scars from a spear or club.\footnote{Evans-Pritchard, E. E. The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People. Oxford: Clarendon, 1956. (151).} In addition, learning how to fight was essential to defending one’s community. Cattle raids were a very real threat, especially from neighboring groups, and without an adept ability to fight, one could lose his entire herd.\footnote{McMahon, Felicia R. Not Just Child's Play: Emerging Tradition and the Lost Boys of Sudan. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2007.} From childhood, boys were encouraged by the elders in their communities to settle disagreements by fighting. Therefore, most boys grew up, “to regard skill in fighting the most necessary accomplishment and courage the highest virtue.”\footnote{Evans-Pritchard, E. E. The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People. Oxford: Clarendon, 1956. (150).}
Fighting occurred between men if one man felt that he had been insulted. As most groups in Southern Sudan lived in decentralized societies, there was no centralized authority from which a man could seek to obtain justice if he felt he had been wronged. Thus, fighting was a means of social governance to regulate disputes. Men would challenge another man, if he insulted him, to a fight. Once a fight was initiated, the other man had no choice but to accept the challenge or else his manhood would be called into question. These fights were regulated by the community. Boys of the same village, for example, were allowed to fight with spiked bracelets, men were limited to using clubs, for communities feared that if spears were to be used and this resulted in a death, then the community would be split over the feud. Despite the tendency of not killing the opponent, once a duel had begun between two men, in order to prove one’s own courage and manhood, the fight could not stop until one party was badly injured, or others physically separated the two men. On the other hand, when battles started between two villages, the use of spears was permissible, and it was expected that every male in the community take part.

While Evans-Pritchard, is one of the only early scholars in Southern Sudanese ethnographies to comment on fighting, it is important to note that while some qualities may have been over exaggerated he was not misinterpreting the customs he observed amongst the Nuer. In an interview with Dr. Evans, a man who was born in Western Equatoria in 1962, he spoke of the significance of fighting, or what he called “wrestling” in his community. As a very physically fit male, he was a fighting champion in the 1970s, as was his father in the 1930s.

74 Ibid., 150
75 Ibid., 151
76 Ibid
77 Interview by author with Dr. Evans in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 16, 2014)
and 1940s. For the most part, the fights he took place in occurred amongst his own community, but he exclaimed that sometimes, both he and his father would compete with other groups. These fights earned them status within their community for exemplifying their physical prowess.

Fighting served an important social function, and the regulated fights that occurred limited the scope of violence between groups. Fights also provided male youth with an opportunity to display their courage, physical strength, and masculinity by fighting another man to the point of great injury. While fighting was one option of handling insults from other males, song and dance was another alternative to challenging another male within ones group.

Singing and Dancing

For young men in Southern Sudanese societies, performance through dance and singing was key to gaining respect from others within their communities, showing off to future marriage prospects, mourning important deaths, celebrating ones initiation into manhood, as well as challenging other males within your own community. Dance was both important for social and ritual events as well as demonstrating one’s leadership in a community.

Young men maximized their chances of marriage by showing their skills of singing and dancing off in front of their female age mates. For newly initiated Dinka men, they were paired with an ox by the older men in their communities that they were to proudly display before his female age-mates. In a show of song and dance men praised their ox in song, singing about it to draw the attention of the females to himself and his ox. The importance of song and dance and its enhancement of a man’s societal position are displayed in this Dinka song

translated by Francis Mading Deng, a scholar who was born in a Dinka community in 1938 and wrote from both his own experience and research:

When I dance to the drums,
I do not dance with a girl who goes out of step;
The confused girl who disrupts harmony,
The bad [fisherman’s] girl who lives on the river,
I dance with a polished girl,
I am not simple at dancing to the drums,
I am not simple,
I am never challenged in our [group],
I cannot be dribbled around at Akot,
I am respected as an officer79

This song demonstrates the prestige and pride a young male felt in his own ability to dance well and not just “simply.” His talent in dance, earned him both respect, but also attracted females to him, that, like him, were not unsophisticated in their dancing capabilities either. However, song and dance were not just important for young men who wished to court other women through their expertise in dance, they are also seasonal and performed throughout the year for other reasons such as funerals, marriage celebrations, or less organized events like after a successful harvest or hunt. In an interview with Darius, from the Moro group he noted that:

Dancing was very important, and usually your age-mates were the ones who took you, I saw my first one when my grandfather died—that was more funeral rights, people came with their bows and arrows and danced because he was a very important man, he was a rainmaker. People came in their full gear of war, spoke to the dead, and they mourned him through dance.80

80 Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)
When Darius’ grandfather died, in the late 1940s, members of the community came in their war attire in order to show their respect for a man who held an important role of status and prestige in the community. In addition to performing dances for funerals, Darius also remarked that:

Songs like the *Mori*, or insulting songs called *Li Li* were a tradition to challenge your age-mates if they were lazy. People would make songs about you—such as if you don’t care about yourself, people will make songs about you. It’s a way of acknowledging another, it’s like media these days, talking about families and about others.\(^1\)

As was briefly discussed in the section on fighting, singing was another form of social regulation. If a male was insulted or wanted to assert his power over another male—singing was one way that he could demonstrate his superior status as a male in from of others. Another man, Dr. Evans, also from the Moru further elaborated on this point:

There is a type of song if you had done something wrong, one can show you and your weakness. Maybe you are competing for the same woman, you can then challenge another man through song. This helped discipline people so that they behave well. One could also expose thieves, laziness, and witchcraft.\(^2\)

Defamation through song and dance was a common method for social governance among many ethnic groups in the South; the Dinka, Nuer, and Shilluk all had similar traditions of denouncing others within the community through insult songs. These songs were deemed especially offensive, for when one insulted another individual, one was not just defaming that specific individual but his name, and in, for instance, Dinka society, that meant ruining the family name. A man was both the leader in his family as well as a central unit in his society. These confrontations were another important segment of social governance within a group. If he was insulted, this directly affected his status within his community.

---

\(^1\) Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)

\(^2\) Interview by author with Dr. Evans in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 16, 2014)
For the Dinka, a family’s name was known and upheld by the society as a whole, therefore, a man was not able to insult or challenge another male without involving a third party or performing the song in front of the community. A “name [could not] be spoiled without the society hearing the defamatory information.”

Song and dance for men was another platform through which male youth and young men could both gain respect from others within their community, challenge the manhood of other men from other age-sets, as well as court future marriage prospects.

Public performance of song and dance to demonstrate one’s masculinity, social authority and power was another form of social governance and pre-war Southern Sudan. Learning how to sing and dance from the elder males in the community was crucial to having the ability to challenge another male and establish oneself over him. Song and dance would not disappear with the arrival of formal education in Southern Sudan; however, as with fighting, its importance diminished.

**Hut Building**

The construction of huts, houses, and barns, was often governed by norms that were passed from generation to generation. The organization of each homestead was constructed such that the immediate family would be close to one another, and the wives, in particular, close to the hut of their husbands. Extended families did not live far either; however, they had their own homesteads in the community. Building a shelter or hut for himself and his family members was emblematic of the maturity of a young man. Hut building also symbolized the leadership of a man and his centrality and importance to the homestead.

---

For the Moru, it was expected of newly initiated men that he be able to build a hut for himself, a kaligo, as well as huts for his wife or future wife. According to Iyeggah, the kaligo would serve two functions: (1) a sanctuary where he could retire for rest after a long day’s work, and (2) a place of accommodation for visitors of the man. Newly initiated men were expected to build the huts for themselves in a ring, in addition to constructing a similar ring of huts for the women of his family. These huts are called doro. If there are no sons in a family, these huts are built by the fathers of the family instead. The importance of this practice was mentioned in an interview with Bennett, who grew up among the Moru in the 1940s:

For Moru, when you become a man you get your own hut and space because a young man should have a room of his own. As a youngster you sleep with others. It is a rite of passage, you also get a hoe from your male relatives and are expected to make a bow and arrow yourself.

In other groups such as the Shilluk, entire families would be involved in the building of huts. Women and children would cut the grass for the houses, as well as collect water for the mud walls; however, the substantial building of the house was left to men. Men would be

---

85 Ibid
86 Interview by author with Bennett in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 15, 2014)
expected to cut wooden poles for the roof, make rope, create the mud mixture for the walls, and construct the house.\textsuperscript{87}

With the arrival of formal education, the practice of males building huts, did not completely cease from occurring, because families still needed a place to reside. However, it not longer became a requirement for males to learn how to build dwelling places in order to establish their maturity and ability to provide for a family. This is because, a great number of the missionary schools that were established, especially during the 1940s and the 1950s were boarding schools, which meant that young males were taken away from their homes and housed together, thus, did not have this form of social education from elder males.\textsuperscript{88}

**Cultivation**

Cultivation was an important male livelihood in Southern Sudan, especially for groups within the Equatoria regions. For each group across the South, agriculture varied in importance. The Nilotic groups, for example, that were mainly pastoralist and lived on the open grass plains or bush country, primarily farmed crops like millet which could be used for porridge or beer.\textsuperscript{89} The groups that lived along the Nile, such as the Dinka and Shilluk of the White Nile ate some fish and sometimes hippopotamus. Further South in Equatoria, crops were much more varied in nature as the climate was wetter. Cattle were much less important in this region, and goats

---


\textsuperscript{88} Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)

played a greater role than cows. The homestead in these areas would be surrounded by land
plotted with beans, hibiscus, tobacco, and various herbs.\(^9\)

There were usually three main cultivation seasons for the peoples in Southern Sudan
and knowledge of these seasonal cycles was important for men. The Moro, for example, had
the \textit{duru}, \textit{tayi}, and \textit{jaliya}. The \textit{duru} was the onset of the rainy season. During this season, which
lasted from April to May, everyone around the household was expected to help with the crops
as these were planted immediately surrounding the homestead. The \textit{tayi}, which lasted from June
to August was the main season of
maturation for the crops, hence these crops
were planted further away from the
homestead in the \textit{amvu} (fields a long
distance away from the home.) Lastly the
\textit{jaliya} was the height to harvest, and this
season was when most crops were
harvested—lasting from September until
the dry season.\(^9\)

There were two types of crop
gardens in Moro communities:
the \textit{turu’du} and the \textit{amvu}.

The \textit{turu’du} was, as previously
mentioned, the garden immediately

surrounding the homestead, or the backyard garden. This land was planted every year as long as the homestead remained in the same place. These gardens were used to farm crops that were quick in maturing, needed fertile ground, and were often of higher value, vegetables such as: curcurbits, okra, jewsmallow, maize, and sweet steam sorghum. The entire household would be expected to attend to this garden. The \textit{amvu}, on the other hand, or field garden, was often built much further away from the homestead, and was much larger than the \textit{turu’du}. These crops were attended to by the males in the family, who had the ability and strength to travel to these gardens, farm them, and then return home. The \textit{amvu} was planted in different locations every year depending on the fertility of the soil, which often meant that they could be very far from the homestead, depending on the year. The main staples, such as: sorghum and millet, were grown in these gardens. Because these crops were so grown at a distance from the homestead, both a lot of labor and time were required for the harvesting and upkeep of these lands.\textsuperscript{92}

In order to take care of these fields, communities would pool their efforts together and cultivate the lands collectively. Each \textit{amvu} farm would be cultivated by a group of men and they would rotate to the next set of lands, until every farm was completed. Especially well off farmers, whom had food to spare and share, would turn the cultivation process into an event. A man would extend invitations to all of his relatives and neighbors to help him farm his lands on a specific day, while at the same time his wife would invite her friends to cook and prepare food and drink for the men. Throughout the day, men would take occasional breaks to drink hot porridge and beer brewed with honey prepared by the women. At the end of the days work, water would be prepared for the men to bathe themselves and a hot feast would be waiting. In addition, to make sure the food was delicious and to thank their ancestors, a goat would be

slaughtered. These occasions sometimes turned into celebrations, as the men would continue to
drink beer and this would lead often led to dancing into the late hours of the evening.93

The jaliya or harvest period would begin in September and end in January or February
depending on the amount of rain they had received, how hard they worked on their lands, and
the yield of crops. Before each harvest began, a celebration occurred in thanks and dedication to
the group’s ancestors. A large feast would be prepared, an abundance of beer brewed, and on
the day of the ceremony, everyone in the community would travel to the homestead of the
rainmakers for the celebration. Each family would drive a peg into the ground to represent their
ancestor, and then sprinkled with the blood of a slaughtered chicken. Food would then be
offered to these ancestors at the base of the central tree on the rainmaker’s homestead, and when
this was done, the rainmaker would declare the harvest and feast open. The celebration, of
course, did not occur without much dancing and celebration, which once again would often last
the entirety of the evening.94

The jaliya was the time that most dances occurred, as food was plenty and not scarce
like the dry season. People were often happier and healthier during this season, which
encouraged them to celebrate through dances, called the yelu. The yelu was a staged vigorous
dance that occurred only during the jaliya months. Because dancing was prevalent during this
season, is was necessary for male youth to learn how to dance so as to not embarrass themselves
in front of the women of their community.

For communities that were not pastoralists, agriculture was a main food source and
essential to the community. These processes were absolutely necessary knowledge for the male
youth, and these youth would be taught how to cultivate by the elder men in their community

94 Ibid
while they were growing up. While the entire family would be involved with the garden around their homestead, it was the wider farming, done further away from the homestead that required the most work and labor. Learning how to cultivate these gardens, and use one’s hoe was important to the livelihoods of these communities. Knowledge of the seasons, how to harvest different crops and gardens was important for males as they would some day be the head of a family of their own, and he would need to teach his children how to farm harvest so as to be able to get all the work done and provide food for the whole family.

**Initiation**

A boy’s initiation, by far, was seen as the most important event of a boy’s life. For societies living along the Nile, initiation, or the passage into the first age-class, was associated with scarification. These markings varied from group to group. Depending on the year, the number of initiates would fluctuate between five and fifteen. Those who did not undergo the scarring to be marked as a man were likely to be seen as child until they went through the cutting ceremony. In a study of Dinka livelihoods, in the 1940s and 1950s, Francis Deng wrote on the initiation practice, “The life of an uninitiated man in relation to initiated men [was] one of servitude.” Therefore, the initiation ceremony was viewed by young male Dinka as a celebration of emancipation, for the Dinka youth were obligated to do the everyday busy work with the cattle, and it was men who shepherded the cattle in environments where dangerous

---

predators roamed. Initiation freed them to partake in other activities with men and allowed them to participate in family governing and social authority. The anticipation for the initiation ceremony is shown in the following Dinka initiation song recorded in the 1950s:

The knife turned red like tanned leather,
We lie for pain in the home of the Crested Crane
Initiation is the thing which redeems a man from slavery:
I will not run
I would rather die on the flank.

When the morning star appear, I will not run,
I will kneel and sing a song of war
Gray of the Dancing Head, I scorn its pain
Son of Col. Potrial Ajak,

If I run from the knife, slaughter me.
Grandfather, son of the clan of Kon d’Ayong
My head will be scourged in the morning.
Man, endure the pain
Your father is dancing with joy
The Whole Abyor is dancing with joy.

I hate being a boy.
I will not remain a boy this year.
Father, Marial, O Father Marial
The Knife Sharpened by the Song of Rialkok,
Will cut my veins for the sake of pride.99

This song reflects the honor, pride, and sense of liberation that came along with initiation. There are many areas of this song that speak of the freeing merits of initiation and how joyful this moment was for male youth. This new man would now be responsible for himself, his own

family, and could exercise his own authority. The scarification process, as will be discussed later, was quite painful and carried out anesthetics, thus to remain still while one’s forehead was receiving the scarification was not an easy feat. However, this song established how a male would rather die than show his fear of the knife. Initiation was a moment of great pride and courage for male youth, and this song shows how excited male youth were at the thought of ones entrance into manhood.

There was no set age for boys, but the ceremony usually occurred for boys between the ages of 14 and 16. When a boy felt ready for the operation, the father’s consent was required, and if it were refused, the boy was left in complete humiliation. A father’s consent could only be received; however, if the boy exemplified his qualification for the ceremony. The illustration of one’s readiness for initiation was displayed in trials. Male youth were expected to withstand pain, challenges, fend for themselves without the accompaniment of elder males. By taking responsibility for oneself, these male youth were demonstrating that they were prepared to partake in governing family affairs, and likewise educating other male youth. One of the key qualifying factors was courage, for the initiation practice was excruciatingly painful.

For the Dinka, the ideal process began when the youths were first sent into the marshes where they would sleep in dugouts and hunt, showing that they could fend for themselves and survive for about a month. At the end of this trial period, when the youths returned to the village, their heads would be shaven and they would receive from their father an ox, a canoe, a

---

100 Thomas, Lynn M. "“Ngaitana (I Will Circumcise Myself)”: The Gender and Generational Politics of the 1956 Ban on Clitoridectomy in Meru, Kenya." Gender & History 8, no. 3 (1996): 338-63.
spear, a fishing spear, a hippopotamus harpoon, fishing lines and arm ornaments. If the family was especially wealthy, the boy would also receive cows. By proving his ability to survive on his own, this was a signifying factor that he was prepared to establish a family and maintain his own livelihood and herd of cattle. After returning to the village, the boys would feast with their families on sheep contributed by each boy’s father. The newly initiated boys would then be paraded to nearby villages where they would dance, another important show of manhood, mingle, and meet potential wives.

For the Nuer, the initiation ceremony began around daybreak when the man who performed the scarring on the boys, by means of a sharp knife, collected the initiates from the barns where they were sleeping. However, it is not just the boys who were preparing for the ceremony, for girls would also be en route to watch the initiation to observe which boys acted bravely—a trait that would mark them as good husbands. The first boy to undergo the surgery was marked as a leader, for he would set the bar for his age-mates and lead others to follow his example of remaining quiet when underneath the blade. Laying on the ground with his arms folded over his chest, the elder male would begin to cut the boy’s forehead, beginning at the center of the forehead and extending to the ear or just past it. During the cutting ceremony it was absolutely essential that the boy remain still, for if he exhibited any signs of fear and flinched, the scarring would not be a perfect line. Imperfect lines would, therefore, mark him as a man who had displayed weakness during his initiation for the rest of this life—a mark that

---

104 Ibid, 171
would submit him to ridicule among the girls and women of his community.\textsuperscript{107} Perfect lines marked him as a male that endured the searing pain of the blade during initiation, displaying his courage and ability to withstand a large quantity of pain for the rest of his life.

Once the scarring ceremony was finished, sheep would be sacrificed in order to ritually guarantee safe healing of the cuts. Within the next couple of days, a mock fight would be arranged between the newly initiated now men and the women of the village where the women would fight with clubs while the men were to defend themselves against the women without any aid or weapon.\textsuperscript{108} Another practice that occurred after initiation ceremonies was that of an intergenerational mock fight. In this fight, older age-sets would challenge the youngest age-set to institutionalized fights by singing insult songs to provoke the younger group of males.\textsuperscript{109} Like the Dinka, after undergoing the initiation process, the new men visited neighboring villages and became the center of attention in the community.\textsuperscript{110}

These initiation ceremonies would change the status of an initiate from that of a boy to a man. Boys who passed these trials literally became men in the eyes of their community. The ideal transition meant that as a man he could begin attending all dances and gatherings held in the community, he could carry a spear, and he would begin to court women for marriage.\textsuperscript{111} In addition, his initiation meant that he could now exercise authority over the younger male youth in the community who had not yet been initiated. In addition, his sisters would have to show an increased amount of respect towards him. In exercising this new power, he was not to overstep

\textsuperscript{107} Huffman, Ray. \textit{Nuer Customs and Folk-Lore}. The University of California: International Institute of African Languages & Cultures, 1931. (30)
\textsuperscript{108} Ibid, 31
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid
\textsuperscript{111} Huffman, Ray. \textit{Nuer Customs and Folk-Lore}. The University of California: International Institute of African Languages & Cultures, 1931. (26)
his boundary with older men who had received their scarring before him. Ultimately, he would now be able to have a voice in the affairs of his community.112

For these two societies, the Dinka and the Nuer, and other groups in Southern Sudan, achieving manhood was contingent on one’s courage through the scarring practice, one’s ability to hunt and fend for oneself for a set period of time, as well as one’s ability to manage his cattle. In proceeding through the initiation practice and receiving cattle after a successful scarring ceremony, new men were given the tools they needed to showcase their manhood. These tools varied among different societies. Where as hunting was crucial for agriculturalists who relied on harvest and hunting as their food sources, pastoralists took greater care of their cattle, as this was their livelihood and primary food source.

These initiation ceremonies took place, as mentioned, when the elder males in the community deemed the male youth ready, or the male youth displayed that they succeed in all the necessary trials: cattle herding, fending for oneself, and hunting. The transition into manhood did not, however, take place on account of one’s biological maturation, but instead when they were deemed socially prepared for manhood. This aspect of initiation would eventually be interrupted by the arrival of formal education, which diminished the importance of these skills and trials by emphasizing the importance of learning how to read and write.

Marriage

Initiation into manhood signified that a male youth was prepared to be a man; but most importantly, it showed that he was ready to start a family. Once boys showed manliness in strength and skill, they were prepared for marriage. The most important aspects of marriage

---

were to have a companion to live one’s life with as well as bear offspring. In learning the
different skills essential to manhood, young men were given the tools they needed to attract the
attention of females. For the most part, men married within their own ethnic group. This made
paying the dowry easier, and families were much more likely to know the family history of the
bride or groom. If marriages did take place outside of a community, it was usually the marriage
of a chief to the daughter of another chief to establish good relations between the two groups.
However, before a marriage between a man and a woman could take place, a bride price or
donwry had to be exchanged between the families of the bride and groom. No marriage could be
considered valid with the exchange of a dowry.

The period of courting between males and females varied from group to group. For
young men of the Moru, dances called the ruayi, would be held to offer men the chance to meet
young women. After female-interest was shown at one of these dances, the young man would
travel to the homestead of the young woman to present himself to her family. During this visit
the entire family would inspect the male—taking in all of his qualities. If his appearance was
rejected, then he would be made to leave, if the woman accepted his gesture, she would invite
him to her hut. Ideally, the two would engage in a struggle while moving towards the hut, and
the man would thus show his strength by pulling the woman to her own hut.

While observing the customs of the Nuer, Huffman observed a different practice. During
the fishing season, he noticed that young men would court women through singing, in an
attempt to win the affection or favor of females:

---

He dances as he follows the ox and he sings praises of the ox, himself, and his sweetheart in loud tones that may be heard for some distance. This performance may be continued for some hours, especially the singing. 116

This custom called upon the other skills that were important for males to learn—that of cattle herding and singing. Without the two of these skills, this performance would not be appealing to the female, nor would the young man be able to control his own cattle.

However, by far the most essential aspect of marriage was the exchanging of the bride-wealth between families. These dowries took the form of many different properties, such as: smelted items (i.e. hoes, axes, spears, arrows), sheep, firewood, tobacco, and most importantly, cattle. 117 The bride price was negotiated between the elder men of the marrying couple, and this price was often argued about at length. In the end, for example with the Nuer, the number of cattle received as a dowry by a woman’s family would therefore help the woman’s own brother in his marriage plans. 118 Thus every male youth was invested in the marriage of his sister or other close female relatives, because it meant that he would receive a portion of the cattle from that transaction.

A man was not expected to pay a dowry on his own, except for if he was a very wealthy man. This was often true of chiefs. One of my interviewees, Edward, from the Luo ethnic group was the son of one of such chiefs, who governed his ethnic group throughout the 1940s and 1950s:

118 Ibid
My father was married to seven women. Not all of his wives were Luo, three were Dinka, one Belanda, and three Luo. My mother was Dinka. My father paid all of his dowries by himself because he was a chief. My mother was the daughter of a chief, so my father had to pay 200 cows for her.  

Marriages such as that between Edward’s father and his mother, helped to create alliances between ethnic groups. The dowries and bride prices for these exchanges varied, for not all ethnic groups used the same currency. Marriages between Nilotic groups, such as the Dinka and Nuer, for example, usually involved cattle, while societies from the Equatorias exchanged other forms of wealth, like iron goods. If a man was not a chief, his family would help with the bride price, for if he never married it would reflect badly upon the family.

Once a portion of the dowry was paid, the various groups across the South celebrated the wedding in different ways. An ideal wedding amongst the Shilluk, as Seligman observed, would take place over a three-day period with celebrations that were filled with singing and dancing. In one of these instances, there is an event where an ox is decorated, and paraded to the bride’s village. Upon arrival, a mock battle takes place, and the bride’s family and friends seize the ox. In retaliation, the bridegroom and his accompaniment surround the bride’s homestead, throwing spears into the courtyard. This scene would end with the submission of the bride, who would present a dance in the center of the homestead. The bride’s dance would end with another performance, this time from the bride’s mother, who would take a shield and spears and throw these at the groom. In a show of his own agility, the groom would dodge the spears, catch one, and throw it back at the bride’s mother. This gesture marked the end of the mock battle and together the wedding party would engage in dance, concluding the event with drinking locally

---

119 Interview by author with Edward in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 13, 2014)
brewed alcohol. ¹²¹ This particular custom called upon many of the skills a young man was required to learn before his initiation. If he was not able to dance, he would be humiliated during this performance, just as if he was unable to control his cattle, he would be unable to decorate his cattle and bring it to the homestead of his bride. The valuable skills that youth learned prior to their initiation, played into the fundamental aspects of their daily lives as men.

The arrival of the missionaries changed the many features, which made up wedding celebrations; however, it did not change the importance of the dowry and bride wealth. Marriage was the ultimate goal of the social education that male youth learned during their childhood. The skills they absorbed would help them build huts for their families, cultivate food for their families, defend their families, as well as teach their future children the customs they learned. This system of social education would be joined by formal education when missionaries began to move into the South.

**Enlightenment and Education**

Before the arrival of missionaries in Southern Sudan, in daily life, youth learned through various forms of social education: (1) from elders around the fire at night such as oral histories and stories of one’s ancestry; (2) from their peers during the course of the day; (3) from a father, mother, or mentor as a kind of training on a skill or specific job; and (4), likewise, the appropriate social norms for their gender. ¹²² For example, the son of a local blacksmith or a weaver would learn the skill from his father; similarly, the son of a renowned hunter would


¹²² Ibid
learn the skill from his father by shadowing him on hunting trips. These forms of traditional education persisted until the establishment of British Condominium Rule at the end of the 19th century. The earlier practices did not completely cease to exist; however, they persisted in re-worked forms, where formal education took priority, and tasks at home, or social education took from one’s community came second.

The Closed Door Policy kept foreigners and northerners out of the South but allowed missionaries to operate with in the region. As a result, many Southern societies were impacted by the introduction of Christianity and Western education beginning in the late 19th century. Southerners met the construction of schools and the beginning of formal education in schools with mixed views. For example, missionary education devalued many cultural practices, such as the pulling of lower teeth and scarification; it also took power away from older governance and social welfare traditions and folklore—such as that surrounding rainmakers. With the arrival of Christianity societies began to distrust the power of rainmakers to summon the oracle, for example, during the cultivation ceremony that took place before every harvest. Before allowing their children to attend formal schools, the elder males in one’s family began to prep young males before sending them to the missionary schools, like Bennett from Badgji Western

---

124 Ibid
125 The pulling of teeth often took place as a part of the initiation process, but was usually optional and varied from family to family. Incisors were extracted from both the upper and lower jaws, or one or the other, depending on the group of people. For more information, see journal article: Kabiru, Angela. "The Practice of Tooth Extraction." *Kenya Past and Present* 38 (2009).
126 Rainmakers are those who had the power to bring rain. They were always men. This ability rain in families, and within these families there was a hierarchy. The importance of the rainmaker was primarily during the dry season or if there was a drought. In the event of a drought, the rainmaker will go into the bush and perform rituals to call for rain. From a scientific point of view, rainmakers were those who had the ability to read weather patterns such as the clouds, wind, temperature, and pressure. To please the rainmaker, animal sacrifices (usually goats or chickens) would be made before the rainmakers set off on a journey to solicit rain. For more reading, see the book: Iyeggah, Elhanan Were. *The Moru Norms of Living*. Juba: University of Juba, 2012.
I can’t remember what age I started school, but in those days it was called bush school, they wouldn’t let you go to missionary schools at an early age because they wanted to psychologically prepare you for school. 127

While groups began to accept missionary education, because it guaranteed males access to positions of power in the local government, in the late 1940s, they groomed their youth with the social practices of the community before sending them off to day schools to be educated in Christianity and English. These practices and skills included oral histories, and minimal skills in hunting, cattle herding, or cultivation. Youth needed to know the basic social education of their communities before they were allowed to go to missionary schools.

When schools were initially built in Abyei, in 1944, the local Dinka communities disapproved of the “modern skills” that were taught at the schools, such as writing, reading, hygiene, and the learning of religious texts like the Bible. 128 These schools largely comprised of the children of chiefs and the elite of Dinka communities; however, elders disapproved of the idea that with male Dinka youth attending schools, there was nobody to look after the cattle. This role within a community was traditionally held by male youths, and with them all in school, that meant that men were called back to duties they had left long ago when they had gone through the initiation process. However, as Deng discussed in his work, attitudes towards missionary education transformed when members of the community began to see the results of formal education: such as reading and writing, which became another valued form of prestige. 129

127 Interview by author with Bennett in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 15, 2014)
129 Ibid
Deng was one of those who benefitted from the formal education system, as after he finished high school, he would leave the South to attend the University of Khartoum.

Instead of rejecting these new forms of education, learning how to read and write gained one an added level of respect within one’s community. As Francis Deng mentioned in his examination of enlightenment and education, in the late 1940s, “The educated began to feel the superiority of their skills, and sometimes saw the new skills as additions rather than substitutes for the traditional skills.” Instead of trading one’s position in society for a missionary education, young men began to use education to heighten their role in their societies. This is emblematic in a song that was sung by a young Dinka man recorded by Deng:

The gentleman he knows all things
He knows how to write
And he knows how to dance to the drums
Both are things of pride
I have put tassels on my bull.

This song shows the increasing significance that formal education held in the mind of a young male, while at the same time, retaining customs that were taught through social education. This male youth was proud that he had learned how to write, but he still held great pride in his knowledge of dance and drumming as well as his ability to herd cattle. Thus, formal education was integrated into already existing modes of how to be a man. While these missionary schools began to bring young men honor and respect within their communities, not many secondary schools had been built, nor were there any universities within the South.

---

131 Ibid, 310
The development of formal education in the South was left to the hands of missionaries, as the British administration and the following Sudanese government instructed missionaries not to teach Southern Sudanese anything more than the three R’s (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic).\textsuperscript{133} Although schools were taught by missionaries, before independence, teachers in the missionary schools attempted to integrate traditional aspects of society into lessons, for example, as Deng observed in one Dinka society, children were encouraged to cultivate their gardens in their spare time.\textsuperscript{134} However, after independence when the government took control of the missionary schools and implemented Arabization, all aspects of traditional education were erased from the school curriculum.

This was the result of the British Administration policy that believed that they only needed a few educated blacks to fill minimal secretarial positions within the government. Where as higher education opportunities were created in the North, like Gordon Memorial College in Khartoum, a secondary school established in 1924, Southerners who finished intermediate school did not have post-intermediate educational opportunities until the last years of British rule.\textsuperscript{135} Between 1944 and 1963 the South saw a great leap in the development of education in the South. During this time, the British administration constructed elementary and intermediate schools, the equivalent of providing schooling up until the high school level, across the South that would be conducted in English. In addition, Rumbek Secondary School was built in Southern Sudan in 1948.\textsuperscript{136}

With the introduction of formal education to Southern Sudan, returning to social education alone would not suffice. Societies across the South altered their communities around

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid
the youth’s attendance of schools. However, some traditions were replaced by one’s attendance in school, this was true with Darius:

I never got involved in hut building…one of my uncles would teach us to use a bow and arrow, and you always had your little hoe to go and cultivate with… I remember from 1952 I had my little bow and arrows. My uncles encouraged me to cultivate, first of all they taught me hunting, cultivating, and the last one is cutting long grass to make grass huts, but I didn’t go through with that because when I began doing that my father would take me back to school in town because that was the time for school, during the summer months my uncles would teach me our traditions. For Darius, who moved around with his father who was a police officer, it was clear that his father valued his achievement in formal education. Darius’ father wanted him to attend school as oppose to learn cultivation, and hunting with his uncles. With the development of schools and the introduction of reading and writing to Southerners, an increasing number of boys began to attend school. 

Youth were taught to honor their society’s elder males; however, the modernizing of their societies by missionary education undermined the authority of these males and their position were invalidated by education that they never received. Most importantly, missionaries who sought to teach school children the Christian faith marked a chief’s divine powers, whether they were healing or rainmaking, as evil. Power and authority that had once been the chief’s and elder males alone, was now available to male youth at a younger age if they were able to attend school and learn how to read and write.

137 Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)
Conclusion

The Condominium Era in Sudan and the Closed Door Policy of the British Administration allowed for the numerous societies of Southern Sudan to continue socializing their youth into the social customs of their communities, up until the arrival of missionaries in the 1920s. From the 1920s to the late 1940s, a massive shift would occur. Male youth, leading up to, during, or directly following initiation were allotted various routes of displaying their masculinity through courage, hunting, fighting, cultivation, and, or song and dance. No single factor signified the readiness of a male youth to enter manhood; however, it was a combination of these factors that guided them into manhood with the help and education of older age-sets and males within the community.

However, the arrival of missionaries and the installment of missionary schools across the South changed the functioning of traditional education within societies. Instead, traditional education was joined by the curriculum of missionaries, a curriculum that largely undermined the traditions of many societies in the South—whether they were spiritual or skill based. While missionary schools were first met with hesitance by many Southern societies, acceptance of this new form of education came along gradually in communities and assumed a role of respect and honor towards the end of the 1940s and early 1950s.

Increasingly male youths began to seek out jobs where they could exercise their new skill sets in reading and writing. These occupations moved away from the livelihoods, such as cattle herding or cultivation, that males were socialized into by the male elders in their communities. As a result of both few viable options for secondary school as well as the limited number of positions available for Southern Sudanese in the government, many young males
who had qualifications for government or secretarial positions were unable to obtain work or completely excluded from the work force. Those who could not find work remained amongst their communities, both frustrated or unsatisfied with their achievements—a faction of young men who would become important when the Southern Sudanese rebelled against the government in 1955.
Chapter 3: Historical Context- The Sudanese Civil Wars

The Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Period left at legacy of colonialism in Sudan that perpetuated the locally articulated racial divisions of the “white” North and “black” South and deepened the cultural, political and economic gaps between the two regions. During the Condominium Period, the British administration imposed the Southern Policy which limited the movement of peoples between the North and South and, for the better or worse, stagnated the “modernization” of the South in all areas of development, but most importantly in education up until the 1940s.

During the World Wars (1914-1918) and (1939-1945), Europe’s relationship to Africa became more dependent, as their colonies, specifically British colonies, became of great value for both raw materials and manpower. However, it was during this time that African nationalism began to stir in colonies across the continent, as the minority class of educated elite began to criticize their lack of power in the colony. In Sudan, this minority class was mostly Northern Sudanese. When the British realized the importance of the role the colonies in Africa played, changes began to occur in their colonies, namely as a result of the British Colonial Development Welfare Acts.140 These acts allocated funds for development within the colonies, and in Sudan, these resources were used towards establishing schools across the colony as well as improving social welfare. As the 1940s came to a close, the British began to prepare the country for independence, shifting the reins over to the educated elite within the colony—namely the Northern Sudanese.

Upon independence in 1956, the Northern Sudanese took control of the government, setting the stage for the Sudanese Civil Wars that would challenge Sudan for the next fifty years.

---

years. Not only would Sudan see a conflict that destroyed the government structure and shattered the hopes of unity within the country, but also a government that greatly deprived the Southerners of educational opportunities, thus denying Southerners access to platforms that were necessary for pursuing careers in government, administration, and other careers with authority.

The chapter begins with an examination of the Southern Policy under the Condominium Period, and the effect that the World Wars had on how Britain treated its colonies, more specifically Sudan. After World War II, Britain realized the value that the colonies had and began to fund the development of both schools and hospitals in the South, a region that was previously left to the missionaries. With the increase of schools, and larger number of male youth began to attend school. However, when the British administration began to prepare the colony or independence, these Southern Sudanese young men were completely excluded in the agreements and decisions between the Northern Sudanese and the British. This led to the outbreak of mutinies by Southerners across the South, as men began to express their dissatisfaction with their exclusion from the new Sudanese Government. This rebel movement became known as the Anyanya.

When the General Ibrahim Abboud came to power in Khartoum in 1958, he believed he could solve the unrest in the South by imposing Islam on the Southerners. General Abboud introduced Islam and Arabic to all of the schools across the South, eventually expelling all of the missionaries in 1962. For male youth in the South, this was devastating. Many young men had to repeat years of schooling, for they were not fluent in Arabic and could not pass the necessary exams. Others completely abandoned their schooling and joined the rebel movement. Schools in the South became a launching pad into the rebel movement for male youth who were
dissatisfied and upset by the new education system in the South. War ravaged the South throughout the 1960s until the leaders of the Anyanya came to an agreement with the Northern Sudanese Government in 1972, known as the Addis Ababa Agreement. This agreement established relative peace throughout the South for ten years. During this time, a regional government was created in the South, and leading men in the Anyanya movement were given posts within this new government.

In its creation, Southern Regional Government was able to focus on the South and the needs of the Southerners for the first time since Sudan’s independence in 1956. While schools re-opened and the enrollment of male youth was on the rise, by no means did this mean that these schools were providing the students with a quality education. Families began to send their male youth to schools in neighboring regions, such as, Uganda, Kenya, and Khartoum. However, while Southerners dreamed of their own autonomous government, the Southern Regional Government incredibly disorganized. Its inefficiency as well as renewed disagreement with the Sudanese president, Gafaar Nimeiry would lead to the demise of this period of peace. When peace was established between the two warring political entities—the North and the South, not all parties were satisfied with the Addis Ababa Agreement. Moreover, between 1980 and 1983, former members of the Anyanya who remained unsatisfied with the North continued to rebel against the North.

The Addis Ababa Agreement was dissolved in 1983 when Nimeiry finally addressed the renewed violence in the South. In retaliation, Nimeiry re-divided the South into three provinces, and reinstated Islamization. This move greatly angered the Southern elites who had rose to positions of power within the Southern Regional Government, and were once again seeing their authority taken away from them by the North. The Second Civil War began in 1983 and lasted
for another twenty-two years. This war was much more violent than the First Civil War, and resulted in the mass movement of Southern Sudanese from the South and into neighboring regions. For male youth, this meant the dispersal of the communities that they were raised to protect and defend. In addition, this led to the closing of many of the schools these male youth were attending. Once again, similar to the First Civil War, male youth went in different directions. A number of male youth would walk across Southern Sudan in search of schools on in Kenya and Ethiopia. For others, the destruction of their communities led them to join the rebel movement in order to defend and protect their communities, a principle they were taught my the elder males in their villages. The First and Second Sudanese Civil Wars directed male youth into two primary pathways: education and soldiering. These two livelihoods became central routes of survival in during the war.

“Southern Policy” Under the Anglo Egyptian Condominium Period (1899-1955) and the World Wars

In 1898, an Anglo-Egyptian force[^141] defeated the pre-colonial Mahdist government in Khartoum. The Anglo-Egyptian army successfully invaded Khartoum and created the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium Government that would stay in power until Sudan’s independence in 1956. The Sudan was a large country with over 100 square million acres, thus, the British colonial government used indirect rule, which allowed for Britain to govern the vast region

[^141]: Egypt and Britain joined together in a military campaign to take back the Sudan from the Sudanese religious leader Muhammad ibn Abdalla, the self-proclaimed Mahdi. During the Mahdist regime, expeditions to the South were made to take black Southern Sudanese men into slavery. The British were threatened by Abdalla who sought to expel the British from Egypt and Sudan, and thus, sought the help of the Egypt to defeat the Mahdist ruler-ship. In 1899, Anglo-Egyptian rule was established in Sudan, and a governor was appointed to Sudan by Egyptians; however, the colony was essentially ruled by the British. For more reading, see: MacMichael, H. A. *The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan*. London: Faber and Faber, 1934.
through the indigenous leaders.\textsuperscript{142} During the 1920s the British administration appointed local leaders to create what they called the Native Administration.\textsuperscript{143} In the North these traditional leaders were sheikhs, while in the South so-called, “tribal chiefs” ruled over their people. This was due to the North being largely affiliated with Islam and the South identifying more closely to Christianity and animism.\textsuperscript{144} The recognition of local leaders by the state triggered a decline in both respect and affiliation that Southern individuals showed their local leaders. Instead, individuals as well as their leaders or chiefs became gradually dependent on state structure for their power.\textsuperscript{145} Indirect rule allowed Britain to focus on mainstream political development in the colony’s capital, Khartoum. However, during the 1920s and the 1930s the method of indirect rule fell into disfavor with the developing class of educated elite in Khartoum most of whom were seeking careers in a centralized government in Khartoum.\textsuperscript{146} In theory, this new class of educated elites envisioned that when the time came for Sudan’s independence, the power would be transferred to their hands by the British colonial authority.\textsuperscript{147}

In the 1930s, World War II put a massive strain on the British colonial governments across Africa. Throughout the war, Africa became a key source of both men and raw materials. During the World War I (1914-1918), the British African colonies also played a fundamental resource for bodies and materials. Sudan was an important economic benefit during the First World War, as Sudan was the world’s leading exporter of gum arabic. During this time, these

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid
trade revenues helped generate income that helped to develop the North. 148 The British Colonial Administration sought to develop their colonial state by producing literate employees in the lower and middle tiers of the government, by creating schools that prepared boys and young men for clerical, judicial and technical posts. 149 These schools were conducted in English and modeled after British public schools in order to create a “modern” elite, or men who represented Western modes of living in their fluency in English, Western style of dress, and professionalism. In completing one’s education in these schools, graduates were guaranteed government jobs. 150

The class of educated elite that emerged in Khartoum was hardly an accurate representation of the Sudan, for the British had reserved education for what they termed “the better class of native (i.e. those merchants and notables with whom the British allied themselves).” 151 Even those who did manage to receive an education were employed in the lower rungs of the colonial service—in the technical departments and the education service—none of which required more than a secondary level of education.

Education was not the only area that was left underdeveloped in the South during the British administration. In the 1920s the colonial administration introduced the Closed District Ordinance, or “Southern Policy”. The Closed District Ordinance was initially introduced to finalize the abolition and rid the country of the internal slave trade as well as to halt the spread of Islam into the Christian and Pastoralist districts. The policy was installed to ‘protect’ the South from the outside world, but instead, perpetuated the cultural split between the Christian

150 Ibid
Animist South and the Muslim North. The guidelines of the policy stated that those who were living above the tenth parallel were not allowed to go to the South and the people living below the eighth parallel could not go to the North. The policy prevented Northern Sudanese from entering or working in the South, and therefore reinforced the increase of separate policy and vice versa.

In contrast with the North, educational opportunities in Southern Sudan were much more limited. Before the end of World War One, the British government in Khartoum declared that only “a few educated blacks” were required in order to fill insignificant clerical posts in the South. Those few blacks were not just any locals from the South, but instead, sons of soldiers and officers. The British government did little to improve the educational sphere in the South, and the responsibility increasingly was left upon Christian missionaries and religious bodies (Johnson). “Khalwas” (Koranic schools) served the small number of urban Muslim communities in the South while Christian educational missionaries mainly worked in rural locations.

Thus, by the start of World War II there was an educated class of Northern Sudanese that was not present during World War I. The Sudanese educated class, a minority group in Khartoum during World War II, began to criticize colonial rule, as they believed they were entitled to their own sovereignty. In 1941, an agreement called the Atlantic Charter was established between the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, and the US President,

---

153 Ibid
Franklin D. Roosevelt. This Charter laid out the principle concepts World War II hoped to achieve. The third clause, which read:

[These governments] respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

Sparked an outcry from Africans across the continent. Churchill was quick to respond, claiming that this Charter did not apply to Africa. However, the damage had already been done, and the emergence of Africans’ call for independence rang in British colonies across the continent. As a result, British colonies, including Sudan, saw an increase of Africans in higher administrative positions during the 1940s, as the British began to consider granting independence.

Britain’s colonies played a key role in World War II, and as Europe began to realize its dependency on Africa during World War II and the incredulous economic value of these colonies was revealed, British attitudes improved towards their colonies. In a series of two acts, the British Colonial Development Welfare Act of 1940 and 1945, the British established funds for both economic and social investments in the colonies. These funds were used, for the most part on African social welfare, an area which previously had not received any funding or attention—sparking the criticism of emerging African nationalists.

---

157 Ibid
159 Ibid
160 Ibid
Development: Economic and Social Investment in the 1940s

While education was left to the hands of religious bodies until the 1940s, a decade before Sudan’s independence, the idea of Sudanese independence influenced the push for development of the education sector with the funding Sudan received from the British Colonial Development Welfare Acts. In 1946 the government built a number of schools in the South, providing alternatives to the Christian missionary schools that had previously dominated the region. This sudden growth of the education sector of the South aided the generation that would become post-independence leaders, but was no match compared to the education sector in Khartoum that gradually developed beginning just before the 1920s. It also did not make up for the years of infrastructural neglect that plagued the South. Thus when independence was granted, there were few leaders from the south equipped with an appropriate level of experience to join the new post-colonial government based in the North.

In the areas where the North was budding, in: wealth, social services, employment and infrastructure (roads, bridges, etc.) the South remained largely untouched. In fact, the majority of Southerners, for the better and later for the worse, continued to practice the social customs of their respective groups that were discussed in Chapter 2. Because the South remained “underdeveloped”, in Western terms, the British justified their policy by claiming that the South was not “ready” for exposure to the modern world. However, as Matthew LeRiche argues, the significance of the British role in the cultural split between the North and the South is often

---

162 Ibid
164 Matthew LeRiche and Matthew Dr Arnold, South Sudan: From Revolution to Independence (London: Hurst, 2012). (9)
overstated for the Southern Policy was never strictly applied. The British administration’s position towards the South functioned more generally as neglect and lack of proper governance. The large-scale investment in Sudan prior to World War II was concentrated in Khartoum and the North; therefore, by the time Britain began to discuss the idea of an independent Sudan, there were great disparities between the two regions, most importantly in the education sector. Both the uneven development of colonial schools and the unequal inclusion of educated Sudanese within the Anglo-Egyptian administration was largely due to the Southern Policy and the administrative decisions made in Khartoum. Therefore, the administration made no attempt to recruit Southern Sudanese into schooling that would make them eligible candidates for public administration, the police force, or the military. The Southern Policy may have been put in place to ‘protect’ the South from the outside world, but instead, perpetuated the cultural split between the Christian Animist South and the Muslim North.

**Sudanization: Preparation for Independence (1946-1955)**

In 1946 the British Colonial Administration revoked the Southern Policy in preparation for granting Sudan independence. The policy was replaced with a new policy called Sudanization, which replaced the British officials with Northern Sudanese officers. Within this new administration, only a few of the new administrators were from Southern Sudan. Of the nine hundred positions that were opened by the British, only eight were given to Southern men.

---

166 Ibid, 18
To discuss the terms of independence, the British held the Juba Conference of 1947. This conference was attended by British and Sudanese delegates; however, the Sudanese delegates were almost entirely from the North. The British organized the conference to attempt to bring together the North and the South as one political entity, a concept that had not yet been achieved as a result of the Closed Door Policy.\(^{169}\)

The Juba Conference of 1947 paved the way for the new Legislative Assembly to pass a self-government statute in 1952, which outlined the process in which Sudan would proceed to elect their own self-governing legislature.\(^{170}\) The first round of elections took place in 1953 but was largely contested by the South because Northerners were elected to all of the senior positions in the parliament.\(^{171}\) In fact, many of the politically active Southerners saw the election as the continued colonization of the South, although this time by the Northern Sudanese.\(^{172}\) As a result of these elections, the South saw a swift increase in the number of Northerners in administrative roles in the South: as senior officers in the army and police force, as teachers in government schools, and as merchants in markets.\(^{173}\)

Sudan received a bid for independence in 1953 with the Cairo Agreement that granted Sudan sovereign status and the right to exercise self-determination. This bid essentially only catered to the Northern Sudanese elite, for during the period of 1953-1958, the south lacked coherent political organizations that could serve as a platform for Southerners.\(^{174}\) Thus, when the agreement was written, no Southern politicians or elite were invited or consulted on the terms of

\(^{169}\) Matthew LeRiche and Matthew Dr Arnold, *South Sudan: From Revolution to Independence* (London: Hurst, 2012). (11)


\(^{171}\) Ibid, 27


the agreement, which were worked out between the Northern political parties and the Egyptian government. The agreement was followed by elections for the parliament that had ninety-seven seats, only twenty-two of which were allotted to Southerners. In an attempt to gain access to the political sphere, males from the South began to attend schools and universities, in order to participate in the structure of the state. However, even the small numbers of educated elite from the South were excluded from the newly formed government. The continued marginalization and oppression of the South would eventually lead to the mutiny that occurred before Sudan was granted independence in 1955.

The First Civil War (1955-1972)

On August 18, 1955 Southern military officers in Torit mutinied upon hearing they would be relocated to the North after the unity and declaration of independence. Killing their Northern officers and some Northern civilians, the Southern mutineers burned Northerners’ houses who were living in the South, looted the town of Torit in Southern Sudan, then they disappeared into the bush. On the same day, approximately 190 other Southern military officers also mutinied in Juba, Yei, Yambio, and Maridi, other towns in the South.

Even after Sudan was granted independence in January 1956, no significant improvements to Southern social, economic or political life were made in the two years following independence. Instead, the few Southerners who were employed by the government continued to be humiliated, harassed, and discriminated against in their work places in the

177 Ibid, 42
colonial administration. In letter published in Scopas Poggo’s work, a Northern Sudanese explained this humiliation in 1957:

The legacy of the Northerners is a great enterprise and to my great sorrow, very few understand it. Here [in the South] the Northerner is either a governor or a merchant; they look for gain, a dirty gain, and they drink the blood of naked bodies as if they were half English…. The young employee is addicted to satiate his instinct to spread corruption among people who are ignorant; this is the condition of the Northerner except for a few by the mercy of God.  

The letter invokes the language used in relation to slavers, and seemingly compared the Northerners to slavers, once again subjugating the Southerners. Southerners viewed Northerners with both disdain and distaste, portraying them as greedy men and corrupt individuals.

Upon hearing the news that the British were going to hand over rule to the Northern elite, Southerners were outraged. When independence was granted to Sudan in 1956, the Northern government sought to Islamize the South in order to create a united nation under one religion, Islam, and one language, Arabic. When General Ibrahim Abboud came into power in the North in 1958, he was swift to address unrest in order to end the rebellion in the South and “fix the problem of Southern Sudan.” Abboud devoted himself to Islamicizing the South and was willing to do it by any means necessary, whether that meant peacefully or through the use of force. To achieve his goal, Abboud decreed the use of Arabic in government offices as well as schools, and since Christian missionary schools were nationalized in 1957, the government had control over them as well. Prior to this change, English had been the language of instruction in the Southern schools as well as what was used in Southern government offices.

179 Ibid, 93
The new language policy was especially detrimental for elite Southern men who aspired to work in the government. Their aspirations to achieve equality with Northerners were destroyed precisely because many of them did not know Arabic. Scopas Poggo, a scholar on Sudan, described the situation as follows, “it put them 50 years back since English would not help [them] any longer.”\(^{181}\) The new language barrier not only made Southerners unqualified for new government jobs, but it also barred them from jobs in the military or police force jobs. Southerners, thus, viewed the shift towards Islamization as a new system of political slavery. In other words, as the colonists had control throughout the first half of the century, all of their political power now rested in the hands of the Northern Sudanese.

In 1958, when General Abboud came to power he made no significant effort to improve education standards in Southern elementary or intermediate schools except to Islamicize the curriculums. When the Prime Minister, Abdullah Khalil, first nationalized all mission schools in 1957, Southerners did not initially oppose the idea for they believed that if the educational curriculum was unified, Southerners could progress in education at the same rate as Northerners.\(^{182}\) When implemented, according to Scopas Poggo, “now Southerners felt that the Northern Sudanese simply wanted to retard education, to isolate and insult the [Christian] church, and to impose Islam on the three Southern provinces.”\(^{183}\) During Abboud’s reign, $173,000 (about $30,000 USD) Sudanese pounds were set aside by the government to build Islamic intermediate schools in the South. Between 1958 and 1965, the Department of Religious

---

182 Ibid, 94
Affairs in Khartoum anticipated the construction of eighteen Islamic intermediate schools and one secondary school in the South.184

Once the *khalwas* were constructed, every boy was expected to attend despite his or her religious background. Students who did not receive the required religious instruction from the *khalwas* had little to no chance of entering the one secondary school that in the South, Malakal Secondary School. Classes were conducted in Arabic, thus even if a student had high scores in other subjects, without Arabic these scores were unimportant for admission. In some regions, like Bahr al-Ghazal, students who swore themselves converts to Islam were granted free education. As school fees were expensive, the offer of a free education attracted some younger students to Islam. Moreover, in 1960 and 1961, knowledge of Arabic became necessary for admission to all secondary schools located in the South, and students were expected to be as fluent in Arabic as the Northerners. Southerners were also expected to pay fifteen Sudanese pounds for school fees, an amount that was unaffordable for many Southerners.185 Many Southerners complained that Islamization undercut the freedom and linguistic rights of Southerners as well as their ability to participate politically and economically in the new nation. In other words, the language policy forced them to communicate in Arabic, often separating them from their mother-tongues.186

In 1962, tensions between Southern students and Abboud’s government increased as a result of the Missionary Societies Act of 1962, which regulated that, “no missionary society or any member thereof should do any missionary work in the Sudan except in accordance with the

185 Ibid
186 Ibid
terms of a license by the council of ministers.”\(^{187}\) This council of ministers was then able to issue specific conditions for each missionary. This policy angered the minority number of educated Southern elites, most of whom were educated by the missionary schools.\(^{188}\) Following the Act the government seized control of the missionary schools. Under government control, Islam and Arabic were introduced within the schools, replacing both English and Christianity.\(^{189}\) Intensified relations and pressure finally erupted in the same year when students began to protest across the South for their religious freedom.\(^{190}\) From Torit and Malakal to Loka, Rumbek and Wau, many students left their schools in protest and returned to their various villages. Alarmed by the strikes and protests, Abboud’s military regime sent troops to the South to frighten Southerners and re-establish order. The new onset of forces sent a flood of nearly 40,000 Southerners into neighboring countries, such as Uganda and Congo.\(^{191}\) \(^{192}\)

The first years of fighting for the South were based on guerilla strategy that became recognized as open warfare in 1962 when the rebel army gained a large amount of approval from the Southern population, many of whom were seeking refuge in Uganda whilst simultaneously canvassing for the movement. After this formation the Sudanese government officially declared war. On August 19, 1963, Southern politicians and military leaders came


\(^{188}\) Natsios, Andrew S. *Sudan, South Sudan, and Darfur: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. (43)

\(^{189}\) Ibid


together to create a military plan for the guerilla movement.193 This guerrilla movement was called the Anyanya, and would later become a part of the Sudan People’s Liberation Army.194

Thus, schools in the South became a launching pad for the rebel movement in the South, which sought to harness student’s anger from the riots and channel it toward the guerilla movement.195 The 1960s, as a result, saw a large number of youth, men, and politicians turn to the Anyanya Movement and join the rebel camps located on the borders of Uganda, Ethiopia, and Congo. The rebels proceeded to use the educated Southerners to recruit young men from villages, calling these men to rise up to defend and protect their families, and by a larger extent the South.196

Peace was finally reached in 1972 when an agreement was signed in Addis Ababa between the Sudanese government and the Anyanya. The key articles of the Addis Ababa Agreement after deliberation were: (1) South Sudan would be represented as a single, distinct entity through an autonomous Southern Regional Government;(2) the ‘Southern’ areas outside the formally defined South (notably Abyei) would have referenda regarding inclusion in the South; and (3) the Anyanya insurgents would be integrated into the national army and compose half of a ‘Southern Command’ that would be subordinated to command in Khartoum. There was to be an elected Regional Assembly based in Juba, with a High Executive Council comprised of ministers and led by a regional president, both appointed by the national president and elected by the Regional Assembly. The Southern Regional Government would be allowed to raise local

196 Ibid
taxes, but could not engage in that nation’s overall economic planning, for the President of the Republic retained final authority over it. 197


The settlement of the first Sudanese Civil War, in February 1972, with the Addis Ababa Agreement between the Anyanya or what later became known as the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM), in 1971, and the GoS, now led by Gafaar Nimeiry brought peace to Sudan. Since a resolution between warring parties of such stature had not yet been achieved by other post-colonial African countries, it also “brought great international acclaim to the nation and its leaders.” 198 The goal of the accords was to address the problems of South Sudan, these problems were described by Joseph Lagu, one of the political leaders of the SSLM wrote in pamphlet *Anyanya: What We Fight For:*

That [their] specifically African—as distinct from Arab—identity and the common aspirations which united all [their groups] in a common struggle fully qualify [them] for nationhood and the right to self-determination. That by rejecting the attempted Arabization of South Sudan and by adhering to [their] African identity and heritage [they were exercising] a basic human right which is bound to be recognized by everyone sooner or later. 199

Joseph Lagu was expressing the dreams of many Southern Sudanese, that they could establish their own nation, separate from the Arab Muslim North, and that this dream was a human right.

The First Sudanese Civil War has been costly for both the Sudanese Government and the


citizens of the South as many lives and resources were lost on both sides. The agreement established the Southern Sudan Autonomous Region, giving the South a degree of autonomy. Defined in Article 3 of the Agreement, the Southern Region was made up of the provinces of Bahr El Ghazal, Equatoria, and Upper Nile within the boundaries that were established upon independence. Arabic was named the official language for Sudan while English became the principle language of the Southern Government and region, another colonial legacy. Regardless of the relative autonomy the Southern Region received in this agreement, many Southerners were upset that their leaders had neglected the goal of the military movement of Southern independence.

As would soon become evident, there was a misunderstanding about what Southern autonomy meant to the SSLM and how the Sudanese government had envisioned Southern autonomy. In the eyes of the SSLM, autonomy meant the allowance of federation, in other words, allowing the South to create their own political unit. While the SSLM had prepared a proposal for a new Southern federal structure, what they ended up settling for in the agreement was significantly less than they had hoped and would become known as the Southern Regional Government. The SSLM had initially proposed that the whole country be divided into two regions with a single federal government that comprised of representatives from the two regions, for the SSLM feared that without a federal system the government would continue to be centralized in the North in Khartoum, and, thus, continue its “oppression” of the South. The most debated issue of the agreement was negotiation over security in the country. In proposing that the nation divide into two separate regions, the SSLM recommended each region have its own army as well as a third national army comprising of a mixture of both groups.

---


201 Ibid
However, the Sudanese Government rejected this suggestion. It was made clear by the SSLM that the Southern soldiers needed to remain in the South to protect Southern citizens from the Northern military. The Sudanese government partially accepted these wishes and created an army that was made up of an equal number of Northern soldiers, to help settle the fear of unrest within the Sudanese government, as well as Southern troops. When the Addis Ababa Agreement was ratified in March 1972, it was written into the Sudanese Constitution.

In May 1973, the Addis Ababa Agreement was written into a new national constitution—the Southern Sudan Self-Government Act—which could only be revised with a three-quarters vote in the national assembly and with the approval of a Southern referendum. Lastly, and of key importance to many of the Southerners, was that the constitution also included provisions to guarantee freedom of religion. In the years immediately following the Agreement, there was widespread peace and relative prosperity in the region. The Agreement had met some of the core Southern interests, while failing to meet others. As a precondition for negotiations, the South Sudan Liberation Movement conceded full independence, but achieved recognition of Southern Sudan as a distinct autonomous entity within the Sudan. Additionally, the Agreement saw that in the new constitution the ‘African’ identity of the South was recognized as inherent to Sudan’s national character, and included provisions ensuring a secular state. Despite the supposed new autonomy, the Sudanese state had an exceptionally strong presidency in the North with little to no Southern representation in the legislature.

---


203 The ‘African’ identity referring to the Southerners who believed identified with Africans as opposed to Arabs and the Arabic language of the North. For more information, see: LeRiche, Matthew, and Matthew Arnold. *South Sudan: from revolution to independence*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012. (28)
Moreover, the process of integrating the armies was easier said than done. Many of the Anyanya guerillas were unwilling to comply with the new provisions of the agreement because they feared their safety in the new government armies and wished to remain within their own units.\textsuperscript{204} Although some guerillas complied, many still received low ranking within the new army. In addition, following the Islamization in the 1950s and early 1960s, many of the older, experienced officers from the Anyanya forces had received little formal education because they had chosen to leave school instead of continue their educations in Arabic. Thus, they were not equipped for higher-ranking positions.\textsuperscript{205}

Integration of the armies also did not occur without violence, in fact, because guerillas feared for their safety and still harbored a significant dislike for the Northerners, especially after years of fighting, many believed the five year integration pace for the army was far too swift.\textsuperscript{206} There were no major mutinies; however, minor grievances between the two integrating armies took place on a local scale, and other ex-Anyanya soldiers completely abandoned their posts and returned to the bush or Ethiopia. These disaffected soldiers would eventually play a key role, when tensions rekindled in the 1980s, in renewing guerilla warfare.\textsuperscript{207}

Despite continuing chaos within the government, the Southern Region did introduce a number of development projects between 1972 and 1983. Both small and large-scale projects took place within the region, but many were poorly planned or lacked a cohesive vision by the Southern Regional Government these projects aimed to improve the infrastructure and social services. The larger-scale projects were proposed in the least developed areas such as Bahr El-

\textsuperscript{204} Johnson, Douglas H. \textit{The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars.} Kampala; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003. (41)
\textsuperscript{205} Ibid
\textsuperscript{206} Ibid
\textsuperscript{207} Ibid
Ghazal and Upper Nile, such as the Jonglei Canal Project\textsuperscript{208}; however, as there was little to no infrastructure (roads and communication) in either area, the projects were especially difficult to implement. Since the attention was drawn to these “underdeveloped areas”, those that lived in more “developed areas” (areas with roads, bridges, buildings etc.) such as the Equatorias—Torit, Yei River, and Yambio District (see map), criticized the government for neglecting them. These developed areas had more advanced agriculture and markets than any other region in the South. Attempting to quicken the pace of infrastructure construction, many projects were contracted to outside actors such as foreign NGOs which in some areas served as substitutes for the uneven Southern Regional Government.\textsuperscript{209}

By 1985 in Juba, for point of reference, there were over 38 foreign aid organizations operating. The aid bodies acting within the South covered a number of different sectors, such as: education, health services, and missionary groups. These organizations sparked competition amongst Southern Sudanese men who returned to the South during this time period. Obtaining one of these jobs not only symbolized, but also meant this male would have access to wealth, and it would also serve as a platform for political support.\textsuperscript{210} The reliance on NGOs would eventually contribute to the demise of the Regional Government. In other words, for example,

\textsuperscript{208} The Jonglei Canal project was proposed but never completed during the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1978. The project was planned to produce more water for downstream beneficiaries such as Khartoum (Sudan) and Cairo (Egypt). The outbreak of the second war in 1983 destroyed the progress of this project in 1984. For more reading, see Johnson, Douglas H. \textit{The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars}. Kampala; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003. (47-48)

\textsuperscript{209} There is a long list of Western NGOs that were operating in Southern Sudan during this period of time, including: Save the Children, Catholic Relief Service, African Interior Mission, African Medical and Research Foundation (AMREF), Action Committee for Relief of Southern Sudan (ACROSS), OXFAM, Lutheran World Federation, Euro-Accord, German Volunteer Service (GTZ), Lutheran World Federation, Missionary Aviation Fellowship, Norwegian Council for the Prevention of Blindness, Norwegian Association of Disabled, Sudan Interior Mission, Swedish Free Mission, Seventh-Day Adventists, Swiss Interchurch Aid, This list of NGOs was published in Terje Tvedt’s book: Tvedt, Terje. \textit{Angels of Mercy or Development Diplomats? NGOs and Foreign Aid} Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1998.

\textsuperscript{210} Tvedt, Terje. \textit{Angels of Mercy or Development Diplomats? NGOs and Foreign Aid} Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1998.
seeing that the aid organizations were giving basic health services to Southerners, the Regional Government did not allocate additional resources for this sector.

However, peace did not mean education was prioritized. A census taken in 1973 showed that 81% of the population aged 7-24 had not attended school, and 58% of those in the work force had no education at all. The disparity in the education sector between the North and the South continued.\textsuperscript{211} By 1978 and 1979, of the 1,000 students enrolled at the University of Khartoum in the agriculture program, less than 10 were from the South were education in agriculture was a necessity. Lastly, the official language—English, also represented the stagnation of Southern education, for only a couple of those in the Southern Regional Government had been able to pick it up during the period of Arabization in the 1950s and 1960s.\textsuperscript{212} The small class of Southern educated men, in rebellion of the North, became both military leaders in the movement or diplomatic spokesmen. These leaders were viewed by Southern Sudanese as guardians of the pastoralists institutions they had been practicing for years, protectors of wealth and family, and most importantly, as having access to, as Andrew Epstein, a scholar on education in Sudan, “an emerging Southern power structure.”\textsuperscript{213}

In seeing the opportunity that education would provide for their children, since schools were closed in many communities across the South, or the caliber of formal schools was far from exceptional, families began to send their children to attend schools outside of Southern Sudan, to places such as Khartoum, as well as refugee camps in Ethiopia, Kenya, and some cases Uganda. This practice began during the First Civil War, and as we will explore in Chapter 5, continued well throughout the Second Civil War, and even remains as a practice today.

\textsuperscript{211} Tvedt, Terje. \textit{Angels of Mercy or Development Diplomats? Ngos and Foreign Aid} Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1998. (198)
\textsuperscript{212} Ibid
\textsuperscript{213} Ibid
Schooling would become emblematic of resistance, and would give male youth the opportunity to gain access to power and wealth, an achievement that would be come difficult and scarce throughout the civil wars.

The Regional Government faced a multitude of issues that lead to its disintegration: (1) the conflict over the Southern Region’s boundaries, (2) what role the Southern Regional Government would play in the development of the region’s assets, (3) what benefits the Southern government would receive from these resources, (4) the growing tension between Equatorians and Nilots in regional politics, and lastly, (5) the Southern frustration with how the Anyanyas were absorbed into the national army. Even though the Addis Ababa Agreement only lasted for ten years, the 1972 agreement was considered by political scholars as, “a model for the resolution of civil wars, involving demands by large minority groups for autonomy or independence from a central government.” Initially the agreement had been a building block for stability during President Nimiery’s administration, and it was effective until Nimiery himself undermined it.

The Second Civil War (1983-2005)

The beginning cause of the Second Civil War is contested, for some believe that the refusal of various Anyanya guerillas to accept the Addis Ababa Agreement and their retreat to exile along the eastern Sudan border with Ethiopia is a sign that the First Sudanese Civil War never concluded. As the Southern Regional Government began to crumble between 1980-1983,

---

the guerillas on the border became increasingly active. Nimeiry took no particular action in response to the renewed energy until the rebels became active around the newly discovered oil fields in the Upper Nile region. Thus Northern Soldiers began to target both the guerillas as well as other Southern citizens. Between April and May 1983 many Southern police officers and soldiers deserted their posts and retreated into the bush to re-join the guerillas.

On May 16, 1983, a small group of troops mutinied in Bor and opened fire upon Northern troops stationed there. This attack marked the dissolution of the Addis Ababa Agreement between the Sudanese Government and the Southern Regional Government. In September 1983, Nimeiry invoked the Sharia Penal laws from the Southern region and re-implemented Islamic law in the South, dividing the region back into three parts: Equatoria, Upper Nile, and Bahr El Ghazal. As a result, other garrisons erupted in revolt. In an attempt to quell the unrest, the Sudanese government sent John Garang, a representative from the South in the Sudanese government, to the South to settle the mutineers; however, as soon as he arrived in the South Garang joined the movement, and would become the leader of the mutineers. In 1983, in a resurgence of strength, former members of the Anyanya now under guidance of John Garang established and announced the formation of the Sudan People’s Liberation Army (SPLA).

After the Second Civil War began, the SPLA advised thousands of boys who had been separated from their families due to the guerilla warfare to walk to Ethiopia where they would have the opportunity to attend school. Instead, these boys became known as the Red Army, they

---


217 Ibid

were introduced to SPLA training camp, and many became child soldiers. In addition, other minors like these became the most vulnerable population for military recruitment because they had no family ties or guardians. However, this was not the only form of conscription, for other boys were simply conscripted when they enrolled in school, while some families considered having their sons join the military as a form of education in itself.

Desperate for proper education, many youth sought schooling outside of the South (a topic that will be discussed extensively in Chapter 5) making recruitment difficult for the SPLA. The SPLA, therefore, had to resort to forced conscription much of which took place in Central Equatoria region. For the families of the young men who were forced into conscription, the recruitment represented loss, for the children were “being taken to die.” For some families, violence did not seem like the solution to their despair, “we are not interested in the war,” said Raile Daffala a native of Western Equatoria, “we don’t know the reasons for it. We [were] interested in saving the lives of our children.”

In comparison to the First Civil War, the Second Civil War had a much closer ties to the natural resources of Sudan: oil, which was discovered in the seventies, and water. Ethnic fractures and a long history of struggle for control of the territory were at the center of the First Civil War. In contrast, the unearthing of oil and the digging of the Jonglei canal to drain the Sudd so as supply Egypt with water exerted a strong influence in the outbreak of the second conflict. Neither the North nor the South was able to profit from the oil revenues until 1999 due to instability.

---

220 Ibid
221 Ibid
222 Ibid
223 Interview by author with Raile Daffala, Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)
The conflict reignited once again in 1983 after President Gaafar Nimeiry, the fourth President of Sudan, called for a revision of the Addis Ababa Agreement. The treaty had assigned a considerable amount of autonomy to the Southern regions, and Nimeiry in 1977 called for a reorganization of the country under a federal structure. In 1983, Nimeiry re-imposed the Sharia, or Islamic law, throughout the country, once again alienating the predominately Christian Animist South. Nimeiry abrogated the Agreement because, due to the period of relative peace over which he presided, Nimeiry was stronger, and felt he could destroy the remaining Southern “rebels”. In violation of the Addis Ababa Agreement he dissolved the Southern Regional Government, thereby prompting a renewal of the civil war—known as the Second Sudanese Civil War in 1983.224

During the Second Civil War Southern elites were targeted for assassination and humiliation, for example, Darius, and one of the interviewees, who was studying in Hawaii had his scholarship from the government revoked, and he was asked to pay everything back to the government. The Northern government also perpetrated a “scorched earth policy” which destroyed whole Southern villages so as to remove support for SPLA. These policies resulted in the internal displacement of an estimated 4 million people, about three-fourths of whom moved to Northern Sudanese cities and one-fourth of whom stayed dispersed in the wilds of the Southern countryside.225 Another million or so left for Uganda, Kenya, Ethiopia, the Congo, Egypt, and eventually, the United States and Britain.

In the creation of the SPLA/SSLM, the goal of the organization was to create a “New Sudan.” By 1986, the war had spread to areas outside of the South, including neighboring countries that had refugee camps such as Ethiopia and Kenya. Warfare, however, was limited

225 Ibid, 59-77
by the seasons. During the rainy season, the SPLA advanced, while in the dry seasons the Sudanese army would take advantage of its resources and fight back against the SPLA. Thus the seasonal warfare left the South under the primary control of the SPLA during the rainy seasons. By 1989, the SPLA had taken control of most of the South’s main towns and rural vicinities.226

*The Emergence of Humanitarian Organizations and Reports (1989-2005)*

The year of 1989 brought two important changes. First and foremost, the Declaration of the Rights of the Child was ratified and adopted by the UN General Assembly on November 20, 1989. The treaty became the most widely accepted human rights treaty; however, as humanitarian organizations began to notice, the Sudanese Government was in violation of many of the statutes. The document, which specified a child as under the age of 18-years-old, discussed at length the rights of every child among them: access to education and equal opportunity, the right to not be forcibly made to commit certain acts, as well as the protection from violent, physically, or mentally damaging acts.227 Most notably, Article 38 regulated, “State parties shall take all feasible measures to ensure that persons who have not attained the age of 15 years do not take direct part in hostilities.”228 This article was extended in 2002 to include those ages 18 years of age and under. This Article, was in direct contrast to the customs that many Southern Sudanese practiced for years.

While the transition into manhood was not previously seen in biological terms, the Conventions of the Rights of a Child brought this matter to light. As a result, the 1990s saw a great deal of literature on the use of “children in war.” Humanitarian organizations, namely the

---

226 James, Laura. "From Slaves to Oil." In *The Sudan Handbook*, edited by John; Willis Ryle, Justin; Baldo, Suliman; Jok, Jok Madut. United Kingdom: The Rift Valley Institute and Contributors, 2012. (130)
228 Ibid
HRW, published a number of reports on the violation of human rights throughout the decade. In the use of the term “child soldier” male youths who saw themselves as young men and chose to join the movement were discredited, their motivations completely drowned by humanitarian discourse.

Secondly, peace talks began to take place between the North and the South when Sadiq al Mahdi, the president at the time, agreed to negotiate with the SPLA about the ideas of a secular state. However, these negotiations were brought to a halt when the National Islamic Front staged a military coup and Omar al-Bashir came to power in Khartoum in June of 1989. Despite the change in leadership in the Sudanese government, the SPLA maintained its military position in the South and domination of major cities. However, the SPLA began to struggle with their own leadership issues when two commanders, Riek Machar and Lam Akol, challenged Garang’s method of leadership and declared via BBC World Service that they had overthrown Garang and were planning to achieve independence from the North.

Garang, who was based in Torit, miles away from Nasir where the commanders made their announcement, still had a great deal of support and was by no means overthrown. However, the split in the SPLA was severe, for Machar and Akol began to receive support from the Northern Sudanese government, a faction that created tension within the SPLA. Due to this split in leadership in the SPLA, the Sudanese government was able to gain massive territory in the South and between 1995 and 1997 was able to push the SPLA into Eastern Equatoria and the border of Uganda.

229 James, Laura. "From Slaves to Oil." In The Sudan Handbook, edited by John; Willis Ryle, Justin; Baldo, Suliman; Jok, Jok Madut. United Kingdom: The Rift Valley Institute and Contributers, 2012. (130)
230 Ibid
231 Ibid
Unable to draw enough support on his own, Machar desperately signed an agreement with the Sudanese government, which became known as the Khartoum Agreement of 1997. The Khartoum Agreement would allow members of the South to vote at an undetermined future date. In other words, the agreement was ineffective. The split in the SPLA also gave the Sudanese government the opportunity to exploit the oil fields in the Upper Nile region, in 1999, a factor that gave them the ability to increase their war capability in the South.\(^2\)

By 1999, the oil production of the South attracted international attention, as well as a number of reports that were released from humanitarian organizations, such as the HRW, the UNCHR, and Amnesty International, as well as the Canadian Government and Christian Aid. These reports shed light on the considerable amount of violence that was taking place in Sudan at the hands of the Sudanese Government—a government that was receiving its largest revenues from the oil production.\(^3\) As a result, between 1999 and 2001, governments began to threaten sanctions upon the Sudanese government, calling on the government to, as Douglas Johnson phrased it, “improve the socio-economic and humanitarian condition of the Sudanese people.”\(^4\)

The attacks of 9/11 in the United States brought a new international call for supporting Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) by the Bush Administration. Thus in 2002 peace talks were renewed in Kenya and the Machakos Protocol was signed in July 2002, establishing an agenda for a peace agreement, which would either push for unity or give the South the option of an independence referendum.\(^5\)

\(^2\) James, Laura. "From Slaves to Oil." In *The Sudan Handbook*, edited by John; Willis Ryle, Justin; Baldo, Suliman; Jok, Jok Madut. United Kingdom: The Rift Valley Institute and Contributors, 2012. (130)


\(^4\) Ibid

\(^5\) James, Laura. "From Slaves to Oil." In *The Sudan Handbook*, edited by John; Willis Ryle, Justin; Baldo, Suliman; Jok, Jok Madut. United Kingdom: The Rift Valley Institute and Contributors, 2012. (131)
Peace was finally agreed upon in January of 2005 through a “Comprehensive Peace Agreement” (CPA), also known as the Naivasha Agreement. The agreement, signed between the SPLM and the Government of Sudan ended the Second Sudanese Civil War, and was meant to develop democratic governance countrywide, as well as determine a settlement to share oil revenues. The CPA further set a timetable to which Southern Sudan could expect its independence from the North, for it agreed that the South would enjoy independence for six years, and afterward would decide about their status, voting for either independence or unity through a referendum, which eventually took place in January 2011.

Conclusion:

The Sudanese Civil Wars that engulfed Sudan for fifty years wreaked havoc on Southern Sudan. Since the colonial administration, little development and effort was put into educating Southerners, a fact that created a multitude of problems when Sudan received its independence in 1956. The repeated change of the curriculum in the South in both language and religion also created difficulty for young men who were attempting to finish their educations, as will become evident in the oral interviews. As a result, young men from the South were often unqualified to work in the political sphere. Instead, they were given lower tier jobs such as office clerks or other secretarial positions within the government.

During the 1960s the Anyanya used schools across the South as a recruiting base for young male bodies for the movement. The movement called upon these young men to stand up and protect their people. Throughout the 1960s, as schools closed across the South, male youths either joined the movement, or traveled to neighboring countries in search of an education. When peace was established in 1972 between the Northern and Southern elite, Sudan
experienced relative peace for ten years. During this time, the Southern Regional Government was established in the South, and many of the leaders from the Anyanya movement were appointed high-ranking positions.

The peacetime also allowed for the South to develop areas that were previously neglected, most notably the educational sector. Schools re-opened across the South and male youth were once again able to attend school in the South; however, the language used within the classroom switched from Arabic back to English once again. For the male youths who had spent the 1960s in classrooms conducted in Arabic, this switch was detrimental. Similarly, the educated class of Southern elite who were appointed position in the Southern Regional Government were now expected to speak in English when, in theory, most of their schooling was in Arabic. While this was a set back for male youths and young men pursuing their educations, obtaining one’s education increasingly became a mode of resistance during the wartime.

When President Nimeiry re-introduced Islam and Arabic into schools in the late 1960s and disintegrated the Addis Ababa Agreement, the South lashed out in outrage. Between 1980 and 1983, violence took place at a local scale, mainly between Northern and Southern soldiers at military outposts. The dissolution of the Southern Regional Government; however, sparked the start of the Second Civil War in 1983. As with the First Civil War, the conflict closed down schools across the South. The scale of violence within the Second Civil War greatly outnumbered the First Civil War, thus throughout the late 1980s and into the 1990s, many Southern Sudanese left the region. These populations fled to neighboring countries, namely Kenya and Uganda, others moving as far as Egypt. Within these regions, male youths sought out educational opportunities as they continued to dream of joining the political sphere.
The 1990s also saw an outpour of humanitarian reports denouncing the Sudanese Government for violating the newly formed Declaration of the Rights of the Child. These reports obscured the motivating factors behind joining the movement. Instead, they highlighted the stories of those who were conscripted into war, ignoring the many incentives males had to joining the movement. These reports, attracted the attention of international aid organizations as well as countries that had an economic interest in Sudan, namely because its oil resources. In response to the increasingly threat of sanctions from both the Canadian and United States governments, the GoS eventually came to a peace deal in 2005. The humanitarian reports of the 1990s covered up the individual experiences of male youth and young men during the 1990s. Chapter 4 will turn back to the stories of the young men who participated in the Anyanya (1955-1972) as well as the SPLA (1983-2005), highlighting both their motivations and their individual stories.
Chapter 4: Growing Up With Anyanya: War as an Alternative Initiation

I will always remember the first time I met Alex. It was the Christmas of 2001, and my family made our annual trip to celebrate with my mother’s side of the family in Newton, Massachusetts. For the first time, one of my dad’s family members was joining us for the holidays. At 8 or 9-years-old, Alex sparked my curiosity. From his dark glowing skin to his gleaming white teeth when he smiled, I remember his shyness as introduced him to boggle and other word games in front of the fire. “This is your cousin, Alex,” my mom exclaimed, “he just arrived as a Lost Boy from Sudan.”

Alex arrived in Utica, New York from the Kakuma Refugee Camp in September 2001, just after the attacks on September 11th, as a part of the Lost Boy Refugee Program. When Alex heard he was accepted into the resettlement program, he contacted a relative who put him in touch with my father. Alex was born in 1979, just before the start of the Second Civil War, but like many other male youth, he was conscripted into the army at age 13. In 1992, Alex joined the mass exodus of male youth to the newly established refugee camp in Kakuma, Kenya. However, once he arrived, he chose to return to Sudan—during which time he was conscripted into the military as a “child soldier.” For the next two years, until 1994, Alex fought at the front lines of the war. During his training and the fighting, he watched many others die. Stationed in Juba, they would travel around in the bush, along Yei Road or the Nile, fighting the Northern Government forces. In a recent phone call, when I asked Alex why and how he left the military, he began to laugh. “I ran,” he said. The Northern Government forces had defeated Alex’s station in Juba, and in a shoot out, they chased the survivors out of Juba, capturing them as they

\[\text{Phone Conversation with Author, Alex Longono, Middletown, CT, USA (April 4, 2014)}\]
tried to escape. As Alex ran, he decided to desert his post, running on his own to a western
town, Maridi. He was 15-years-old. From Maridi, Alex was able to travel back to Kakuma, for
the second time, and this time he stayed.

When Alex arrived in the US, he had already finished his high school education in the
Kakuma refugee camp. Thus he enrolled in a local community college in Utica as a pre-medical
student. Nearly fourteen years and three universities later, Alex now lives in California with his
Cambodian wife, Leehang. Alex has completed all of his schooling and is awaiting his
comprehensive exam that will qualify him to take his final board exam to become a doctor. I tell
Alex’s story, because until this fall, I had no idea that Alex was ever a “child soldier.” Despite
his time in the military, Alex has pursued his educational dreams to the fullest, and is en route to
achieving his goal: becoming a doctor. Alex is an example of one young man who experienced
both of the different livelihoods available in Sudan during the civil wars: soldiering and
education. While he did not continue on to become a military officer, Alex grew up during the
time he spent fighting with the SPLA. His experience called upon three principle aspects of the
pre-war social education that males received: protection, courage, and the ability to fend for
himself. Alex’s story is an important example of both: (1) how male youth transitioned into
manhood during the time they spent with the SPLA, but also (2) how many of these young men
continued their educations after their military experience, a topic that will be further discussed
in the subsequent chapter.

---

After Sudan gained independence in 1956, the new leaders of Sudan implemented a
counterinsurgency offense in the South in response to the mutiny in Torit. The move was an
attempt to subdue the Southern communities. The rebellious Southerners were those who felt as
if their aspirations had not been met in the independence arrangements made with the British. The new Sudanese Government, however, lacked the manpower to effectively gain territory in the South and, thus, resorted to recruiting and conscripting males into unpaid militias.\textsuperscript{237} The eruption of guerilla warfare in Southern Sudan in the 1950s left male youth in the midst of a difficult decision: to defend their people and fight for their right to education, or to cower and let the terrors of war emasculate them. During their experience as soldiers, male youth called upon the social education they were introduced to by their fathers and grandfathers, most importantly, how to protect and defend one’s community. Instead of completing their social education amongst their individual ethnic groups, the soldiering experience was cited as a time of growth and responsibility for male youth.

This chapter illuminates the role male youth played in the civil wars, a role that distinctly made a break from the role male youths played in their communities before the war. I will discern three themes in this chapter: (1) the motivations of the male youths to join the army; (2) male youths growing up through their military experiences; and (3) the shifting values and expectations for manhood. In addition, these interviews explain why male youth were at the center of the conflict between the Southerners and the Northern Sudanese Government in two ways: (1) in terms of gaining access to manhood, and (2) the shift that occurred in initiating oneself into manhood by educating oneself or joining the rebel movements.

When analyzing the role of male youth in the First Sudanese Civil War, one distinct difference and importance to discern is that the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) was not ratified November 20, 1989. This was nearly three decades after the commencement of the war. In the adoption of these articles, as mentioned in the last chapter,\textsuperscript{237} Deng, Luka Biong. "Confronting Civil War: The Case of Risk Managing Strategies in South Sudan in the 1990s." \textit{High Level Forum on Protracted Crises}. Rome: 2012.
there was a spike in scholarship and humanitarian outcry on the subject of child soldiering in Sudan. Little historical background was taken into account before the initial release of these reports and scholarship. Therefore, when one reads literature on the First Sudanese Civil War, the term “child soldier” is not typically found, and it is only after the adoption of the CRC that there was an emergence of literature denouncing the use of “children” in the Sudan Civil Wars. The chapter highlights this distinction by dividing the interviews by their involvement in either the First Sudanese Civil War (1955-1972) or the Second Sudanese Civil War (1983-2005).

During the war many male youths were separated from their families, their communities, and the lives they knew prior to the destruction of their villages and homes. The socialization processes that once occurred to initiate male youths into manhood were, therefore, not accessible to male youths as they once were in the pre-war period. In being uprooted from their communities, many male youths would no longer have access to the socialization and education that was conducted before the initiation of a male youth into manhood. Even further, after their experiences in the war, male youths often moved to urban locations as opposed to returning to their rural communities where these practices previously occurred. This created a social vacuum, and male youth and young men needed a new space to transition into manhood.

The voices that will speak throughout this chapter are from men of all different ages. Throughout the interviews conducted with men there was a common thread: the discussion of his education, and, or, the mention of his involvement with the movement and joining the military. It is here where I attempt to tie together the meaning of a man’s education with initiating himself into manhood, or, if it were not possible, in his conscription with the military. As Sharon Hutchinson, an anthropologist, discussed in *Nuer Dilemmas* (1996), during the wars in Sudan, individuals and their communities found new ways to grapple with the militarized
environment. Through time and space these male youths found alternatives to old norms and traditions that had once governed behaviors in the past.

Male youths were encouraged, by their families, even if for a short time, to join the Anyanya movement in the First Sudanese Civil War to fight for both the South, and for their education. In the interviews that I conducted with men who were alive during the inception of the Anyanya, even those who were pursuing an education took time off support the Anyanya initiative. Those who did not necessarily seek to join the movement were sought out by the war itself. As the Sudanese Government launched counterinsurgent attacks on many villages across the South not even rural villages were safe from the reach of the Northern Government. The experiences and horrors that were brought to the homesteads of male youths across the South during the wars often provided male youths with the motivation that was necessary to join the movement. In addition, the Arabization and Islamization of the education system that occurred under General Abboud in the late 1950s discouraged many male youths who were in primary school at the time. These young males suddenly faced a major change in language instruction—from English to Arabic, in the classroom. Therefore, male youths who had intended to achieve their manhood through education were denied access to the institutions and occupations that would make their education worthwhile.

The Second Sudanese Civil War began in 1983, and male youths were once again at the vanguard of protests against the Sudanese government. They called for their right to equal educational opportunities as well as fair distribution of wealth between the North and the South. Other factors that triggered major youth protest were: (1) the presidential decree that

---

re-divided the southern region, defying the terms of the Addis Ababa Agreement that ended the first round of the civil war; and (2) the decision to transfer southern officers to the North.\textsuperscript{240} These two factors were, in large part, the reason the Anyanya and the Northern Sudanese Government were able to come to terms and peace in the first place. The agreement, which established relative peace for a ten-year period, despite falling short on the demands of the Southerners, was completely dismantled. This meant the disbandment of the Southern Regional Government, and the loss of hope in self-determination. Male youths of Southern Sudan, as in the First Civil War, were once again called to action.

**The First Sudanese Civil War (1955-1972):**

At the start of the First Sudanese Civil War communities throughout the South were in the midst of establishing new schools, as well as in the works of adjusting to the role that formal education would play within their societies. Formal education, from the late 1940s and into the 1950s and 1960s increasingly became an important part of a male youth’s lives, in addition to the educational traditions of his society. The Sudanese Government’s dominance over the education system put male youths at the center of the civil war, and for many of these male youths, the Anyanya movement and fighting with the rebels gave them a way to exercise their own political agency and masculinity. Darius, who was seven when he began school, spoke of his early education—both formal and traditional:

> I learned many traditions at home when I was little, my father was a policeman so he was always with other people, so he brought my cousins to live with me and they taught me our traditions: respecting adults, recognizing our relatives, and farming, and I finally began going to school when I was 7, in 1953. It was a boy’s school run by the government and conducted in English.\textsuperscript{241}


\textsuperscript{241} Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)
It had become the expectation, as was true with many families across the South, that an English education would secure him a future career in an administration position or in the government. At the same time, communities did not quite let go of the traditions they had always practiced. In many cases, as was displayed by Darius above, formal education coincided with the traditional education of many groups, and male youths would simultaneously receive both educations. The eruption of the war in the following two years disrupted the lives of many male youth who had just begun their educations.

After mutiny broke out in 1955, instability seized the South. In the midst of this political uncertainty, General Abboud announced the immediate Islamization and Arabization of Southern Schools in order to fix the so-called “Southern Problem.” Darius, who had begun his education at seven in English was one of the many male youths to be affected by the change in language instruction. He spoke to be about this sudden shift:

> At school I learned English because that was the medium of instruction, until 1955, then the school closed because Sudan become independent. Arabic was introduced and the people of the North took over the power, we had to begin school all over again.  

Not only did the change in language instruction set Darius back a number of years in schooling because of his education prior to Arabization had been in English, but this chance put him at a disadvantage when he tried to continue to the next level of schooling. Instead of moving forward with his studies, he had to begin all over again. However, in restarting his schooling, this time around, Islam, Arabic, and the Quran were introduced:

---

243 Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)
In 1956 I was demoted back to Elementary Level 1, and I had to learn everything I had learned already all over again in Arabic. I learned the Quran through my friends, my father never allowed me to learn the Quran in school. He used to say ‘We’re Christians you shouldn’t learn that, if you want to you can learn it, but you must maintain that you are Christian.’ Being a police officer, he was able to establish that for his own family.  

While Darius stayed in school, the change in instruction from English to Arabic confronted many male youths with a change that they did not have the willpower to meet, even if it cost them their education altogether. The demotion of male youths often caused them to drop out of school altogether, as many parents did not believe that their sons should be forced to learn in Arabic or learn the Quran. The change in curriculum caused some students struggled to comprehend the new coursework. While General Abboud changed the instruction language to Arabic and funded the creation of Koranic schools in the South, the Sudanese Government did not allocate any additional funds to enhance or ensure the quality of instruction in these Southern Schools. Therefore, the Sudanese Government was creating a problem specifically for the Southern male youth.

As a result the late 1950s and early 1960s were characterized by heightened tensions between male youth who were or had been students in the South and the Northern Sudanese Government. In retaliation against the rebelling students and the Anyanya in the South, the Sudanese Government took action by targeting educated Southerners who were in rebellion of the government. Danny, a child of a doctor who worked for the Anyanya witnessed the death of his father due to the fact that his father was an educated Southerner and had been accused of aiding the rebels by the Sudanese Government. Danny explained:

---

244 Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)
I remember when I was little I would move around with my father. He was medical personal for the movement so we moved from Banzia to Wau. It was July 11, 1965 when he was killed, I remember the day, and it was the day most of the educated people in our community were killed. Most of the officials in our community were invited to a wedding and the wedding was attacked so most of those in our community who had been educated were killed off.246

Following the attack, the Sudanese Government shut down the school in Danny’s community and schools in the community were closed from 1965 throughout 1966. For many of the male youths in Danny’s community, they gained new reason to join the Anyanya movement. Danny did not use this as justification to join the movement. Instead, he returned to school when the school in Wau reopened in 1967. However, the ill feeling towards the Sudanese Government, whom the community blamed for the attack, had been instilled in both Danny’s heart and the hearts of the members of his community.247 In retaliation for this and other attacks Southern rebels began to establish English-modeled schools, beginning in the Southern bush in 1963, and then later in refugee camps in both Uganda and Congo.248

There were others male youth, who, in the face of an attack on their communities, decided to join the movement. For example, Stanley joined the movement at age thirteen when he witnessed the death of his teachers at the hands of the opposition:

I started school in 1959, when I was 7. However, I stopped going to school when I was in intermediate school in 1965. Violence started and one of the teachers was killed. Then soldiers came to recruit children and able bodies to fight. Teachers were being killed by the opposition.249

246 Danny. (2014, August 12). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
247 Ibid
249 Interview by author with Stanley R. Philip in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 16, 2014)
Stanley, unlike male youths before him in the pre-war era did not go through the socialization into manhood within his own community. In seeing his teachers die at the hands of Northern Sudanese armed groups, this served as Stanley’s motivation to join the Anyanya movement to avenge the death of his teachers—men who were highly esteemed in his community. Stanley’s achievement of manhood took place during his experience with the Anyanya, through his experience as a soldier, using a gun, and moving from place to place with the military. Although Stanley did not finish his education before retreating to the bush to join the Anyanya movement others took breaks in their education to aid the movement. In other words, because of the instability in the South, both education and initiation processes were not always guaranteed. The division of one’s education was highlighted in my interview with Darius:

Between ’64 and ’67 I spent time in the jungle because the civil war broke out. I joined the Anyanya and it was awful. Walking, walking, walking, we walked a lot, but I joined because of the injustice done to our people in the South, there were so many killings that happened and it kind of upset me. My parents understood when I told them I wanted to join. I was a scout at age 18 and 19. As a scout I reported about the movement of the government army. I knew Arabic so I could translate. Everyday you think you’re going to die, because there was so many shootings, as a scout you were always initiating the shooting because they would see you. The older folks fought most of the time. I feel that I grew up during that period of time in the June, I was making decisions for myself, but my parents always allowed me to share in the decision making, so I was already

---

250 Interview by author with Stanley R. Philip in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 16, 2014)
there, since I was the first born. I was in my twenties when I went back to finish my education, because they made me repeat elementary when they switched to Arabic.

Stanley shared a similar feeling of growth during his time with the Anyanya:

I went to be a soldier, and began fighting against the Arabs with the Anyanyas. I wanted to be a soldier. At the time it was guerilla warfare. We moved from place to place in the bush moving up and down, carrying heavy machine guns. I didn’t become a man until I was 20 because I was in the bush for three years. When I was a soldier, I began to feel like a man.252

For many of the male youths that joined the Anyanya, like Darius and Stanley, even if did not feel like men before their experience in the Anyanya, they cited their military experience as the time they transitioned into manhood.253 The government’s suppression of Southern male youth, and its failure to provide educational opportunities was in large part the reason behind the success of the SPLA’s attraction of recruits.

Most importantly, in communities where males youths had begun to initiate themselves through their study in schools, when access to schooling was denied, young males were left with little other option than to find an alternate way of preparing themselves for manhood: through militarization. In the interviews given by these men, it is easy to draw connections between their stories. Both Stanley and Darius interpreted a large part of their maturation was a result of their experience with the Anyanya movement.

Darius remembered that the means to become a man were changing. However, for him he also faced obstacles to achieve education—the new path to manhood:

251 Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)
252 Interview by author with Stanley R. Philip in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 16, 2014)
253 Interview by author with M. Lomoro in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014); Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014); Interview by author with Stanley R. Philip in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 16, 2014); Phone Conversation with Author, Alex Longono, Middletown, CT, USA (April 4, 2014)
If the war didn’t start, though, I would have finished college earlier. I wasted almost three years because of Arabization.254

Whereas male youths during the pre-war period were socialized into manhood through various practices such as building huts, cattle herding, practicing cultivation, and dancing, the wartime changed these practices significantly. Communities in which these practices took place were both devastated and divided during the war. In other words, even if the socialization was to take place amongst an individual family, it no longer held the same political clout or communal value as it once had. Darius had begun to adjust to formal education; however, with the change in language, he had to re-adjust to schooling, a process that made him lose three years of progress.

In the face of war, Southern Sudanese male youths adjusted to a new way of life that centered survival. In an effort to subsist, cultural norms (such as dancing, hunting, cultivating, and cattle herding) that had formerly been community wide institutions broke down and male youths became forced to first attend to their own survival as opposed to community-oriented.255

For example, when villages were bombed or attacked, families would retreat to the bush with each other as opposed to traveling with their entire communities, such as community wide hunting expeditions. The wartime climate deprived male youths of the opportunity to learn the social customs that were taught to male youths by their fathers and grandfathers. Whereas male youths had once been socialized through a range of practices (see Chapter 2) the increasing tension between the North and the South during the 1960s made it easy for the SPLA to militarize and convince male youths to identify with the revolution. Identification with the

254 Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)
revolution was often in contrast to their families and the traditions that had once been in place.256

During their soldiering experience, many Southern Sudanese male youths felt they grew with Anyanya. Although the conditions during the military experience were often horrific, male youths who had witnessed the deaths of many family members and extended family friends at the hands of the government felt that they needed to avenge these deaths by joining the movement. The soldiering experience shared similar requirements with the initiation practices that were prevalent in pre-war Sudan (see Chapter 2), such as: the ability to fend for oneself, the ability to fight, as well as courage, strength and bravery.

During the peaceful interim (1972-1983), after the establishment of the Addis Ababa Agreement, many Anyanya fighters were integrated into the Sudanese army. Just over 4,000 men and youth were given various civil service jobs (i.e. as police men or prison guards).257 In 1972, an additional 10,000 former southern warriors were employed in the civil service. However, by 1974, the Sudanese Government realized this large number of employees was unnecessary and they were fired and encouraged to take up farming. The problem that arose from this downsizing was that due to the time that had been spent in the bush in the First Civil War. Many of the men no longer knew how to farm. For many of these guerilla soldiers, they had become accustomed to hunting with machine guns, whence they could obtain their food at the pull of a trigger. Still, others had lived in refugee camps where farming and agriculture was not an option. 258

258 Ibid, 182
The peacetime made clear that soldiering, the livelihood, that some males choose as opposed to educating themselves and began as an effective method to achieve manhood, became another barrier. As a result of their military involvement, many youth had spent their days on the front lines instead of in the classroom. The authority and power they had felt during their war days, or even the ranks they had achieved, went completely unnoticed by the government when it came time to downsize the military movement. In addition, as mentioned in the last chapter, when former members of the Anyanya were integrated into the Sudanese army, they were merged with the very men they had been fighting during the First Civil War. This kept the former Southern Sudanese Anyanya men from developing trust in the national army that was created by the Northern Sudanese Government—especially when they attempted to move the former Anyanya members to the North. The war had employed males across; however, this livelihood became less secure during the interim of peace. Some men were offered jobs within the government, while others had to struggle to find and win back lost time during their war experience.

The Second Civil War (1983-2005):

The relapse into civil war in 1983, as mentioned in the previous chapter has been interpreted as due to the dissolution of the Addis Ababa Agreement between the Sudanese Government and the Southern Regional Government. In particular the re-implementation of Islamic law in the South as well as the reinstatement of the old regional lines: Equatoria, Upper Nile, and Bahr El Ghazal sparked renewed student protests. These protests led the Nimeiry government to brand southern youth as being anti-government. In further retaliation, the

Sudanese government declared a state of emergency in April 1984. In this declaration, the University of Khartoum was closed, Southern opposition leaders were imprisoned, and protests were banned. In the South, manhunts were conducted in search of known ringleaders of the SPLA. In other words, once again, male youth were faced with a familiar obstacle: they could either learn Arabic and Islam or leave school. Having developed a firm belief in education, expelling students who could not speak Arabic prohibited these youths from obtaining the fundamentals they needed to become a man.

The decades of war had already taken a detrimental toll on the South. It dispersed communities and groups of people and by extension disrupted family life, shattered health and education facilities, inflicted psychological and physical trauma, but most importantly, it had caused significant cultural damage. Whilst NGOs have often demonstrated the causational factors of child soldiering as black and white: such as poverty or lack of resources, this was far from true in the case of child soldiers in Southern Sudan. Instead, the motivations of male youths were much more complex and highly politically linked. Amongst the atrocities that were taking place during the Second Civil War Christine Ryan, a specialist in war and conflict, defined five major motivating reasons that male youths joined the movement that, four of which will be discussed in detail here: protection, defense, support, and future career.

These motives shed light on the individual stories and processes which these male youth came to find joining the SPLA as the best option or only option for themselves. In addition to these motivations, the benefits of joining the SPLA were both education and protection in some cases; however, there does remain a faction of male youths who were forcibly conscripted into

---

261 Ibid
child soldering, which we will discuss at the conclusion of the chapter. This section establishes, that many male youth found their period in the military as a time of growth and responsibility, but most importantly, it displays that many of these motives shared similar characteristics of that which was required in pre-war Sudan to become a man.

*Motivations For Joining the SPLA:*

In disrupting family life, the war, especially the second war, which was bloodier than the first, separated many male youths from their families. The SPLA was viewed by many as a group that could provide protection for these youths. Not only did the SPLA provide protection, but it also served as a route to which male youths could learn how to protect themselves and become men, especially as many no longer went through the initiation practices that provided them with this education. By viewing the atrocities that occurred against their families and communities, male youths viewed the SPLA as a way they could both protect and defend their family and those they loved from the opposition—the Sudanese Government. These motives showed similarity to male customs during pre-war Sudan, such as knowing how to fight and hunt in order to protect ones family and community.

Joining the SPLA also provided relative freedom and mobility to male youths who may not have easily been able to get around the country by foot to see their family whom had dispersed into many different regions of the South. Lastly, as schools became scarce in the South during the wartime, many male youths saw the SPLA as a potential future career or place to learn skills that they could gain as opposed to educating themselves in hopes of obtaining an unfeasible government position in the Sudanese Government.
Protection:

From the viewpoint of NGOs who were functioning in Southern Sudan during the war, it was perceived that youths in Southern Sudan did not have the appropriate rational to join the movement, as they were not necessarily aware of the politics behind the movement. This could not have been further from the truth. In contrast, male youths during the war searched for means through which they could preserve both themselves as well as their communities, and this was mostly found through joining the SPLA. Male youths, particularly those quoted in Christine Ryan’s interviews, were quite aware of the harm that their communities were submitted to during the civil war, harm in all factions: physical, emotional, and economical.\(^\text{263}\) In an interview with Jonas Acouth Mayom, a man who joined the SPLA at age 9, he said:

Of course age also matters at the time, before at the age of ten maybe my family was definitely responsible but eventually we are typical African societies communities are also responsible for securities and protection. Then as we became older at fifteen, sixteen, seventeen we started realizing some of the gaps that existed in the security establishment. The police at that time could not provide adequate protection for us, the police was more a paramilitary, the military could not provide protection for us, so we thought maybe since the SPLA has been fighting for a cause and some of these fundamental elements are the mismanagement of the security institution of the government of Sudan so we would rather go to the SPLA and seek the very security that we are looking at. So basically our security progressed from family to communities and then to the SPLA as a bigger institution.\(^\text{264}\)

In addition to protecting themselves male youths who joined SPLA viewed it as a way in which they could protect their larger communities. During the war, elder males were not always


present at home: some were killed, and some were separated from their families in the aftermath of military attacks, while others had already joined the movement. As there was no distinct age that a male youth transitioned into manhood, the shift into manhood often came sooner during the war, as many male youth saw their family in need of a courageous young man. It is here where one can make a distinct connection to an institution that was important in the pre-war livelihoods of men: protecting and displaying their courage to protect their communities.

Despite how young some of the male youths were during the time of their involvement with the SPLA, many had watched the elder men in their communities die as a result of the ensuing war violence, making them the man or eldest male in their family or community. Villages across the South were brutally attacked. In these attacks, women and children were violently murdered. In another interview conducted by Ryan, a young man speaks of how he watched a pregnant woman get cut open so the assailants could see whether the baby was a boy or girl—the mother and her child died. It was instances and experiences like these that called these young males to take on the duties of men, even if they were not entirely ready or prepared for it. Standing up to defend ones family and be the man was a necessity. Not only were these male youths making a stand to protect the lives of those they loved, they were also standing in protection of the land that had been theirs and their grandfather’s before them.

*Defense:*

Defending Southern communities played an important part in the livelihoods of men in the pre-war era, but the eruption of the civil war took the importance of this aspect to a heightened level. Not only were male youths responsible for their immediate families and

---

community ties, the SPLA drew its large numbers by emphasizing the obligation these male youths had to the state. As the question of education and access to political positions was at the center of this conflict, the many issues facing the country gave male youths incentive to join the movement to protect and defend their community, despite their young ages. One thirteen year old stated that he joined the military because of all the anger he felt:

What I had feelings of the problem was anger. That’s also after the schools were closed I was feeling bad about that, when you reach the villages in 1985 they introduced this looting of the cattlers and the things that’s why we feel more angry and then we say let me join even if, if I get a gun then I’ll have to defend my place and maybe sure make stop these things of looting my properties.

For many young males, as previously mentioned, the closing of their schools prompted them to take up arms against the Northern government. In shutting down schools, education, which had increasingly become an important tradition for male youth no longer was available, so male youth were forced to find alternate ways to educate themselves, enhance their masculinity, and subsist. Others joined the militia because in addition to needing to defend their community, there was cattle to be protected as well—another connection that links to the pre-war era (cattle herding). This specific interview calls ones attention to how joining the military was a way in which, even at a larger scale, one was defending their property (cattle and land) two things which were necessary to be able to marry and have a successful life.

During the Second Civil War, many communities were burned to the ground by the

---


Scorched Earth Policy that charred entire villages to the ground at the drop of the bomb by the Sudanese Government. Male youths on their own could not stand up to the enemy, the Sudanese Government, on their own. Joining the SPLA gave them a way to earn retribution for the brutalities committed against their communities and families. Others, as mentioned above witnessed the murder of their fathers, who had been fighting in the SPLA, at the hands of the Arabs or the Sudanese military. Any retaliation that was made in that aspect was in defense or in the name of the dead father, an important affinity and relationship. This was the case for Captain Luka Loku Natana, who joined the SPLA at age 12 in 1990:

Actually my primary reason [for joining the SPLA] was that I as a child seen my parents killed in cold blood. It was something very painful and then I wanted to know exactly why were my parents killed. And up to now. I personally sees into it I have not got the exact thing that made the enemies to go into our village and kill our parents. I have not found any important thing and then secondly what I have been getting from other sources that we are all rebels, we are all SPLA but at the age of my father, my father was about sixty or seventy and working with the government and then I never saw him associating himself with the SPLA at that time.269

In the case of Captain Luka Loku Natana, despite joining the military, he was never able to find the government’s motive for killing his father. Captain Natana was not alone in his quest to avenge the death of his parents. Similar to Stanley, who witnessed the death of his respected teachers, Captain Natana felt called to defend his community For others, joining the movement was not only for their dead parents, but for their entire family that was lost at the hands of the opposition. With no community left for which to live with, other male youths joined the SPLA as it was their only other option of finding a community when their own was lost.

In finding a community in the SPLA, this became another platform in which males could assert their masculinity and manhood amongst other men. While the customs were not the same as they largely varied from group to group, if one could fight well, and appropriately use a gun, this brought him heightened respect. The display of ones manlike qualities and skills was still an important part of initiation. Like protection, defense was another pillar of achieving one’s manhood in pre-war Southern Sudan. Raids and fighting often took place in the pre-war period between ethnic groups as a result of stolen cows, murder, or insults. However, during the war, males from various groups across the South became unified as a result of the oppressive government’s attacks on communities.

**Support: Finding a Community in the SPLA**

Similar to feeling the need to defend their own communities as men did in pre-war days, male youths also joined the SPLA to garner support for their community by the SPLA and support their own families. Amongst the youth in the SPLA, communities formed amongst the various age-sets. Together male youths united together to take a stand against the Arabs. These male youths felt that they played an important role both politically, and at a community level. Captain Morris Modiloro a young man who joined the SPLA at age 16 shared his thoughts on his agency in his interview with Ryan:

> Yes I feel politically powerful because I can be able to share with some members of my community the situation that is going on first of all in my country which is Juba Country, the state, which is Central Equatoria, and Southern Sudan as a whole.

---


Captain Modiloro’s words demonstrate that men were not only fighting for their own local communities, but that they believed that in fighting for their local community, they were supporting the whole of Southern Sudan in their involvement with the SPLA. Similar to Morris, Majok Thiel Koc, a man who joined the SPLA at age 11, also referred to the significance of joining the movement to his community and people:

My mood was only to fight against the Arab not against my brother and sisters, because when we join hands like with the other people you can do wonders, that is why I join and we team up and do something and the little we did that time was also engraved by the elders and they have no done it until now there is peace. If we had not joined, you would have not been peace now because the way those people were seeing us, doing that, clearly the end of the war and the community leaders were seeing that we were looking for our freedom and peace actually now has come.\[272\]

In supporting the movement, one was both taking a stand for the people in your village or community, as well as taking a larger stand for the people of Southern Sudan. As Majok clearly mentioned in his interview, he believed that his involvement in the SPLA directly aided the resolution of the war. In other words, without his help, and help from people like him around the South. For men, their involvement in community affairs and governance was an important aspect of manhood. There would not be peace in South Sudan today.

While support could be referred to in supporting one’s community with protection, it also meant providing financial support to one’s family as well. In addition, young man’s involvement in the SPLA could earn him money. The little wages that some earned from the SPLA was often used to help alleviate the suffering of family members and to purchase scarce resources. As was briefly mentioned earlier, raiding and bringing home resources played was important for male youth and young men during the pre-war era. Fighting with the SPLA

renewed the significance of raiding in a new context, as it became a way in which young men could secure both food and wealth for their families during the war.273

The feeling or need to support one’s community was directly emblematic of what was established as the role of a man in pre-war years. Almost forty to fifty years later, this aspect was just as important despite the amount of time that had passed. During the 1980s and 1990s, as was displayed in the interviews with males if one’s family was submitted to pain, fear, sickness, or any other kind of suffering, it was the man’s responsibility to alleviate the pain. In the interviews I conducted, male youths said they were, thus, taking on a heightened responsibility of maturity by attending to the suffering of their families and communities.274

*Future Career:*

With all of the interruptions that males faced in their education, there was a need for an alternate pathway to achieving this authority and status. Due to the school closings during both the First, and primarily the Second Civil Wars, young men were constantly having their educations disturbed by violence. At the same time, they missed out on other skill training such as: farming, hunting, and blacksmithing. Education had become a new pathway to survival, a new route in which male youths could obtain status and power within their communities by one day graduating and finding work. Upset by the continued inequality in the political and educational systems, male youths often viewed the SPLA as an alternative to completing their education. Lomoro of the Pokola group joined the movement when he was fifteen, in 1980, just before the start of the Second Civil War:

---

274 Interview by author with Charles in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014); Interview by author with M. Lomoro in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014); Interview by author with Bennett in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 15, 2014)
When I was fifteen I told my father that I was going to join the movement. I decided this for myself. I had become a man because I was able to establish and show others my level of maturity.\footnote{Interview by author with M. Lomoro in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014)}

Since his time in the military Lomoro remained a dedicated member of the SPLA and to this day still works for the military as a logistics officer. Lomoro’s inspiration and dedication to the movement was in the hopes that he could one day provide for his children and give them everything that he was not able to have during the wartime. Similar to the desire to support one’s family, Lomoro felt that his military involvement helped him provide for his family:
All of my children are happy now because they are in school and they speak English. When there is a demand, I must help them, I cannot leave them to suffer—I suffered too much in the movement.276

Lomoro is one example of male youths, who, instead of seeking work in the political sphere invested his future in the SPLA and the beginnings of a military career. Lomoro’s military career never ended even after the Second Civil War ended. Working for the army is now Lomoro’s livelihood. Similar to the way in which young men were socialized into different livelihoods in pre-war Sudan, Lomoro was socialized into his livelihood through his experience with the military. Soldiering ultimately became his career, yet his interview and words tell us that he still finds value in education—a tradition which he did not have access to when he was younger. While it was not the case with Lomoro, other male youths even saw their military experience with the SPLA as a route to which they could eventually achieve a position in the government.

Most importantly, though, in conclusion of the motivating factors that male youths experienced which encouraged them to join the military, was that the SPLA was a route to manhood and all that it symbolized. This was expressed in an interview conducted by Christine Ryan with a former child soldier, Lam Tungwau Keuigwong who joined the military at age 9 in 1990:

Manhood. It’s like an assertion of my manhood. Social reasons, status, whatnot, it is part of what makes you somebody, like going to school and getting a degree so, it’s like a skill you know, the army is like a skill you know the military I see it as one of the skills like carpentry and other things. 277

276 Interview by author with M. Lomoro in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014)
This interview specifically speaks to one of the main points of this thesis, which is that during the wartime, the ways in which male youths were socialized into manhood distinctly began to evaporate. Joining in the military was a livelihood, an occupation, and a path to manhood. What is most important about his quote, however, is that Keuigwong drew a parallel between military experience and educational experience, showing that they held the same amount of prestige and could acquire you status—“make you somebody,” as he put it.

Whereas men had once been viewed as strong and courageous through their hunting abilities, during the war military technology changed this practice (i.e. the use of machine guns and artillery). Instead of the long hunts that were done by communities or individual hunting done with a bow and an arrow by a man, men were able to kill animals and people with the pull of a trigger. This new technology did not derive nearly as much prestige and authority as it did during the pre-war years when killing a lion or a large mammal was a great feat because it was a long drawn out process. Hut-building, similarly, no longer gave male youths any meaning, especially since many of them were constantly on the run during the civil wars and were not given the extensive opportunity to build huts that they would remain in. What really became important to male youths during this time period, especially during the Second Civil War, was their involvement in either the SPLA, staking a claim of their manhood through the military, or finding the equivalent in schooling by traveling to other regions or areas where they could obtain their high school degree and perhaps even pursue higher education.

*Benefits From Joining the Rebel Movement:*

Before NGOs introduced a number of schools in Southern Sudan during the Second Civil War, international organizations believed that there was little to no motivation on the part
of Southern Sudanese children to obtain an education, especially in rural areas.\textsuperscript{278} We know, as it was discussed in previous chapters that this was far from the truth, and contrary to these beliefs by international actors, education was at the center of the conflict. One of the topics that came up most consecutively during the interviews was that of education, and the lengths at which male youths would go to pursue their education. Similarly, in the interviews that Christine Ryan conducted, what former child soldiers cited as being the most desirable aspect of joining the SPLA were the hopes that they might obtain an education from one of the establish SPLA schools. In other words, some male youth, during their soldiering experienced received both a formal and military education.

The Southern Regional Administration (1972-1981) helped to establish a number of schools in South, such that by 1980, there were over 800 schools in the region.\textsuperscript{279} However, during the Second Sudanese Civil War the Sudanese Government destroyed many of these schools. As a result of this, the SPLA took education into their own hands. In 1993, they developed an initial Education Policy that was approved at the SPLM National Convention of April 1994. This new policy launched formally launched an education system that began at the start of the Second Civil War—the development of SPLA controlled schools across the South.\textsuperscript{280}

These schools, known as “bush schools”, were taught by members of the SPLA who had formerly received some type of schooling, whether it was as a little as finishing intermediate school or as much as a graduate degree.\textsuperscript{281} The bush schools controlled by the SPLA were a major attraction to male youths. In many communities across the South education was still


\textsuperscript{280} Ibid

\textsuperscript{281} Ibid
paired with socialization into the traditions of the community up until the Second Civil War. However, formal education was phased out of the curriculum during the Second Civil War and it was often replaced with a military education, as was evident by the story of Keuigwong:

What was in my mind was that I was going to get an education, that I’d go to school and get a better life of… because we live in another life where there is no school or a traditional lifestyle in the community. So what I was hoping (that) I would get from them, which even make me go with them, is that I’m going to school. In fact, that’s what they told me that you will be going to school so that’s convincing. And not only me too many other who are younger and older than me.²⁸²

Keuigwong, at age 9, demonstrated the mindset of many male youths in their thought process of joining the SPLA. In addition, he suggests how this was the thought process of other young men, not just himself. There was a common thread between these males—the all wanted an education. The SPLA promised an education and protection to many male youth across the South, and despite the quality or form of education it gave to the youth who were making the decision to join, there were many youths who had no other option except for joining the military: in some cases their entire families had been killed off; in other cases they had lost track in their families amidst confusion and violence following an attack on their community; even further, others turned down the option to receive an education, knowing that it would be in Arabic.

Just as there were those who did not want to be educated in Arabic, there were male youths who joined the military for the sole reason of having access to some form of schooling. They envisioned that they would join the army, stay in the army for a couple of years while they attended one of the SPLA schools. Then they would leave the army to pursue a different

future.\textsuperscript{283} As Jacob Mazzier, who joined the SPLA at age 14 in 1996, explained that education was even a prerequisite for those who held leadership positions in the SPLA:

I feel like I have to leave the SPLA and go back to school with my studies because I believe education can make a lot of changes in somebody’s life and I was also encouraged by my father you know and my family and also I was impressed and I was motivated by the education because most figures who were in the SPLA who managed to rise up in the top leadership most of them were educated and the only way they make it through was through education and that’s why I felt like I have to go back to school, study, come back and help reconstruction and development of the South.\textsuperscript{284}

For Jacob, one thing that was impressed upon him was the need for education in order to obtain top rank or leadership within the SPLA. His response to Christine Ryan addressed the new tradition that has come to light surrounding education. We must read this interview with a careful eye, for we do not know if Jacob was essentially telling Ryan what she wanted to hear. However, at the same time, as we viewed in Chapter 3, all of the men who emerged as the leaders of the Anyanya and later the SPLA were those who had received some form of schooling—whether it was up until secondary school or perhaps college. While we cannot presume that Jacob always knew that an education would be important for him to achieve if he wanted a higher rank in the government, we can be more certain that he was aware that the leaders in the SPLA and government were educated. Formal education developed a place in communities across the South throughout the pre-war and First Civil War so that by the Second Civil War, male youths viewed it as a stepping stone to future careers within the government,


working for aid organizations, or even future careers within the military—a place they could achieve manhood and function as men.

Manhood was further reached through the involvement in the SPLA by the hyper-masculinized mantra of the SPLA which instilled in male youths that guns would give them, as Ryan borrowed from Douglas Johnson, “freedom, protection, power over their lives, control over their destiny, or defending their rights.” For male youth who had been emasculated by the Sudanese education system or the Islamization forced onto the South by the North, guns brought back the power that they were missing in their lives—the power to protect their families and their communities, and most importantly the prestige and power to protect oneself. Most importantly, as a member of the SPLA these male youths were given the opportunity to shape the South Sudan that they envisioned, and by extension, contributed to creating a country and space in which they could participate in shaping the community.

The numerous complexities that shaped around a male youth’s life prior to their militarization during the Second Civil War made the induction of these male youths into the military a positive experience for a number of boys. Kevin Kueth Tut, who joined the SPLA at age nine in 1986 spoke to how without the SPLA he would never have gained and education, and for that he is thankful. His words, directly confronts the usual humanitarian discourse—that these young men were victims of war and lacked agency:

Well, joining the military training has opened a lot of windows to many people. One, education wise. Let me say if I was still in the village. I would be illiterate up to now. I might not have gotten the chance to be educated: I might have been

286 A number of the men I interviewed spoke specifically about the need to defend their own rights and take control of their own lives that were controlled by the government. Reference: Interview by author with M. Lomoro in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014)
a cattle [herder] riding cattle in and out of the area. It has opened up windows of opportunities to most child soldiers…. Well at that time there were opportunities of enjoyment, but still there was no room of enjoying because war was there and for those who joined as child soldiers are better off. Now they are educated, military personnel who are trained. They have the best advantages than the child who remained in the village, now they have nowhere to be placed in. Yes they have joined the army maybe later but they are not educated so it is really hard for them to get those chances of maybe going for education and so on. 287

This final quote is noteworthy for two major reasons: (1) it touches on the major historical shift that took place in manhood during the pre-war era and the wartime; and (2), it emphasizes for a final time what role education had in allowing male youths to access opportunity, success, prestige and manhood, and how valued that was to young men during the war. These words always mark a strong contrast from the humanitarian discourse that often calls children who were forced into soldiering victims. What Kevin points out here is that he believed that those youth who remained in the village as opposed to the joining the movement were at a disadvantage, one that still effects them today, as they are without education or military experience. In pre-war Sudan, men had taken pride in the management and care of their cattle. During the war, while this practice did not completely disappear, we see here through the voice of Khang, that this custom no longer held the importance or garnered the same amount of authority from one’s community as it once had. Instead, by educating oneself, male youth could “open up windows of opportunities.” 288 In the case that one was unable to access education, joining the military was an important alternative.

288 Ibid
Forced Conscription:

Where as above we see a number of examples of male youths choosing to participate in the SPLA, there were also groups of male youths who were forcibly conscripted into factions of the SPLA, or conversely conscripted into the government rebel militia. It would be a mistake to say that all of those who were a part of the SPLA or Anyanya were proud of their experience and had the option of joining, like for example, my cousin Alex whose story opened the chapter. The autobiographies Alephonsion (Alepho) Deng, Benson Deng, and Benjamin Ajak, They Pour Fire On Us From the Sky, published in the West in 2005, was as a collaborative effort by the three men, narrating their experiences during the Second Sudanese Civil War and their forced conscription. This account was clearly written for the West in support of the humanitarian discourse victimizing these young men and their experience during the Second Civil War. This is evidenced by the preface, written by Judy A. Bernstein, remarking on their arrival in the United States with little more than the clothes on their backs. However, by excluding this account my argument would be completely one-sided, and there are aspects of these experiences that are useful in our discussion of the emerging tradition of education.

The story begins in the early 1980s with Benson who discussed what life was like before his village was attacked. In his village it was his job to “protect the newly sprouted sorghum and maize.” In addition, he helped take care of the goats and cows, cleaning up after them and made sure they were feeding on the fields of grass that surrounded his house. At night time, Benson would learn lessons from his elders:

Our houses were surrounded by fields of grass, and so we would gather close by the fire, where we could see our surroundings….it was on these nights with my

---

family when I learned the most about my ancestors and the Dinka people and how we were supposed to live.\(^{290}\)

This shows us that the traditional education of children during the wartime did not completely disappear. In communities that were still intact or had re-established themselves during the First Civil War, older generations still attempted to instill the traditions of the pre-war era in youths. Likewise, young males were still responsible for protecting cattle and family lands, another custom that dated back to pre-war Southern Sudan.

These moments of community sharing and education, however, were shattered when the Sudanese Government attacked their village. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the Sudanese Government began bombing schools and villages through the Scorched Earth Policy, completely burning his village to the ground and dispersing his family in many directions. In flight from the violence, the boys joined with thousands of other boys who were marching across the country having been told that they could be educated in schools across the border in Ethiopia.\(^{291}\) However, during the trek across the country under the security of the SPLA, the three boys were split up, and both Benson and Alepho ended up in a camp Natinga, a remote village in the foothills of Southern Sudan. In their telling, thinking they were going to get an education, the boys became dismayed when they found out they would not, in fact, be attending school, and Natinga had been the intended destination. Asking the teacher who had led them there why they had stopped, Alepho was simply ignored by the teacher and SPLA soldiers.

“Some boys started marking the ground, saying that was where they wanted their huts to be,” wrote Alepho. “They didn’t understand that we’d been tricked. Lied to. Hijacked by the soldiers


and taken here instead. There was no school, no houses, nothing.” These boys had trusted in the SPLA to bring them to schools, an opportunity which they very much desired. While SPLA schools existed, during this time frame the SPLA was in desperate need of man power, and this group of male youth could provide the SPLA with a group of able bodies, a very valuable resource at the time.

Instead of attending school, the male youths were woken up at 3:00 am every morning and forced to do manual labor, in Alepho and Benjamin’s case, they were building a road. Boys who tried to escape were put into a prison surrounded by thorns in the center of the camp, under the blistering sun, and without protection from any of the other weather elements. In later months, after they had finished building the road, Benson wrote that a new form of education was introduced to the youths:

We gathered together to listen to the leaders introduce a new kind of education. ‘You will have army training and carry your guns with us to school and in classes and wherever you go.’ Most of the boys sang song of joy, but this decision was sad news, particularly for me….now I knew for certain why they had brought us here to Natinga and why there were keeping us here. They wanted more boys for their army. Soon we would be on the front lines, where they didn’t care whether you lived or died.

There is truth to the memoir on several points. The SPLA were at a point of weakness and they needed more bodies for the movement, and the many male youths that were brought to Natinga provided them with exactly what the SPLA needed. Benson was fearful that in becoming a soldier he would never re-unite with his family and would be stuck in Natinga. On the other hand, he wrote that many of the other boys, as we saw in the previous section, were excited

---

293 Ibid, 214
294 Ibid, 223
about the idea of training and carrying their own guns, because “[they] had been helpless for so long.” Too often, accounts like these are viewed one-dimensionally, but if we delve deeper into this quotation, we can see a characteristic of pre-war traditions—having the ability to protect and fend for oneself. In their entrance into the military, these young males were finally able to remedy the disempowerment they had felt up until this point.

The forced conscription of these male youths did not give them the opportunity to decide for themselves whether or not they wanted to be a part of the movement, which rightly raises issues critical in humanitarian discourse. It is this story or point of view that was and still is most often emphasized and published about, especially in the West. However, despite not necessarily wanting to join the SPLA, their military experience whether or not they wanted it, served as both a valuable learning experience, but also required the male youths to mature at very early ages.

Although Benson wanted nothing to do with the military, because he was separated from his community and most of his family, it was the practices that he learned through the military that both helped him survive, as well as initiate him into manhood. The courage and bravery of walking across Southern Sudan had given him the independence and self-responsibility that usually, in the pre-war years, was not achieved until after one went through initiation practices. Similar to my cousin Alex, both Benson and Alex’s abandonment of the SPLA was seemingly a trial period, in which the qualities they had learned in the SPLA came to test. Benson ended up escaping the SPLA camp in the mountains and into the desert with other youths who were well above his age in the early 1990s. At age 12, this feat that may not have been possible without


the training, endurance, and skills he developed from the SPLA. Benson, as we will see in Chapter 5, as well as his brother, Alepho, would be educated in the Kakuma, Kenya refugee camp. While it was not the highest quality of education, Benson still showed his gratitude for receiving some form of education. Although the military training Benson received was not the formal education that he desired, the experience presented Benson with essential survival skills he would not have otherwise learned.

Conclusion:

During the civil wars in South Sudan, the route at which male youths achieved manhood witnessed a great historical shift. Instead of going through the socialization process that occurred within their communities, as happened in prewar Sudan with hut building, hunting, dancing, cattle herding, and cultivating certain crops, socialization into manhood happened at a much larger scale and at a national level. These practices did not completely cease to exist, and in many ways characteristics of the customs showed through in the motivations young men cited as being the reason they joined the SPLA, for example in the importance of protecting and defending ones community. Male youths became socialized into manhood during their experience with the military as opposed to in their home communities, many of which were destroyed during the civil wars. As was evident in the interviews, some of the practices still took place, such as hut building and hunting; however, they no longer had the same significance that they once had in the pre-war years. This was especially true because with the dispersal of groups all over Southern Sudan. The communities for which the socialization practices held meaning were being pulled into war, and these practices alone no longer would wholesomely constitute what it took to gain power and authority in Southern Sudan. In addition, education
became the most desirable aspect of one’s socialization during his youth. However, in the case that education was unavailable or schools had been shut down, joining the military became an alternative viable option to platform one into manhood. Male youth who did not choose to join the movement, still walked away with valuable survival skills, having experienced their evolution into manhood while soldiering. Even though joining the military often meant these young males were not in school, it did not necessarily mean that they never returned to school.

Male youths had different motivations for joining the military during the civil war whether it was for in search of protection, to defend their own communities, in search of an education, or if they viewed the SPLA as a future career choice. This characteristic was similar to the customs that males learned in pre-war Sudan, that it was the duty of young men to defend and protect their communities. In witnessing the murder of close relatives or even important members of their societies, such as teachers, male youth found motive to join the war. Through the SPLA, male youths handled guns and were exposed to violence and harsh conditions, helping to contribute to both their awareness behind the politics of the civil war and their maturity—seguing into their adulthood.

One distinction that was clear in the interviews that I conducted was that those who joined the movement in their teens or early twenties cited it as the point in time which they became a man. For those who spent time in different countries during the wartime, most in search of education, had different responses. Some cited their graduation from secondary school or university as the point at which they grew up, while some, even further, cited the moment they got married or began a family. It is at this point where we will segue into the next chapter, and discuss alternate livelihoods during the civil war: what it was like to be South Sudanese male youth earning his education abroad.
Chapter 5: Growing Up Abroad- Education Refugees

The devastation of Southern Sudan during the civil wars resulted in both the displacement and the migration of many peoples from Sudan. Not only were the lives of millions of Southerners disrupted by the warfare, but the destruction of entire villages, most importantly schools, left Southern young men/youth with no choice but to seek education elsewhere. Obtaining an education had become an important rite of passage for male youths and a necessary asset in order to achieve standing in their changing communities. Thus, many youths traveled to refugee camps or neighboring countries specifically to attend schools there. This was especially true during the Second Civil War (1983-2005) when obtaining an education, whether it was from a refugee school in Kakuma, Kenya or in Khartoum (Northern Sudan), was viewed with prestige and seen as another source of wealth for the family. To have a son, father, or brother who could be hired by the government bureaucracy, new non-governmental organizations, or as a teacher in the schools expanded one’s kinship and clan networks and increased the likelihood to access state power and its minimal resources. Due to the connections they were able to make internationally from this experience, others after their education was finished engaged in internal and international trade. While education became a necessary asset and experience for male youth, it did not however, automatically secure stability in one’s future. Upon repatriating into Southern Sudan or even Khartoum in Northern Sudan it was very difficult to find work—which was needed in order to afford dowry prices for marriage.

Education abroad, like soldiering, was an alternate pathway for initiation into manhood. This practice continued to allow men to access a range of cultural and material resources.

---
necessary to secure a good livelihood, status as a man, and ensure they could teach these same principles to their own children. However, the migration of these young men/youth led to several social changes and tensions. Firstly and most importantly, education was recreated as a tradition, a custom that these young men would seek to instill in their children. Secondly, marriage was still a key aspect of becoming a man; however, aspects of the institution had changed, namely the dowry prices that now comprised of currency as well as the consideration of ones education. At the same, the changes in Southern Sudanese customs often prompted the fear over loss of tradition.

In a term coined by Andrew Epstein, an individual researcher whose work has been used by USAID, Save the Children and UNICEF, the male youth who traveled abroad for education, we will term, “Education Refugees.” By definition, education refugees were “those who [sought] asylum across frontiers in order to access an education not otherwise available.”298 In Southern Sudan, where the missionaries introduced formal education in 1930, education increasingly played a critical role in shaping both the changing political conflict and cultural shifts of the twentieth century. For the male youths of Southern Sudan, education became important in virtually all aspects of life: culturally, economically, and politically.

Before that point in time, as mentioned in Chapter 2, formal education seemed of little importance to the average agro-pastoralist male. For a male youth who was in the process of socializing into manhood, learning to read, write, and following the good Christian faith had little, if anything, benefit to his social status. Reading a book would not teach him to hunt; just as writing the alphabet would not herd cattle around the village pastures. In fact, the male youths who were initially sent to schools, in the 1940s and early 1950s, were those who were

thought unable to perform the role of a male youth, such as: cattle keeping and hunting. By sending these weaker male youths away to school, it was the hope of the community adults that those male youths would accumulate family wealth in an alternative way.\(^{299}\) Increasingly, however, this changed, as mentioned in Chapter 2 where males could achieve ultimate authority and power in his practice of skills from both formal and traditional education. Just as Southern Sudanese were beginning to become accustomed to formal education, the First Civil War (1955) broke out. The strict crackdown on Southern schools by General Abboud, beginning in 1958, would mark the beginning of years of punitive and unequal treatment of Southerners in the education system. This chapter shows the lengths, which male youths would go, under harsh treatment, to obtain their educations. This was another major clue as to how important education had become to Southern Sudanese.\(^{300}\)

During the wartime, especially when Islamization began to occur in 1958, Southern Sudanese began to seek education outside of the South, even though many groups across the South were only beginning to de-stigmatize formal education. Not only were most of the Christian missionary schools closed and replaced with *khalwas* (see Chapter 3), but because the language instruction was replaced with Arabic and the curriculum based off of Islam, parents opted to send their youths to school elsewhere.\(^{301}\) For Southerners, education became another way to ensure both economic and social capital outside of the pastoral circuit, which was no longer secure during the civil wars with the amount of movement and displacement that was


occurring.\textsuperscript{302} Years of war, famine, and disease caused many ethnic groups across the South, especially those who were pastoralists, to lose their entire family’s wealth and capital, leaving them completely vulnerable to the terrors of war. Therefore, these families were more in need of educational opportunities in the war.

During the First Civil War, the males who had left the country as youths to seek education elsewhere who returned to become key players in developing a peace deal to end the First Civil War: Joseph Lagu, Abel Alier, and William Deng (all of whom were educated in Khartoum).\textsuperscript{303} As leaders in the Anyanya Movement, they were given positions in the Southern Government for a period of time. Two now hold positions in the Government of South Sudan. The other is a Professor of Arabic at the University of Vermont. (Photo used with permission of the men). Photo taken by Orelia Jonathan, August 2013.

\textbf{Figure 9} Three men who were educated abroad during the First Civil War, all of which would assume positions in the Southern Government for a period of time. Two now hold positions in the Government of South Sudan. The other is a Professor of Arabic at the University of Vermont. (Photo used with permission of the men). Photo taken by Orelia Jonathan, August 2013.


Regional Government during the peacetime (1972-1983). Joseph Lagu, for example, was elected the Presidency of the High Executive Council in the Southern Regional Government. These men would become key in organizing the SPLA during the Second Civil War (1983-2005). By the end of the First Civil War (1955-1972), large volumes of Southern Sudanese began to repatriate themselves into the South—evidence of how many left to seek refuge and education in neighboring countries.

Despite the terrors and violence that occurred in the South throughout the Second Civil War, one thing remained on the rise: the number of children enrolling in school. While attending school in the South was dangerous because of the constant threat of violence, the persistence in these youths in their attendance of school highlighted the importance many societies now placed on the attainment of educational degrees. During the peacetime period (1972-1983) a number of schools were built in the South—accounting for some of the increase in enrollment. During the First Civil War, for example, there were only two secondary schools, while at the start of the Second Civil War there were 25 (in addition to 650 primary schools).  

The dramatic enrollment in schools is paradoxical, however, because while the number was increasing, this did not ensure the quality of instruction or the education that the child was receiving. As a result of the low quality of schooling in the South, male youths traveled to many neighboring countries: Ethiopia, Kenya, Egypt, Uganda, and even Northern Sudan to receive educations worthy of securing them a good livelihood after graduation. This schooling was primary through university level—essentially what a youth needed to seek employment following graduation. In relationship to the interviews I conducted, however, we will only discuss education refugees in Kenya, Uganda, and Northern Sudan, and within these regions the

---

305 Ibid, 38
common underlying theme, such as: availability of livelihood options, the ability to marry and pay dowry prices, and recreating a tradition around education.

From the oral interviews that I collected, of those who left the South in search of education, five different themes emerged that demonstrated a major shift in male livelihoods. The first was a discussion of (1) what level of education they were able to receive, and (2) what they were able to do with that education. (3) Whether or not they had ability to marry and afford dowries. In discussion of marriage with interviewees, dowry prices were almost always mentioned as well as whether or not one was able to afford the dowry price. (4) Constant movement across international borders and within Southern Sudan was another major theme that arose. In other words, where and how often did these men have to move to find education? After initially moving to receive education, did they repatriate themselves into the South? What future did they see for their children—was that future in Southern Sudan? Lastly, (5) many spoke of the fear of losing their culture that occurred when they moved away from their communities.

In Chapter 2 we saw how at the dawn of missionary schooling in the pre-war period, a lot of skepticism arose around formal education, and many societies questioned how they would maintain their traditions and practices. Increasingly throughout the wartime, however, especially as many Southerners were blocked from political participation, education became a necessary tool as male youths began to see the agro-pastoral institutions they once knew collapse. Instead of relying on cattle herding and hunting as practices that would achieve them economic and political benefits, male youths sought out refugee camp education or education abroad so as to gain access to resources and power.
This Chapter briefly outlines the education refugee situation in three different regions: Kenya, Uganda, and Khartoum. In the discussion of these regions, the conditions within refugee camps, settlement camps, as well as urban locations are examined, drawing out the difficulties young men and male youth faced upon their arrival in these regions. The chapter then turns to the individual experiences of a number of young men who were education refugees during the Sudanese Civil Wars. These accounts highlight the factors that motivated these men to leave their homes, often on their own, without other family. The chapter concludes by discussing the reason these young men continued to pursue their educations despite the many barriers they faced.

**Education Refugee Destinations: Khartoum, Kakuma, Kampala and Koboko**

The Sudanese Civil Wars both destroyed and shut down schools across Southern Sudan. As a result, many male youth and young men traveled to Khartoum, Kakuma, Koboko, and Kampala. The refugee conditions within each region varied depending on the refugee laws within that country; but, for the most part, living circumstances as a refugee were difficult. Khartoum had the highest number of refugees, peaking in the 1990s, while Uganda (Kampala and Koboko) and Kenya (Kakuma) followed, in that order.

Male youth in Khartoum were subject to humiliation and degradation in Khartoum. Since the beginning of the First Sudanese Civil War, education refugees traveled to the North in search of schooling. During the First Civil War, males struggled to complete their educations due to the constant change in the language of instruction. English boarding schools that the British established during their Administration (1899-1956) were a viable option for male youth and young men from the South. However, when General Abboud enforced Islam in Sudan,
many of these schools disappeared. Similarly, when the government implemented Islamization once again under the rule of Omar Al Bashir, Arabic became the language of instruction and the English schools that were created during the peacetime (1972-1983) were closed. In addition, at the beginning of the 1990s when the Sudanese Government modified the qualifications of a IDP (internationally displaced person), many of the Southern Sudanese were excluded from the new definition, as they had not technically crossed an international border. Instead, they were termed urban squatters. As a result, their living establishments were often destroyed. The life of male youth and young men living within the city was far from easy.

Kakuma Refugee Camps and the Koboko settlements reached their height during the Second Sudanese Civil War. The Kakuma Refugee Camp was developed in the early 1990s as a result of the high volume of Southern Sudanese fleeing Southern Sudan. The camp was completely sponsored by aid organizations. Food rations were given out to the refugees and schools were built for the many youth that lived within the camp. However, as the camp was packed, conditions were also quite difficult within the camp. This was especially true during the famine that took place in the mid 1990s. As a result, food rations were almost cut in half, and since male youth were unable to farm. This situation meant that people had to wait for aid organizations to provide them with food. However, Kakuma also had many benefits. The possible benefits included the number of educational programs and scholarships that were provided for students. The schools within these camps were free, providing male youth and young men who did not have any means with to pay for school, with a free education.

Lastly, in comparison to Khartoum and Kakuma, the Ugandan government allocated land settlements in towns, like Koboko, where refugees were given land to farm and become self sufficient. While refugees were supposed to live within these land settlements, many ended
up moving to the capital city Kampala. Kampala was a center of opportunity for young men: there they had the opportunity to engage in trade, attend schools, and live without the threat of violence. By far, Uganda provided male youths with the best education of the three locations.

*Khartoum, Sudan*

Traveling to the North from the South was not uncommon during the First Civil War, for there were a number of English Boarding Schools that were established by missionaries in the capital, and most importantly, Khartoum was home to the University of Khartoum.306 Southerners began to attend the University of Khartoum in 1949, however, not in large numbers. By 1961-1962, only fifty-five students of the 1,583 attending the University were from the South.307 Two reasons may have accounted for the seemingly stagnant enrollment of Southern students: (1) the decline in academic standards in Southern schools after Islamization and the mutiny of 1955, and (2) the reluctance to move to, study, work, and live in and increasingly harsh political environment in the North.308

Schools in the South were no longer functioning as they once had prior to Islamization, for many students, as noted before, by 1962, saw the coursework as both impossible and difficult having been taught in English for a good portion of their lives.309 This made access to the University of Khartoum almost impossible. For the Southerners who succeeded in making it through their studies in Khartoum, the prospects for employment afterwards were still dim.310 However, movement between the North and South did not cease to exist after Islamization.

---

306 Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)
307 L.S. Passmore Sanderson & G.N. Sanderson (Education Religion and Politics in Southern Sudan 1899-1964 (364)
308 Ibid, 365
309 Ibid, 368
310 Ibid, 368
Heavy movement and flight into Khartoum did not occur, however, until a massive drought captured Western Sudan during the mid 1980s, right after the beginning of the Second Civil War. For others, the terrors of war that captivated the battle grounds of the South were reason enough to flee to a safer location: Khartoum. When the Second Civil War began, in 1983, many schools in the South that had been re-established during the peacetime, most of which were boarding schools were either destroyed or closed due to the violence. The male youths of these schools were left with two options. Since many of the youths were already separated from their families because they were at boarding school, they could run the risk of returning to their homelands in the hope that it had not been destroyed. However, more frequently they turned their eye towards Khartoum and the opportunity to continue their education.

In 1987, due to the influx of Southerners in Khartoum, the first IDP secondary school was established, the Sheikh Lufti School, which would be joined by eight additional schools by the end of the year. The schools, managed largely by missionaries, operated in the afternoon on the grounds of either private secondary schools or government schools. However, when Omar al-Bashir came to power in 1989 (see Chapter 3), al-Bashir took a harsh stance against the missionary IDP schools by issuing a decree to establish Islam as the central component at these schools. In effect, because Christian missionaries had run most of the schools, most if not all of these secondary schools disbanded and were not replaced by the government.

---

311 Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)
313 The influx in Southerners was as a result of the start of the Second Sudanese Civil War in 1983. The Second Civil War was notably more violent than the first, and caused many Southerners to flee their homes in the South.
In Khartoum, unlike the rest the other regions (Uganda and Kenya) Southerners were not necessarily refugees, for they were still technically citizens of Sudan. Moreover, in 1991 and 1992, the Sudanese government redefined the idea of displaced persons, naming them urban squatters instead of IDPs. This had two important implications. First, because they were urban squatters the government could destroy their homes at any given time. For example, between 1988 and 1983, approximately 800,000 people who were living in squatter settlements lost their homes to demolition by the government. Secondly, international aid organizations were not able to work in these communities because they were not viewed as “displaced.”

Immigration into Khartoum reached its height in 1994 and 1995 especially as the violence in the South worsened. These immigrants were mocked by the Arabic newspapers, which deemed them everything from “traitors”, to “vehicles of disease”, “prostitutes”, and “drunkards”. These mistreatments went unaddressed for international agencies such as the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) had no jurisdiction within Sudan because they had not crossed an international boundary.

Unlike the neighboring countries where Southern Sudanese sought refuge in during the civil wars, fleeing to Khartoum was unique because Khartoum was home to the very Northerners and oppressive government that was attacking the South. By 2001, nearly the end of the Second Civil War, the number of IDPs living in Khartoum largely outnumbered that of any of Sudan’s neighboring country. Of 4.4 million residents of Khartoum, only 1.5-1.8 million

315 Without the title of IDP, international aid organizations were not able to work with or aid these newly named “urban squatters.” As a result, most of the Southerners who arrived in Khartoum were not located within refugee camps, and were subject to mistreatment at the hands of the Sudanese Government.
317 Ibid
319 Ibid
of the residents fit into the category of IDPs.\textsuperscript{320} Of this number, about 14% of the IDP population lived in one of the four establish government camps for IDPs—Mayo Farms, Jebel Awelia, Dar el Salam, and Wad el Bashir—while the other 86% lived in squatter areas that were destroyed every so often by the government.\textsuperscript{321} Life in Khartoum was anything but secure.

Despite the ill treatment and prevailing the Islamic curriculum, Khartoum was considered by many in the South as a opportune place for education. With the University of Khartoum nearby, it was to easy transition from one of the secondary schools in Khartoum with Islamic curriculums into the University. In addition, for many of those who educated themselves in Khartoum, Southern Sudan remained “the homeland” in their eyes, a place they dreamed of returning too. As education had become a tool of resistance, it was said by a resident that in Khartoum people did not fight with guns. Instead, they fought with their minds.\textsuperscript{322} As education was central to the conflict, obtaining an education, as previously mentioned, was a mode of resistance.

\textit{Kakuma, Kenya}

During the Second Civil War, because of the high volume of violence in Southern Sudan, an influx of Southerners crossed over into Kenya. As a result, Kakuma Refugee Camp was founded in 1992 in the northwestern region of Kenya.\textsuperscript{323} Although Kenya has been most widely known as the host to Southern Sudanese refugees during the Sudanese Civil Wars, in

actuality, it was host to the fourth largest Southern Sudanese refugee population. In Kenya, unlike Uganda (which will be discussed in the next section), land was much less available to refugees. The government feared that the refugees would settle in resource rich areas of the country hence they chose Kakuma a semi-arid land that was under populated. More importantly, the lands were very difficult for planting and agricultural use.

After the camp’s inception in 1992, NGOs began to construct a number of schools in Kakuma. Prior to building the schools, teachers and their students would teach class beneath the shade of large trees, much like the pre-war tradition, except in this case with formal education. Between 1993 and 1994, three preschools, 18 primary schools, and one secondary school were constructed in the camp. An additional two secondary schools were constructed between 1995 and 1999. However, even though the schools were built, the schools lacked proper school supplies, which often stalled the students’ education.

Within the first years of the schools construction, a debate arose about the language of instruction within the schools. The Kenyan curriculum was based off of the British system, and would be taught in English. On the other hand, the Sudanese curriculum would be taught in Arabic. The main distinction between the two was that within the camp, most of the teachers were Sudanese and only knew how to conduct the course within Arabic, while the Kenyan teachers were familiar with teaching in English. However, in the end, despite the lacking

---

327 Ibid, 476
number of Kenyan teachers, the Kenyan curriculum prevailed and the students’ classes were conducted in English.\textsuperscript{328, 329}

In addition to primary and secondary schools, health services and a regular supply of food aid, refugees also had access to training from various international agencies and NGOs. These training programs included more broad educational opportunities, such as: micro-financing projects, business skill training, teacher training, health education, training in agriculture (plow technology, seed fairs), grass roots peace building activities, and human rights awareness.\textsuperscript{330} The schools, unlike many of those in Southern Sudan were co-educational, and most importantly, they were free. For those wishing to continue their education, university scholarships were offered to the top students. However, this option was only available to a handful of students, as competition for funding was high and the number scholarships offered low.\textsuperscript{331}

In 1994, due to the large volume of youth within the camp, the Kakuma Camp’s Youth Club, by Southern Sudanese youth, who wished to was organized to “facilitate youth dialogue.”\textsuperscript{332} Amongst these students, most of whom were male until 1996, there was a wide array of dialogue and opinion on the education they were receiving within the camps. Many felt that the education they were receiving in the camp was worthwhile, especially since no opportunity like that of Kakuma schools was available in Southern Sudan, while others were

\textsuperscript{329} This would become important to the young men who repatriated into South Sudan to join the South Sudanese Government, as English was the named the official language.
\textsuperscript{330} Bartlett, Lesley. \textit{Refugees, Immigrants, and Education in the Global South: Lives in Motion}. Vol. 94; 94., New York: Routledge, 2013.(86)
\textsuperscript{331} Ibid
disappointed by the education system.\textsuperscript{333} The most common conception was that the education Kakuma Camp was providing them was giving them the tools they needed to advance themselves once they returned to their homeland.\textsuperscript{334}

The Kakuma Camp’s reliance on foreign aid would come to test in 1995, when a famine overwhelmed northwestern Kenya. A sharp decline in resources left many who lived in the camp hungry and without food. While the refugee camp was supported by foreign aid, it was impossible for refugees to practice other livelihoods in the camp—such as farming—because the land was not theirs nor was it fertile enough to plant. This was in direct contrast to the last region we will discuss, Uganda. Despite highly competitive nature of education in the Kakuma Refugee Camp, the schools provided Southern male youth with a standard education. Many of the Southerners in the Kakuma Refugee Camp sought to use these educations to find work within the political sphere after their graduation.

\textit{Uganda}

The first Southern Sudanese refugees entered Uganda during the First Sudanese Civil War. However, this first set of refugees were treated poorly as Milton Obote, the president of Uganda from 1966-1971, cooperated with the Sudanese Government in disposing of Southern Sudanese who were in rebellion.\textsuperscript{335} This all changed when Idi Amin overthrew Milton Obote in 1971. Amin identified with the Southern Sudanese because his own ethnic group was Bari-speaking from Northern Uganda, a group that shares similarities with multiple ethnic groups.

\textsuperscript{334} Ibid
\textsuperscript{335} In an effort to save his presidency, Milton Obote allied himself with the Sudanese Government who promised to back his presidency in exchange for his ill-treatment of Southern Sudanese refugees. For this reason, Southern Sudanese refugees looked agreeably upon Idi Amin’s rise to power in 1971.
found in Southern Sudan. When the First Civil War ended in 1972, many Southern Sudanese refugees repatriated into border towns in Southern Sudan. These repatriated Southerners would eventually be joined by many Ugandans who fled the country when the Amin administration was overthrown by Tanzanian soldiers and Ugandan guerillas in 1979. The number of Ugandan refugees would fluctuate to about 300,000 by 1985 before steadily declining when Yoweri Museveni took power in 1985.

Kenya’s refugee camps, because of their size and reliance on international aid, received a lot of attention during the civil wars; however, Uganda hosted and still hosts to this day the largest number of recognized Southern Sudanese refugees in settlement camps. The difference in refugee transit camps, like those in Kenya, and the settlement camps in Uganda are that settlement programs gave refugees a chance to integrate into the community and develop their own livelihoods. Refugee transit camps, on the other hand, rely on the resources from humanitarian aid and are not intended to help one become self-reliant. Another positive factor for Southern Sudanese youths was that in many cases, especially in Northern Uganda, Ugandans spoke similar languages to the Southern Sudanese and in some cases were related to ethnic groups in Southern Sudan.

Another main difference between Kakuma and Uganda is that life as a refugee in northern Uganda was considerably more stable than it was in Kakuma and the other refugee

---

337 Ibid
camps in Kenya. For example, when famine broke out in the mid 1990s, there were few food resources other than what foreign aid groups were providing. When rations were massively subsidized, refugees went hungry. This often led to fighting within the camps or fighting between camp members and the local peoples. In contrast, refugees in Uganda were given rural land settlements and encouraged to farm. Rural farming was a guaranteed livelihood, but access to other livelihoods in Uganda was more difficult. For many, Kampala, Uganda’s capital, especially during the 1990s, gleamed with opportunity.\footnote{Macchiavello, Michela. "Livelihood Strategies of Urban Refugees in Kampala." \textit{Forced Migration Review}, no. 20 (2004): 26-27.}

Refugees who immigrated to Uganda were supposed to live in rural farm settlements, but the opportunities—for both schooling and other livelihoods—in Kampala, were often too good to pass up in most cases.\footnote{Sandvik, Kristin Bergtora. "Blurring Boundaries: Refugee Resettlement in Kampala—between the Formal, the Informal, and the Illegal." \textit{PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review} 34, no. 1 (2011): 11-32. (14)} Kampala had many attractions, including: opportunities to trade and exercise one’s skills by offering one’s services, the presence of good health services, and most importantly, schooling and vocational training opportunities.\footnote{Macchiavello, Michela. "Livelihood Strategies of Urban Refugees in Kampala." \textit{Forced Migration Review}, no. 20 (2004): 26-27.} However, relocation into Kampala usually occurred after the refugees had spent some time in rural settlement camps, and after hearing of the commercial advantages of Kampala would move into the city indefinitely.\footnote{Bernstein, Jesse, and Moses Chrispus Okello. "To Be or Not to Be: Urban Refugees in Kampala." \textit{Refuge} 24, no. 1 (2007): 46-56.} While living conditions for refugees in Kampala were often poor, as they lived under many restrictions from the Ugandan government, the opportunities in Kampala, a bustling trade center, were far greater than any other neighboring country.

Most importantly, Uganda had, of all the other countries with educational opportunities, the highest quality of education for Southern Sudanese. While there are a number of other options that existed for youths seeking education throughout the war, those opportunities tended
to be exclusive or only available for a small number of students. Uganda, on the other hand was equipped with numerous schools, both primary and secondary, specifically for refugees. The education system in Uganda, as boasted by Marc Sommers in *Islands of Education* (2005), was arguably the best option for Southern Sudanese refugees:

Given its considerable size, the relative stability and expanse of the education system, the utility of the curriculum and language of instruction (as compared to [internally displaced people] education in Khartoum, for example), the relative lack of repression influencing schooling (again, as compared to the Khartoum context), the established heritage of education within the Southern Sudanese population, and evidence of educational quality, the education system available to Southern Sudanese refugees in Uganda is most likely second to none. No other large population of Southern Sudanese has access to a better education system than the one in Uganda.

Although Uganda was not free of its own issues and turmoil throughout the late 20th century, Northern Uganda and Kampala became a destination points for many male youths during the civil wars. Unlike the refugee camp education system in Kenya, education in Uganda was not necessarily free, many of the schools required a tuition fee, which often meant that those who sought education in Uganda had to be funded by their families or work in addition to attending school. Uganda was a place of opportunity for Southern Sudanese refugees. The people of the country had peaceful relations with the refugees, there was the highest quality of education in the region, and there were a number of livelihood opportunities available to graduates of the education system.

---


347 Ibid, 180
Recreating Tradition: What Migration Meant for Livelihoods, Marriage, and Culture

Constant Movement: Internationally and Internally

The reasons that many male youths left their communities in the South in search for education were numerous. For some the school in their community had been destroyed by the war, while others simply left the South because there were no opportunities for higher education within their communities. The most common response as to why the men I interviewed left the South was on account of the war and their local schools being shut down due to either violence or precautionary measures. Communities were disrupted by the war as early as the late 1950s when the violence was still characterized as guerilla warfare (see Chapter 3). Movement, however, especially during the First Civil War, occurred most frequently between Southern Sudan and Khartoum. It was not until the Second Civil War that one saw massive movement into countries like Kenya and Uganda.

One man who was affected by this early wave of violence was Bennett of Badgji, South Sudan. Bennett was born in Badgji South Sudan in 1942 or 1943, the exact date remains unknown for when I asked he smirked and said, “Believe me I cannot remember.” Bennett began his education in bush school, which was followed by intermediate school in Loka, Central Equatoria, and secondary school in Rumbek, Lake State. He did not finish secondary school in the South, because of the war. Bennett was in his third year of secondary school when he began to look for a job in the North:

“I finished my third year of secondary school then stopped school, and I began to look for a job to pay for school in the North. I finished secondary school in the North because of the war. Everyone was affected by the war.”

During the civil wars, specifically the Second Sudanese Civil Wars, schools were a bomb target for Sudanese Government forces. This was a part of the Scorched Earth Policy that often burnt entire villages and communities to the ground. As a result, many of the schools were destroyed, or closed due to fear of being bombed.

Interview by author with Bennett in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 15, 2014)
Another interviewee, Darius had a similar experience during the First Civil War. His schooling was heavily disrupted by both the war (beginning in 1955) and Islamization. After spending time with the Anyanya (discussed in Chapter 3) he went to Khartoum to finish high school.

When I asked him about the first time he had to flee from violence, he responded:

It was 1955. When the shooting began [my sister and I] ran from Malakal to River Sobat. Oh my goodness. It must have been 50 miles. My father was under arrest; my mother was pregnant with a baby so she stayed at home. There were so many other people running and going with us.\textsuperscript{350}

Darius was able to return to school after an Uncle came to find him and his sister, at the River Sobat. Since his father was constantly on the move he went to boarding school in Renk for two years (1961-1963). However, his schooling would be disrupted occasionally by war until he eventually went to Khartoum to finish high school.

In 1964 I went to high school in Wadi Sayedna, just north of Khartoum on the western bank of the Nile from 1963-1968, and that is when I finished high school. I was in my 20s when I finished high school because of when I had to repeat those years of schooling [during Islamization].\textsuperscript{351}

At the time Darius began schooling in Khartoum, in 1968, there were “about 300 other Southern Sudanese students at the University.”\textsuperscript{352} Darius noted how some of them completed their education in four years, while others would take breaks to join the movement.

After completing his education in Khartoum at the end of 1972, Darius proceeded to obtain his masters in Arabic and Linguistics before obtaining one of the few scholarships from the Ford Foundation to study in America. While Darius went to study at the University of

\textsuperscript{350} Interview by author with D. Keny Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)
\textsuperscript{351} Ibid
\textsuperscript{352} Ibid
Hawaii, he spoke fondly of another friend who went to study in Britain, but did not have the same luck or fate as himself:

Many, many friends of mine did not make it through the war. There was a good friend of mine from Abyei, his name was Charles Majak. We came out of school together, he went to Britain and I came to the United States. He was doing his masters there, and he was one of the first South Sudanese to study the history of Sudan. He returned to do research on the oral history of the Dinka in the South from Britain, and he was killed by the Misseriyya—a group that worked for the government—in 1977. 353

As is evident from the interview with Darius, despite the difficult conditions as a Southerner in Khartoum, it was possible to move to Khartoum to pursue one’s education and acquire both a degree and a scholarship to continue pursuing international education. This education, however, did not come without risks, as was the case with Darius’s friend, Charles Majak, who was killed because of his identity as a educated Southern Sudanese man. 354

While both Majak and Darius used Khartoum as a launching point to seek higher education in foreign countries, others, like Nasr of Juba went to Khartoum to attend University and was able to find work immediately afterwards. Born in 1973, in Juba, during the peacetime, Nasr completed both primary and secondary school in Juba. For university, however, he moved to the University of Khartoum where he studied accounting. When his father passed away he had to split his time between school and work until he finally finished his education in 2010 when he was 37. 355 Similarly, Gasim of Juba, was born of 1970 during the peacetime in the Juba teaching hospital.

353 Interview by author with D. Kenyi Jonathan in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 8, 2014)
354 The Sudanese Government often armed ethnic groups—such as the Misseriyya—to fight for them in the South. The benefits of fighting for the Sudanese Government were many, especially as the Misseriyya were given arms by the Government, and were able to keep the loot after raiding Southern villages.
355 Interview by author with Nasr in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 14, 2014)
As the South was still negotiating a peace deal with the North in the early 1970s, Gasim’s parents decided to move north to Khartoum when he was a baby. Gasim’s case is different from the other men that are presented in this chapter because he personally did not decide that he was going to seek out education in Khartoum. Instead, it was his parents, seeking a more stable area, moved their family to the North. Unlike many of the other interviewees who spoke English, Gasim spoke in flawless Sudanese Arabic, a skill he likely learned at one of the Islamic schools in Khartoum. Gasim could not have been born at a more opportune time, for during the majority of his childhood Sudan enjoyed relative peace, especially in Khartoum. Unlike the constant interruption of schooling as with many other cases from Southern Sudan, Gasim went through school without having to deal with the disturbances of war:

I began preschool and elementary school in Khartoum and continued on throughout high school. Afterwards I went to technical college for home furniture.

This privilege, of attending school without disruption was an uncommon gift that was not received by many. Despite finishing technical school as well as his secondary school education, Gasim was not able to find work in Khartoum. In pursuit of further studies, Gasim moved to Cairo, Egypt where he lived for fifteen years in a Southern Sudanese community. When Gasim finished his education in Khartoum, the South was in the midst Second Civil War. Thus, instead of repatriating to the South, where livelihood options were few, Gasim moved to Egypt.

356 Interview by author with Gasim in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 13, 2014)
357 As a result of interrupted educations and the constant switch between the use of Arabic and English within the classroom, many Southern Sudanese speak parts of English and Arabic well; however, neither language to its completion. Most Southerners speak Juba Arabic a characteristic that informs one of where he or she grew up.
358 Interview by author with Gasim in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 13, 2014)
359 Ibid
Larger exoduses into countries such as Kenya and Uganda did not occur until the mid-1980s and early 1990s. As previously mentioned, this was as a result of the heavily violent nature of the Second Civil War—many homes, villages, and communities were destroyed. In fleeing to Kenya, I will briefly re-summarize the stories of Alepho and Benson who begun their lives in Wau, Southern Sudan, the war had taken them all over the country and had given them many experiences, including soldering. When the GoS dropped bombs on their community, they had no choice but to flee their home. They were separated from each other multiple times during their flight from home, neither really knowing where they would end up. However, both Benson and Alepho arrived in Kakuma, Kenya in 1992. Benson Deng and Alepho Deng, two of the “Lost Boys” whose story was mentioned in Chapter 4, spent a considerable amount of time in Kakuma before relocating to the United States of America. Because their story was spoken about at length in Chapter 4, we will not return in-depth to their migration story. Life in the Kakuma refugee camps was largely different from life in settlement camps of Uganda. The case of Kenya will be revisited at length later in the chapter.

Charles, a member of the Bari group, was one of a few men I interviewed who migrated to northern Uganda to find education. Born in 1980, he grew up attending missionary school in Southern Sudan until 1988. In 1988, at age 8, he moved to Congo to find work and earn money for school:

I went to work in Congo and mine when I was 8, but it was hard work. I only worked there for a year before I moved to Tanzania, in 1989, for vocational training in mechanics. I studied there for four years until I became an assistant driver in Rwanda. When the genocide happened I moved back to Uganda in 1994.

---

361 Interview by author with M. Lomoro in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014)
Kennedy, born in Juba in 1984, also moved to Uganda during the Second Civil War. While he grew up in Juba he was not able to attend school in his home town. Because of the persistent violence in Juba, Kennedy and his family moved to Uganda,

My family and I moved to Uganda because of the civil war. I went to school in Koboko, which is 12km from the border. There were many South Sudanese there.\(^{362}\)

After receiving years of training outside of Southern Sudan, Charles returned to Uganda to live in Koboko with his family, where he finally began to pursue his education “full-time” in 1997.\(^{363}\) Of all the men I spoke with, Charles’ English was some of the best, and when I asked him where he learned to speak so clearly, he noted that he learned it along the way from all the other countries he spent time in. Charles obtained his high school diploma in 2009 and his college degree in 2012, and after graduating, returned to South Sudan. In discussion of Charles’ story, Charles made it clear that he made the decision to work on his own when he was younger in order to support his family and raise money for his education. Kennedy, like Lomoro spoke very good English, citing his “good” education in Uganda as the reason for his good English.\(^{364}\)

Both Charles and Kennedy spoke of the importance of their education in Uganda, as it is to this day, the reason why they have work. Today, Charles has three wives and thirteen children, all of which he sends to school in Uganda:

---

\(^{362}\) Kennedy Moses, G. (2014, August 10). Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan

\(^{363}\) Interview by author with M. Lomoro in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014)

\(^{364}\) Interview by author with G. Kennedy Moses in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014)
My family is all over South Sudan. My dad’s family lives in Kaya, the other border, but my wives live in Koboko, Uganda. There all of my children are in school, and the eldest is almost done with high school.\textsuperscript{365}

Kennedy was also fortunate to marry during the war. He married at age 20 to a woman from his own group. Together they have four children, whom like Charles’ children live and go to school in Uganda.

I have four children and they live with their mother in Uganda. Because of the lack of education, I still send my children to school in Uganda. If education was better in South Sudan, they would be in South Sudan.\textsuperscript{366}

Both Charles and Kennedy were constantly on foot during the Second Civil War and found refuge in Uganda during that time. They were able to marry and start families (a topic which will be further discussed later in this chapter). Most importantly, what is evident here is that their movement continued, after the CPA (see Chapter 3) and secession of Southern Sudan into South Sudan. Their movement will continue as their children are in school in Kampala and Koboko. The interviews with Charles and Kennedy took place in Nimule, a border town in South Sudan, thus both of the men commute for work purposes and trade, livelihoods that they established during the war.

The interviewees, as displayed in their responses, had numerous reasons for leaving their communities to seek refuge and education in neighboring regions, and in some cases, stay in those communities. Once they fled to the South, finding a place to attend school was not difficult. However, while education was guaranteed, employment after graduation from secondary school or university was not ensured simply because one had graduated with a high

\textsuperscript{365} Interview by author with M. Lomoro in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014)
\textsuperscript{366} Interview by author with G. Kennedy Moses in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014)
school diploma or college degree. The next section discusses the availability of livelihood options for men after graduation from school.

**Availability of Livelihood Options**

In fleeing from the South, male youths were in search of a better, more secure life, and most importantly education—with ultimate purpose of establishing themselves as a man who could support a family and exercise authority within his job. Educating themselves became an important symbol of Southern resistance during the war, as well as one of the only routes through which one could access a job in the future. While the conditions of the various refugee camps, cities, and settlements they immigrated too were often less than ideal, many of these places offered multiple resources that were no longer possible in the South such as: access to food on a regular basis, a shelter over their heads, schools to attend, and livelihood opportunities.

Despite the perceived difficulties of Kakuma refugee camp, to some, including Benson and Alepho, adjusting to life in Kakuma—where food and education was provided by humanitarian organizations, was easier then their past soldiering experience:

> Few trees grew there and the dust was so thick that vehicles ran with their headlights on during the day. There was no wild food or water for cultivation, so [they] depended on the food that came to the camp from the outside.  

---

While Kakuma and Khartoum are quite different in climate, Gasim spoke of the same difficulty of not being able to farm while living in Khartoum when I asked him if his family had any specific crops they planted. Of farming Gasim responded:

My family did not farm because we lived in Khartoum. In Khartoum you don’t have good seasons, soil, or land to farm on.368

Where as Benson and Alepho had both been on the run for more than three years, having been exposed to soldering, hunger, and disease, life in Kakuma was like an oasis in the desert. Food was brought to Kakuma and distributed to families in rations. However, as evident in Gasim’s quote, the livelihoods that they once had known were not possible in the camp. Farming in pre-war Southern Sudan was a critical livelihood, and because Gasim spent the entirety of his childhood in Khartoum, he was unable to learn cultivation skills and training that would be of great use when Gasim returned to the South. In Kakuma, the area surrounding the camp was completely exploited for food, thus hunting was not an option. In addition, cultivating crops, as many in pre-war groups practiced to supplement hunting, was also not available due to the arid lands and climate.369 370

The difficult conditions and continued reliance on humanitarian organizations for food rations often made life challenging; however, Benson still expressed his joy in being able to attend school:

Even though there was much hardship in Kakuma, the education was good. At first we studied under trees and then the UN helped us build schools. We also had a lovely Sunday school, where a group of young girls and boys seven to

368 Interview by author with Gasim in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 13, 2014)
369 Interview by author with Gasim in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 13, 2014)
twelve years old entertained the congregation at church celebrations or when we welcomed an important guest like the bishop.371

Compared to the camp in Natinga, South Sudan, where Benson was tricked into soldiering, the chance to attend school and receive formal education was at one point unimaginable for Benson, thus he was thankful for the opportunity. Benson’s adamant mindset in relation to education also goes to show a shift in what was valued for advancing into adulthood. For example, in Chapter 2 male youths would often create clay cattle figurines and play animal herding games. However, in the shifting livelihoods of males, because education was deemed more important, this was instead what male youths dreamed of—receiving an education and obtaining a paying job, not growing up to herd cattle.

Life in a refugee camp, especially since there were not set-in-stone livelihoods available for male youths to pursue, began to lack meaning for Alepho and Benson. This drove male youths to do other, less productive things, like drinking and fighting, while others picked up small trade jobs like selling firewood or re-selling their food rations:

There was no future to a life in the camp. We were going to school, learning English, science, mathematics, history and home science...We saw another world. We were getting our education in Kakuma, but what was the point of it? There were no jobs in the camp. We couldn’t go back to Sudan. The Kenyans didn’t want us in their country and wouldn’t allow a Sudanese to work. There was no place in the world for us. We lost hope in the future…372

Life in Kakuma in the 1990s seemed at a stalemate. Whereas schooling during the First Civil War almost certainly guaranteed a job after graduation, obtaining an education during the Second Civil War did not offer the same promises. Similarly, in Khartoum, the formal

372 Ibid, 271-272
education these youths were receiving often seemed pointless because there was not platform on which to apply it, unless one was able to find work after their graduation. This predicament was studied Andrew Brelid, a scholar of education in Khartoum, “for example pictures and photos in textbooks…they are related to a different life and culture. Modern education imposes things instead of building on their own existence.”

The point above by Alepho is important because it characterized the thoughts of many male education refugees. There was no future in Kakuma, especially since the refugee camp did not allow the refugees to settle and begin their own livelihoods. What little jobs there were available, for example teaching in the camp or obtaining a job with the NGOs, were too few, and thus morale within the camp began to plateau. At the very same time, in Khartoum, the poor treatment of Southern Sudanese males and the enforcement of the Islamic in schools in the 1990s made male students weary. Students questioned what use knowledge of Arabic and the Quran would be in obtaining them a future career.

---

In 1996, things took a turn for the worse when famine struck Kakuma. Camp life had been reasonably comfortable up until that point in time, but with the famine the camp saw serious reductions in humanitarian assistance: everything from school facilities, food, medical care, and shelter became limited. However, school remained free to all. Alepho summarized his option in two ways: you could choose education or you could chose food. If you choose education, then food was sometimes scarce, and you would have to make the UNHCR ration last. If you chose food then you could skip school, make a small business for yourself and continue to survive without hunger. For Benson and Alepho, at ages 14 and 15 respectively, Benson realized that the best route and change they could make in their lives was obtaining an education:

All those years we were in the camp, we knew the best thing you could do for your life was to finish high school. If you graduated, the UN paid 3,500 shillings (about $50) to teach in the camp. It wasn’t bad pay, but you had to give up the ration card and live only on your salary…

Despite the few prospective jobs in Kakuma, male youths still continued to educate themselves, like Alepho and Benson, in the hopes that one of these opportunities would become theirs. In this aspect, life in Kakuma was similar to Khartoum.

In Khartoum, like Kakuma, what would become of one’s life after schooling was uncertain. Without attending school a young man’s future livelihood was undeterminable; and under the Islamic curriculum it was also not assured that you would eventually gain admissions to continue school at the University of Khartoum. In addition, in attending one of the IDP

375 Ibid. 276
376 Ibid, 282
schools in Khartoum, one was also risking their cultural identity as learning about the Quran was of little use to Southerners who were not practicing Muslims, and were already excluded from the social spheres of Khartoum.

When students reached grade 8 in Khartoum, they were expected to take a national examination to obtain entry into secondary school. However, these tests set them up to fail, as many students did not adequately learn Arabic, English, or their own mother-tongue very well, thus they could not dream of passing these tests.\(^{377}\) Fortunately, failing the examination was not the case with many of my own interviewees because most of them spoke English and Arabic quite well, and continued on from secondary school into the University of Khartoum.

Those that did succeed through the education system in Khartoum spoke proudly of their degrees and the money they were able to earn as a result of this education. However, it should be noted that not all of my interviewees who attended the University of Khartoum were able to find work after graduation, which enforced the notion of continued exclusion from the workforce. Nasr, who studied accounting at the University of Khartoum was able to find work at a bank after his graduation in the early 2000s:

```
When I lived in Khartoum, I worked as a businessman and [my family] and I were settled. We had a good house. In Khartoum the salary [was] good, the house had power and running water. Not like Juba.\(^{378}\)
```

Similarly, Dr. Evans, spoke fondly of the education he earned in Khartoum:

```
I grew up in the South in the countryside. Then I went to the University of Khartoum, in 1987, where I studied economics. I earned money to pay for my
```


\(^{378}\) Interview by author with Nasr in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 14, 2014)
own studies. I didn’t go to the university as a regular student. I studied privately. I would work, make money and then pay for my school fees.379

Two significant points can be made from these interviews. Nasr, one of those who was able to attend the University of Khartoum earned himself a job at a bank after his graduation. While working for the bank he made considerable amounts of money, enough to afford himself the dowry price of his wife, which will be discussed in the next section, and secondly, enough to sustain himself and his family while living in Khartoum. Nasr would only work at the bank for a couple of years before his dismissal, at which point he repatriated into the Southern Sudan. Dr. Evans, on the other hand, did not at first seek work in Khartoum after his graduation; instead, he became a Minister of Finance in the Equatoria region after the CPA between the North and South, in 2005. Most importantly, Dr. Evans cited his experience in Khartoum, where he was earning money and paying for his education on his own, as the period of time in which he grew up. During this time, he was taking care of himself and responsible for his own finances—a trait that he largely associated with one that transitioned him into adulthood.380 Lastly, it is important to keep in mind that since these interviews took place in South Sudan, it is possible that there are still Southerners in Khartoum who found work after their graduations and, therefore, remained in Khartoum.

Where as the opportunities for work were relatively scarce in Khartoum and Kakuma, where most displaced populations lived in refugee camps or squatter settlements, Uganda proved to be somewhat fairer in its treatment of IDPs and livelihood options. Policies on refugees in Uganda were and still are remarked as some of the best in the world.381 However,

---

379 Interview by author with Dr. Evans in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 16, 2014)
380 Ibid
like Kenya, the government still imposed restrictions on the refugee population, namely insisting that they remain in settlement camps.

The Government of Uganda required that refugees who moved into the country register with the government and then proceed to live on organized settlements in specified locations, one of these being Koboko. In these settlements, refugees were given a plot of land for both agricultural and residential purposes. Once settled, movement outside of these camps was restricted, but essentially, given the high numbers of people moving over the border (between North and Southern Sudan), it was difficult to register every refugee.\textsuperscript{382} Uganda’s policy revolved around “self-reliance” with the goal that refugees would use the plot of land they were given to support themselves and their families. However, due to frequent changes in security conditions, government policy, and personal circumstances, the majority of Southern Sudanese refugees moved in and out of settlement locations, such as Koboko and non-settlement locations, such as Kampala.\textsuperscript{383}

Constant movement in and out of camps was the case during Charles’ childhood. During the war his family moved to Koboko in the mid-1990s, while he attended school in Kampala. When he finished school in Kampala and married his wife, they remained in Kampala where they began their family. Today, Charles’ family lives in Kampala and he commutes between Nimule, South Sudan, his extended family in Koboko (approximately 150mi from Nimule), and his immediate family and wives in Kampala (approximately 230mi from Nimule), for trade purposes. When I asked Charles how he is currently able to send all thirteen of his children to school, he refused to give me a specific answer. Instead, he told me he was a “hustler” and moves “between borders.” By this, I believe Charles meant that his main livelihood is trade.

\textsuperscript{383} Ibid
Charles brings goods across the Uganda border and sells them in the Uganda-South Sudan border communities, and sometimes commutes as far as Tanzania (approximately 650mi from Nimule).

More than any other neighboring country, Uganda’s border with Southern Sudan was quite fluid and movement across the border was much easier than the borders of Kenya and Ethiopia. Thus, the ability to journey to Kampala, a busy trade center, and a place of opportunity presented young males who completed their education within the country to a range of livelihood opportunities that were not available to male youth and men in Kakuma, Khartoum, or even Koboko. In Koboko, one was guaranteed land on which one could farm; and while the restriction of refugee movement was imposed on Uganda, refugees moved with relative ease to Kampala. In Kampala, as mentioned before, one could sell one’s services (i.e. sewing, cleaning, tailoring) out to wealthier citizens, one could deal in trade, as Charles did, one could attend school throughout university, and there were more job opportunities in the bustling city as opposed to Kakuma and Khartoum. The cosmopolitan center of Kampala was full of opportunity for male youth and young men who were in search of livelihood possibilities.

Marriage and Dowries: Affording Marriage

In addition to securing future livelihoods for males, education ensured a man’s ability to pay the dowry for a wife. Wealth in pre-war Southern Sudan was characterized by the amount of cattle one owned or his physical abilities and skills; however, by the Second Civil War, Southern Sudanese viewed education as wealth. One of the most important aspects of manhood, as has been repeated multiple times, in pre-war Southern Sudan was marriage. While marriage was an absolute necessity to one’s status of manhood, it also did not automatically mean one
became, as scholar Cherry Leonardi wrote, “‘responsible’, a common definition of mature adulthood.”384 All of the traditional practices: dancing, hunting, hut-building, cultivation, and fighting, were all in an effort to create both social power and prestige as well as attract female attention so male youth could one day marry. By the 1980s, Southern Sudanese’ value for education could be viewed in that when choose the groom for their daughter, his education began to take higher priority than the number of cows he earned. Since many lost their cattle during the war, education became a more convenient form of wealth. In other words, it could not be stolen in a raid or die, and if a male was on the run, as he often was during the war, his “educational attainment would still be intact.”385 A young man’s education, especially during the Second Civil War, helped to guarantee his ability to afford the price of marriage.

As mentioned, dowries did not disappear over time, and if male youths and young men wanted to marry, they had to be able to afford the dowries of the women they were marrying. This was the case throughout both the First and Second Sudanese Civil Wars. Dowries did not disappear, but they also did not decrease in price even though access to jobs and the changing livelihoods in Southern Sudan made them very expensive. This rise of bride prices was blamed on the growing number of males who were becoming employed abroad during the end of the 1960s, continuing into the Second Civil War (beginning in 1983).386 387 For example, in 1962, when Bennett married a wife he remembers the dowry as being difficult to afford.

387 Bride price is the exchange of property between two families (the family of the bride and the family of the groom) joined together by marriage. This transmission takes place during the courtship of the bride and takes place up until the marriage celebration. In some circumstances, the bride price is an economic compensation for the bride’s family. This bride price that is paid to the bride’s family (either in cattle, cash, iron goods etc.) is often used by the brother of the bride or her other male relatives for their own marriage. For more reading on bride price and
She was also Moru, we met in the North, and [my parents] didn’t know about it. I remember staying up late at my uncle’s house and asking him if I could take my wife and make a separate home. I told him I wanted to get married and pay the dowry for my wife, and instead, he asked me why I was rushing. I paid what is now a very little amount of money. I paid 45 pounds, which was a lot of money at that time. But the father-in-law demanded that money.\footnote{388}

Bennett, having moved from the South to Khartoum as discussed earlier, was lucky enough to be able to afford the price of his bride who was from his group. Marrying his wife, Bennett would cite later in our conversation, “was when [he] really became a man.”\footnote{389} There are three things happening here: (1) Bennett was able to employ himself because he was educated, (2) Bennett decided who he would marry on his own, and lastly (3) he was able to afford the bride price and marry his wife, which he marked as his transition into adulthood. This is not to suggest that Bennett was only able to become a man by getting married, but also stresses that for some youths, manhood meant taking on a wife.

Another interviewee, Charles, cited this same relationship (between education, making money, and the ability to marry) as the reason that he was able to marry three wives. Like the pre-war livelihoods of male youths, a significant part of ones transition into manhood was establishing oneself as a prosperous male and marrying a wife. In large part, during the war, it was difficult for male youths and young men to come by the wealth necessary to pay marriage expenses. Through his work and schooling in Uganda, Lomoro was able to afford the various dowry prices of his wives. When I asked what prices were negotiated for his wives, Lomoro began to calculate the range of prices that he paid for his wives:

\begin{flushright}
\footnotesize
\footnote{388} Interview by author with Bennett in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 15, 2014)
\footnote{389} Ibid
\end{flushright}
The best price for a woman was what is now 80,000 SSP (about 14,000 USD) and the worst in between 30-50,000 SSP (about 5,300-8,000 USD). Sometimes they used cattle or beer, these things were also good for marriage. I paid a dowry for all three of my wives. If the money was paid, you celebrate the wedding, if nothing is paid you fight.\textsuperscript{390}

For male youths and young men who were intending to marry, without access to money or any form of currency—whether that included cattle, alcohol, or one’s education— it was difficult to find a woman to marry. The necessary route to obtain the wealth to marry, however, was no longer by way of cattle-herding or extensive cultivation, as it often had been in pre-war Sudan. Instead, male youths and young men were attending school so that they could one day find work to pay for both the dowry and their future families. In addition, the families of brides viewed a man’s education as wealth, because it contributed to a more secure future.

In Kakuma, during the 1990s, even after obtaining an education and becoming employed by the UN to work in the camp—even this salary made affording a wife difficult. Not only was it difficult to become employed in Kakuma with such little job opportunities available to graduates of the schools in the refugee camp, but, many of the girls within the camps refused to marry a man who did not either come from wealth, have employment, or the means to obtain wealth. Benson elaborates this problem:

The girls in the community said, ‘I’ve come to the camp safely and I don’t ever want to be in Sudan again. I want a guy who will graduate from high school or have a business and can provide me with some money. If you don’t have money, forget about talking to me. That’s the bottom line.’ \textsuperscript{391}

\textsuperscript{390} Interview by author with M. Lomoro in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014)
\textsuperscript{391} Deng, Alephonsion, Benson Deng, Benjamin Ajak, and Judy Bernstein. They Poured Fire on Us from the Sky: The True Story of Three Lost Boys from Sudan. New York: Public Affairs, 2005. (282)
According to Benson, for the young women in Kakuma, it was clear that education was highly prioritized in their search for a husband. As a result, Benson and Alepho felt that their only hope to becoming more in life was to travel to America. Both Benson and Alepho became a part of the Lost Boy Program that sent them to San Diego.

The civil wars brought a range of social changes, including cultural homogenization. As a result, when male youth/young men moved to cities or large camps (Khartoum, Koboko, Kenya or Kampala), they began to meet and marry women who were not from their home societies. Nasr, for instance, who studied accounting at the University of Khartoum, pondered for a moment before answering my question about group intermarriages:

It was very difficult to marry outside of your own [group]. If you are a foreigner they put conditions on marriage and they have to know your origin.  

When I asked him how much the dowry price was for his marriage he laughed exposing his gleaming white teeth with a smile:

Too much. It was difficult to afford at that time. I paid in money, no cows were involved because it was outside of my [group].

Likewise, Gasim who had spent the entirety of his childhood in Khartoum responded similarly even though he is not married. When I asked him if he was married, he smiled bashfully:

No I am not yet married. I wanted to further my studies. I hope to marry in the future though. When people marry usually it is expensive. It is very expensive if it is outside of your [group], if it is within it is a lot cheaper.

---

392 Interview by author with Nasr in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 14, 2014)
393 Interview by author with Nasr in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 14, 2014)
394 Interview by author with Gasim in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 13, 2014)
Marrying outside of one’s group, as Dr. Evans referred to in his interview was also taking a big risk in that you did not know the background of the group:

I married an Acholi woman, and I had to pay 12,000 Sudanese pounds (about 2025 USD). It is not easy [to marry outside of your group] because you don’t know their culture, systems and norms; it is really difficult to marry outside of your own [group]. Because I married a woman from a different group, the celebration was done from two sides. The singing and dances were from the two groups; both groups dance and sing different songs. The occasion was divided. The first celebration we had with my family, then we had a second celebration with the family of my wife.\footnote{Interview by author with Dr. Evans in Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan (August 16, 2014)}

What Dr. Evans, Gasim, and Nasr’s interviews draw upon here is an incredibly important change that began to occur not just in Khartoum, but also, amongst IDP and refugee populations in the region: a shifting cultural terrain. In pre-war Southern Sudan, intermarriage was not easy for men or women. In some circumstances, for example, chiefs would marry the daughter of important men from different ethnic groups (see Chapter 2).\footnote{Interview by author with Edward in Munuki, Juba, South Sudan (August 13, 2014)} However, for the most part, a Dinka was to marry a Dinka, a Bari to a Bari and so on. With the increasingly diverse populations that developed during the civil wars, intermarriages became precedent.\footnote{Brelid, Anders. "Sudanese Migrants in the Khartoum Area: Fighting for Educational Space," \textit{International Journal of Educational Development} 25 (2005): 253-68. Print. (258)} The civil war, in other words, impacted relations between groups greatly. For instance, since younger generations, like Gasim, had little experience living exclusively amongst their own people in the South, they had fewer reservations about the growing trend of marrying outside of one’s own group.
The change in dowries and bride prices marked a very important shift in history: where as a man’s wealth was once measured in cattle and his ability to dance and fight, wealth was now seen in education, as it was a desirable economic strategy, transferrable across borders, and could not be lost. In Kakuma, for instance, by 2003 and 2004, of the 74,000 refugees in Kakuma, 52,000 were enrolled in either school or training. When the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed in 2005 instead of returning to Southern Sudan, as many of the humanitarian organizations assumed would happen, many Sudanese chose not to repatriate in order to keep receiving the education and healthcare benefits of the Kakuma refugee camp.

Without an education, regardless of where these male youths traveled to study: Khartoum, Kakuma, Kampala, or Koboko, one thing was the same. If one did not get an education and excel in his studies, it was challenging to find work. This resulted in not having the ability to afford to pay dowries, and without dowries, as Charles referred to, it was quite difficult if not impossible to marry at all. Another point that is made within these interviews is that young men began to marry outside of their own groups during the civil war. Within the many cities that Sudanese fled too, the Sudanese populations often lived amongst one another, not group by group. This led to the increasing prevalence of intermarriages between groups—another factor that made the dowry prices sky-rocket. This brings us to our last and final theme that came from the respondents who immigrated to other countries: the recreation of tradition around education, and the fear of losing one’s ethnic identity.

Recreation of Tradition and Disappearing Ethnic Identities
The most common theme between the refugee populations in these three regions was the disappearance of distinct ethnic identities that took place during the civil wars as a result of the migration. As was briefly mentioned in the last section, cultural homogenization occurred in all of the regions, regardless of whether or not it was a refugee settlement as in Uganda, a squatter settlement camp as in Khartoum, or a refugee camp as in Kenya. All of these locations became a melting pot of Southerners during the civil wars, unified by the oppressive treatment of the Sudanese Government. Many of the interviewees I spoke with, if not intentionally, subconsciously spoke of their fear of losing their culture. However, the disappearance of one’s cultural identity led to a closer valuation of a new tradition, regardless of ethnicity: education.

Kakuma was an educational center during the Second Civil War. However, while young men had the opportunity to attend school, they were largely cut off from traditional practices of their groups. They were unable to cultivate crops and develop their own livelihoods, and even when they did develop their own livelihoods: such as trading their food rations or medicine that came through the camp, it was at the cost of giving up their education.

In addition, after finishing their education in the camp, there often times was not enough work in the area, and the Kenyan Government refused to let Southern Sudanese work outside of the refugee camps. In barring the Southern Sudanese from jobs and their own land, this created a huge reliance on humanitarian aid. While those who sought refuge in Kenya were provided with humanitarian aid, their lives were far from secure, as was the case with the famine in the mid 1990s and the sharp reduction in aid. Kenya, a refugee transit camp, where people were intended to come and go, was a stark contrast to Uganda, Kampala, where Southern Sudanese had access to farming land in settlement camps.
Charles’ children have been attending school in Uganda, they demonstrate an important shift that has occurred in the traditions and education system of Southern Sudanese youth. Instead of being exposed to the civil war, they have spent most of their lives living in Uganda attending school in Kampala. When I asked at what point his children would return to modern day South Sudan, Charles’ eyebrow furrowed:

I do not know. The current situation in South Sudan is normal. I will not move my family back here unless education improves. When my children finish their educations, they will get married.\(^{398}\)

Despite the challenges to maintaining pre-war traditions that socialized male youth into manhood, one overarching tradition remained important many of my interviewees: marriage. It is Charles’ plan to arrange marriages for his children, just as his parents had arranged two of his own marriages:

Why should my children get to decide and break my culture? I am an African… Wisdom is knowing your roots and where you came from.\(^{399}\)

Charles’ response was to the question of whether or not he would let his children decide whom they would marry. His comment was seemingly directed at me, as a South Sudanese youth, as I appeared uninformed on the cultural practices of ethnic groups in South Sudan. Whilst they attend school in Uganda, Charles’ children demonstrate an important shift that occurred in the traditions and education system of Southern Sudanese youth. Where as in pre-war Sudan, youths grew up amidst their ethnic groups, and were socialized into adulthood by the elders in their communities, through the dispersal of these societies not only do these traditions no longer

\(^{398}\) Interview by author with M. Lomoro in Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan (August 10, 2014)
\(^{399}\) Ibid
hold the same importance as they once did, but they literally do not have a sphere in which to exist. For example, with male youth who used to learn how to hunt with their fathers and their grandfathers (see Chapter 2), in refugee settlements like Koboko two things were largely different: (1) first, although Uganda shared similar ethnic groups, many refugees were not of the same ethnic group, thus the hunting practices that were important to specific groups, as well as the dances and rituals that went along with them, did not hold any importance to each and every refugee; (2) second, with modernization and the introduction of newer forms of technology, male youths and men could hunt with guns, and the prestige which hunting with a bow and arrow held, was diminished.

Similarly, in Khartoum children who attended school used textbooks with pictures of a lifestyles and cultures that were completely foreign to them. This modern education taught some important subjects like math and science that had relevance to Southern Sudanese students. However, in Khartoum, where the main focus of the curriculum was centered around Islam, subjects such as the history of Southern Sudanese peoples, their specific groups, and their traditions – that were often passed down through oral tradition – were completely left out from formal education.

Some families were lucky enough to be able to have elders in their families who could pass down traditions, but for the children who were on their own in Khartoum, knowledge of their group’s history and traditions was completely excluded from their knowledge. At the same time, the values and traditions that were deemed as important to pass on to children also changed. In my conversation with Nasr, this was evident when I asked him about what traditions he has passed on to his children or believed were important to teach them:
My children are growing up the same way that I did. Even in Khartoum we raised them with traditions. We teach them: children must respect at a young age according to development and age. So if they look around and see the progress of society, they need to be able to keep up with it.400

Similarly, in a conversation I had with a young man named Yousef—a current student at the University of Khartoum—who grew up throughout the end of the Second Civil War and the CPA, he agreed with Nasr on what traditions he must teach his children. When I asked him what traditions he intends to teach his children he responded very seriously,

“I hope to teach my kids an ongoing education or the perception of education and learning. They must always strive for more. The other important custom is the religious system and Christianity.”401

While Yousef’s account of traditions are those that must he believes must be upheld in modern day South Sudan, his comments build on Nasr’s point, which poses education as one of the most important “traditions” to pass on to children. The shifting value in education that took place throughout the civil war was not necessarily a bad thing; however, as there were no text books or extensive histories on the ethnic groups of Southern Sudan to teach students, they were excluded from the traditions that once held

400 Interview by author with Nasr in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 14, 2014)
401 Interview by author with Yousef in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 14, 2014)
great meaning to their groups. Thus, Southern Sudanese who obtained their education outside of the South viewed working hard and obtaining one’s education as an important tradition. In addition, Yousef’s last remark on Christianity should also be noted as in Khartoum, Islam was and still is central to the primary and secondary school curriculums. Valuing Christianity became important as it, too, became an aspect of resistance during the civil wars, especially in Khartoum. Education was a new tradition that was not specific to a particular ethnic group, but instead, to all Southern Sudanese males.

In the 1990s, the schools within the Khartoum IDP camps and were taught according to the National curriculum, and this curriculum was dominated by Islam. Thus, in sending their children off to school in Khartoum, many parents felt that their Christianity, another new tradition, and other beliefs would be compromised by the Islamic discourse. Textbooks were lined with Quranic verses, all songs that were sung were done in Arabic, group traditions and dance were banned—essentially parents felt that schools “killed [their children’s] religion and [their] traditions.” In addition to imposing Islam, children who attended school faced the issue of language—meaning two things. First, children began to forget their group’s dialect because it no longer was of importance for communication and schooling. This is especially evident in that most of my interviewees spoke either Juba Arabic or English. Only a few still maintained their mother tongue. Yet despite these challenges, parents and even male youth who were on their own still continued to enroll their children or enroll on their own in schools. Second, this created a divide between the younger generation and their parents who were not familiar with Arabic and had grown up using their group’s dialect. Gasim was an excellent example of this dilemma.

---

403 Ibid, 263
Gasim, as mentioned earlier, spent the majority of his childhood in Khartoum and completed all of his schooling in the northern city. When I spoke with Gasim, he spoke hardly any English—a language often viewed as a mode of resistance as opposed to conforming to Arabic, and he did not speak any local dialect. His Khartoum-Arabic was strong, and he had clearly learned Arabic grammar and case-endings well, but at the same time, he was completely at a loss when it came to knowledge of his group’s dialect. Gasim had sacrificed his group’s dialect when he went to school in Khartoum. This is not say that others who went to school were unable to maintain their group’s mother-tongue; however, with the school system in Khartoum, it was very difficult to retain the language of one’s group when one lived in the mix of many other refugees from other groups and attended a school where Arabic was essential if one wanted to continue on to higher education.

In seeking out education in other regions, away from one’s groups, communities, and families, the dear of loosing one’s traditions ran high. Younger generations continued to build on the importance of formal education as opposed to the pre-war customs their parents learned in addition to formal education. Whether it was not learning how to appropriately cultivate crops because you were living in arid lands, or being unable to learn one’s mother tongue because the school you were attending was conducted in a different language, male youths who were educated outside of the South were removed from their communities that taught them the social norms their fathers had learned and their grandfathers before them. The line of these traditions was broken during the wartime generation as people were dispersed across eastern Africa. Instead the customs of young men have formed around attaining an education; however,

---

404 Interview by author with Gasim in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 13, 2014)
obtaining that education often cost the various ethnic traditions of one’s group—a price that did not seem to be too difficult to pay.

**Conclusion**

Education during the civil wars in Sudan became one of the major keys to survival. Because the South was almost entirely overrun by violence and war, especially during the Second Civil War, male youths looked to neighboring regions for places where they could attend school. IDP camps, refugee camps, urban centers, and settlements were often the place where these education refugees would look for schooling, and there they did find what they had set out for: an education. However, even though they found these locations and places to attend school, a job afterwards was not always guaranteed.

In traveling to these different regions of the world, Southern Sudanese communities were dispersed across Eastern Africa and the West. The groups that had once lived together in villages and larger communities during pre-war Sudan were no longer intact. This meant that the spheres in which male youths had once been socialized, by their fathers and their grandfathers, no longer existed. This does not go to say that some of the pre-war traditions were no longer taking place. These traditions just no longer had the same importance they once did. Marriage for example, still occurred; however, the terms in which one married or garnered interest from females had significantly changed. Instead of sizeable displays—in dance, song, or fighting—females looked for husbands who were educated, had a job that was decent, and could, like Lomoro, support a family.

---

406 While I reference Uganda and Kenya in this thesis, Southern Sudanese men traveled to many different countries around the world in search of education, including: the United States of America, Egypt, Ethiopia, the United Kingdom, the United Arab Emirates, Jordan, Syria, Tanzania, and South Africa.
In camps, like that of Kakuma or those in Khartoum, the cultivation that once took place in pre-war Southern Sudan was impossible. Those who still lived in the South were able to cultivate gardens and crops, but in the desert land of Khartoum and the overexploited lands of Kakuma, farming was out of the question. Men, like Gasim, who moved to Khartoum before he learned how to farm or take care of crops did not know how to grow crops like they once had. Yet despite the loss of important traditions, like one’s mother-tongue, male youths continued to perceive obtaining an education more important than these cultural losses.

After males finished their education, those who were able to marry and start a family would sometimes consider repatriation. Families who choose to begin repatriating into Southern Sudan usually would send a husband or father first to return to Juba or Wau to find a job in one of the many new ministries opening in the South and housing. In Kakuma, for example, once this had been achieved the father or husband would then send for the rest of his family who had been all the while attending school in Kakuma. However, when the UNCHR discovered that this practice was taking place and refugees were taking advantage of the NGO resources in Kakuma, the UNHCR began to ban the new enrollment of Sudanese children into school. As education was a problem in South Sudan and continues to be a problem, the majority of those who still live in Kakuma refugee camp today are those who in hopes of seeking asylum in some country other than what is now South Sudan.

Movement between countries neighboring Southern Sudan was frequent during the civil wars, and if anything, has only continued to characterize the lives of male youth in South Sudan, today. Although the civil war ended with Sudan, as violence still persists in many

---

regions of South Sudan, male youths continue to move across borders in search of that key to survival: education.
Epilogue

Today, South Sudan is an independent country. When you fly into the capital Juba the landscape is lush and green, speckled by trees and bushes, and every 50 miles or so you can see mountains jetting unexpectedly out of the ground. This is the Nile River Valley. For the most part, the country looks untouched by humankind, except for the occasional brown hut that blends in with the land. The city of Juba itself is sprawling with the dwellings of repatriated South Sudanese. On the surface, everything appears normal. The sun shines brightly on the dusty streets, with the occasional rain storm, traffic is bustling around, motorcycles whipping in and out of the taxi vans, shops are open and market places are swarming with people. Arabic and English can be heard from any marketplace with its Juba twist, and music blares from small cafes and phone charging stalls. Nothing appears to be wrong, yet South Sudan is in the midst of its own civil war. It began in December 2013, the winter after my first visit.408

408 In June 2013, President Kiir dismissed the South Sudanese Government’s entire cabinet, including Vice-President Riek Machar. The South Sudanese Civil War began in December 2013, when fighting erupted between rebel forces, led by former Vice-President, Riek Machar, and the Presidential Guard in Juba. Kiir called this fighting a coup attempt, which sparked heavy violence in Juba in the following weeks. In December and January, rebel factions seized control of many towns, and the fighting between the two warring parties killed thousands. As of August 2014, peace talks have occurred in Addis Ababa, but no firm peace treaty has been established. For more reading, see: "South Sudan Profile- Timeline." In Country Profiles: Africa: BBC News, 2015.
On every street corner, a group of young men can be spotted, gathered around on their motorbikes, watching people pass by on the streets through the protective lens of their dark sunglasses. The visitor with the snap of their fingers can hire one of these youths to go wherever needed. Most these groups of young men, or youths, mingle in each other’s company, taking the occasional break at one of the local hangouts to drink a cold soda or play cards. If you get up early enough in the city, you might spot uniformed students hurrying off to school, cramming themselves into moving vans, or running alongside the muddied streets in an effort to make it to school on time. But for the most part, during the day, it becomes painstakingly obvious how many youth; particularly male youths are not in school. Some of these same youths even sit on the edges of school grounds chatting with each other, listening to music off of someone's mobile phone, occasionally in the company of one or two outgoing young women.

Since the civil wars with the North, Juba has changed in many ways: a government has been formed, which has developed many policies relating to the betterment of education and ending the phenomenon of child soldiering. Juba’s population has grown exponentially, yet with the

Figure 11 Male youth gather on their motorbikes under the shade of a tree in South Sudan's capital, Juba. Photo taken by Orelia Jonathan August 2014.
setback into civil war in 2013, many of the strides that the new government was taking to provide services to its citizens have deteriorated. What is most evident in the country is the people's desire for education. Each and every male youth craves the idea of education, but many of these youth and young men are unable to afford the school fees. They will also miss school days due to violence, fear, or sickness. Attending school is anything but daily routine in South Sudan today. Not only is the stability of schooling still threatened in the South, but the quality of the education that youth receive is inadequate by comparison to schools in Uganda and Kenya. Young men and boys continue to leave South Sudan for education abroad, many either traveling to Uganda, Kenya, and even Egypt. For example, many of the young men I worked with during my summer 2013 internship in the South Sudanese Ministry of Cabinet Affairs in Juba spoke to me about their educational degrees abroad, in far off lands such as Dubai, London, and China. Upon their repatriation, these experiences helped to secure them positions within the Southern Sudanese Government.

Schooling became a central aspect of young men's lives, even livelihoods, just before and during the civil wars. Yet finding a school to attend or a school with a rigorous curriculum struggles to be a reality. Male youth, like my cousin Lemy, aspire to educate themselves abroad in hopes of one day finding secure and well-paid employment, and most importantly advancing their own social status as respected men. With the increasing number of international organizations cropping up in the capital, Juba, the opportunities for employment have grown.

---

409 Today in South Sudan, women make up about 65% of the population—a factor which is often attributed to the number of men lost during the civil wars. Many women have become the heads of household without income or the appropriate skills they need to support their families. The Government of South Sudan prioritized the education of women in 2012, but frequent outburst of violence has been a major barrier for creating women-centered educational opportunities. For more information, see: Moszynski, Peter. "Education Is Key to Supporting Women in South Sudan." *The Guardian*, 2012.

However, obtaining an education or employment as we saw in Chapter 5 does not necessarily secure the path to manhood for today's male youth.

During the civil wars access to formal education depended on a young boy's family and resources, or lack thereof, a boy's/youth's location, and whether or not he could win the patronage of foreigners or international organizations—one of the many paths to schooling. Schools in the South during the First Civil War became a launching pad into the Anyanya Movement for male youth. In seeking access to the political sphere, it became a necessity for young men to attend school if he hoped to one day wield political power and status—characteristics that were held by men. Without a formal education, it was impossible to be admitted into the political sphere. In a country that was under control of the Northern Sudanese and Southern Sudanese were deemed as less than citizens, motivation for achieving political power was high. Formal education was viewed as a mode of resistance.

If male youths were unable to find educational opportunities, or were dismayed with the Islamization of the schooling system in the South, they could turn to soldiering as a last resort. Soldiering became another way of establishing one’s authority, power, masculinity, and literally resisting the Northern Sudanese Government. Moreover, it was another route for male youth to assert their courage, bravery, and prove themselves as men. By protecting and defending their communities, and to a larger extent Southern Sudan, these male youths were drawing upon traditional pre-war customs in their soldiering experiences. The values young men previously performed in initiation rites still mattered to young boys and youth hoping to achieve respect as men in their changing society.

While many of these boys and male youths were identified as “child soldiers” and, therefore, victims by humanitarian organizations, in the 1980s and 1990s, further analysis
reveals the motivations and individual stories of the young men who made the decision to join the rebellion movements. Yet, some of the stories reveal quite the opposite. The young men who attended the schools that were later shut down by the Sudanese Government or bombed, were at the center of the conflict. As a result they often felt that they needed to join the movement to protect, defend, and fight for the South. In addition, soldiering was a significant path open to male youth who hoped to access the political sphere. In some ways, soldiering was an education in and of itself. For many of the ranked military officers, even if they had not received an education prior to their military experience, received positions in the Southern Government. Upon receiving these positions, the government often paid to educate these military officials, many of whom missed the opportunity when they were younger to attend school.

Joining Anyanya and later the SPLA kept male youth on foot across the South. Some young boys and male youth joined the movement for only a set period of time, while others remained in military service indefinitely. For the former soldiers who left the Anyanya or the SPLA, even male youth who did not join the movement at all, the practice of leaving the South in search of education was very common. Moving into neighboring countries like Kenya and Uganda, young men and male youth attended schools in refugee transit camps and settlement camps, as well as urban centers such as Kampala and Khartoum. While the living conditions in camps and cities for refugees were often difficult, young men and male youth endured the challenges these communities held and continued to educate themselves.

The perseverance of these youths can be attributed to three things: (1) education was seen as another form of resistance during the civil wars; (2) without an education it was nearly impossible to get a job; and, (3) without an education, which increasingly came to be seen as
another form of wealth, it was difficult for young men to be able to afford inflated dowry prices and marry—one of the key aspects of obtaining one’s manhood. Thus, while many young men struggled to complete their educations, they knew that without this asset, future success could not be guaranteed.

In present day South Sudan, a disparity is beginning to develop between the aspirations and goals of youth, and their ability to achieve them. Although more job opportunities have emerged in Juba, foreigners are often hired for these positions. Hence, those who left the country for an education during the war and repatriated themselves into South Sudan expecting to find work, have come up empty-handed.

Nasr, for instance, one of my interviewees, is one of these individuals. When I first saw Nasr in Souk Juba, he was lounging in the café stall across the way from my aunt’s stall. It was a hot August afternoon in Juba, hence Nasr was lounging with a couple of other men in one of the blue plastic chairs neatly arranged in the café. He was sipping a lime green cold drink—likely a fresh avocado smoothie, the color of which shown brightly in contrast to his dark skin. It had been a slow day for interviews and I was feeling down, and seeing the worry in my face, my aunt hustled out of the stall and asked one of the men at Nasr’s table to speak with me. Nasr came willingly with a smile. As I previously mentioned, Nasr, a graduate from the University of Khartoum with a degree in accounting, worked for a prestigious bank in Khartoum after his graduation. When he was fired from this job and could not find another in Khartoum, he decided to move back “home.”

Despite Nasr’s high level of education, he now works as a driver that runs routes hourly between Souk Juba, Souk Gudele, and Souk Jebel. When Nasr was fired from his job in

---

411 Interview by author with Nasr in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 14, 2014)
Khartoum, he returned to Juba and used the hefty sum of money he had earned in the North to buy himself one a white van. It resembled the sea of white vans that function as public taxis in Juba. This is now his livelihood. When I asked if he would leave South Sudan because of his job troubles, Nasr shrugged and smiled, “No I think I will stay in South Sudan.” While Nasr lives in Juba with his wife—who is finishing her post-graduate education at the University of Juba—his children are following in his footsteps. Nasr’s two eldest sons live in Khartoum where they are attending school and living with Nasr’s mother. Despite Nasr’s disappointments, his education afforded him the bride price of his wife, and he now has a family, one of the ultimate achievements of manhood.

The current civil war in South Sudan has been difficult for many families in the South, including Nasr’s. The on-going conflict is one of the many reasons his children still attend school in Khartoum. Newspapers, humanitarian reports and documents continue to publish a large volume of stories and literature on the continued presence of child soldiers in South Sudan. Today, child soldiers can still be found in Northern South Sudan as a part of both the SPLA and the Riek Machar rebel group. South Sudan has shown us that there is so much more to the story of this new country than the victimized accounts we so often see in newspapers in the West.

Male youths joined the military or sought out formal education during the Sudanese Civil Wars in order to become men. My informants, in fact, signaled this achievement, as highly significant to their lives. By looking at the individual accounts of these formerly young men and letting their voices speak—through my interviews—this thesis has only scratched the surface of the many stories of people who experienced the Sudanese Civil Wars.

---

412 Interview by author with Nasr in Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan (August 14, 2014)
The sun began to disappear behind the lone skyscraper in the Souk Juba as Nasr and I finished up our conversation over hot tea. Livelihoods for young men and males continue to be at risk in South Sudan. Men continue to create lives for themselves by seeking training and education, whether it be: driving a car, like Nasr, or running a stall and trading like Gasim. In spite of their efforts, they often see these dreams of a secure livelihood shattered by the government or the on-going threat of violence. When I asked Nasr if there was anything he wanted people to know about his growing up experience he pondered for a moment, trying to find words that would give meaning to his story. “I want you to write these stories, and share these stories, so you can help people understand the changes we have made in our society.” Nasr smiled one last time and pushed his blue plastic chair backward across the dirt floor of my aunt’s stall. He gently made his way into the bustling crowd and haze of dust that made up the wondrous Souk Juba, seemingly searching for his white van amongst a sea of others, eager to catch the last rush of self-employed individuals making their way home after a

---

Figure 12 Photo of Orelia Jonathan with interviewee, Nasr (who gave his permission to be pictured here). Photo taken in August 2014.
long day of work. As I end with this story, I will think of Nasr and the other men, women, and admittedly young male youth that I interviewed for this project. I think of them daily. In November 2014, I received news that the marketplace, Souk Juba, where I had collected the majority of my interviews, was demolished completely to the ground. I was speechless and heartbroken. An entire community of hardworking individuals was completely lost. I now think of my interviewees constantly, worrying from time to time, but I know that this demolition was just another setback. They have been carving out pathways to survival and manhood that have been continuously marked by obstacles. And yet, at the same time this terrible event has given me faith, for I know these men will continue, continue on their pathways of survival.
Appendix 1: Abbreviations

CRC- United Nations Conventions on Rights of a Child
GoS- Government of Sudan
HRW- Human Right’s Watch
ICRC- International Committee of the Red Cross
IDP- Internally Displaced Person
IGAD- Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
MSF- Doctors Without Borders
NGO- Non-Governmental Organization
OXFAM- Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
SPLA- Sudan People’s Liberation Army
SPLM- Sudan People’s Liberation Movement
SSLM- South Sudan Liberation Movement
UK- United Kingdom
UN- United Nations
UNDP- United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF- United Nations Children’s Emergency Fund
UNHCR- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNMIS- United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNMISS- United Nations Mission in South Sudan
USA- United States of America
USAID- United States Agency for International Development
WFP- World Food Programme
Appendix 2: Interview Scripts

Interview questions for children:

1. Can you tell me what you do everyday?
2. How old are you now?
3. Did you do different things when you were little?
4. Do you go to school?

(For children who say no to schooling)
5. Do you do things to help around home?
6. Who do you help out the most?

(For children who go to school?)
7. For how long would you like to go to school?
8. Do most kids go to school for that long?
9. Is there a time of year when you do not go to school?
10. What do you do then?

11. Are there special parties/celebrations that you like during the year?
12. Do you go to these parties?
13. What do you do at these parties?
14. Can you tell me what men do?
15. What do women do?
16. When do you think you will be a man or a woman? How will you know? What will you do differently?
17. Will you need to do anything to become a man/woman? If so what?
18. Do some boys and girls do things together with adults in order to grow up (or get married)?

19. What is living in Juba like?
20. What kinds of people live in the city?

22. Is there any thing that you want to tell me about your life or what you think being an adult will be like?
23. How will that be different from your life now?
24. Do you have any questions for me?
25. Reminder: Your parents will have my cell phone number and email, so if you have any more questions, or think of anything you want to tell me! Please do not be shy! Thanks for talking to me today!

DEBRIEF
Interview Questions for Adults:

1. Tell me about your childhood
2. What did you do when you were a child?
3. About how old were you then?
4. How old are you now?
5. When do you think you became an adult?
6. How did that happen?

(If interviewees allude to marriage)

7. Did you have any kind of ceremony before your wedding?
8. What kind of ceremony happened for your wedding?
9. How old were you?
10. Do children still do the same things today?
11. Do they go through the same ceremonies? If so, why have things changed?

12. Did you grow up in Juba?
13. What kind of jobs did adults do when you were little?

(if interviewees mention farming)

14. Are there any crops that you are in charge of?
15. Do you sell these crops or are they for the family? If so, where do you sell them?
16. What other jobs do people have in the city if they do not farm?

17. What is your role in your family?
18. How do you contribute around the house?
19. Does anybody help you?

20. What are the responsibilities of children in your group?
21. What are the responsibilities of adults in your group?
22. Who determines these responsibilities?
23. Have these responsibilities changed over time?
24. Are there differences for girls and boys?
25. What are the responsibilities of boys?
26. What are the responsibilities of girls?
27. What are the responsibilities of women?
28. What are the responsibilities of men?
29. Are there certain people who are responsible for certain crops?
30. Do children attend school throughout the year?
31. Until what age do they attend school?
32. Are these practices different from other [groups] in the region?

33. What is life like in Juba?
34. In the US we hear a lot about fighting here: can you tell me about that?
35. We also hear that children are sometimes soldiers, what do you think of that?
36. South Sudan just celebrated its third Independence Day! How do you go about celebrating Independence Day?
37. Are there any celebrations that occur at this time of the year?
38. If there aren’t any celebrations, can you tell me about the other seasons and celebrations that occur during those seasons?

39. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your childhood or being adult?
40. Are there any other changes you think I should know about?
41. Do you have any questions for me?
42. Reminder: You have my cell phone number and email so if you think that there is anything else that is important that you want to tell me later, feel free to call me anytime! Thanks for your interview today!
43. DEBRIEF: It is my hope that by sharing your stories in my research, you and I can add to the discussion on differing definitions of childhood between the West and in South Sudan.
Selected Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Colonial Records
Sudan Notes and Records (1940-1956)

Government Documents

Ethnographic Accounts

Personal Interviews:
Adol, V. (2014, August 16). Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan
Anonymous (2014, August 18). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Bennett. (2014, August 15). Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan
Brother of Abu Sarah. (2014, August 19). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Charles. (2014, August 10). Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan
Chol. (2014, August 13). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Cyrus. (2014, August 15). Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan
Danny. (2014, August 12). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Deng Alok, A. (2014, August 12). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Duku. (2014, August 9). Munuki, Juba, South Sudan
Edward. (2014, August 13). Munuki, Juba, South Sudan
Emelda. (2014, August 13). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Ester. (2014, August 16). Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan
Evans, D. (2014, August 16). Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan
Gasim. (2014, August 13). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Gooden, E. (2014, August 14). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Hanon, H. (2014, August 12). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Issa Eliaza Leye, P. (2014, August 12). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Kenyi Jonathan, D. (2014, August 8). Munuki, Juba, South Sudan
Kennedy Moses, G. (2014, August 10). Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan
Leila. (2014, August 17). Munuki, Juba, South Sudan
Lomoro, M. (2014, August 10). Nimule, Central Equatoria, South Sudan
Loro. (2014, August 11). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Maria. (2014, August 13). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Nasr. (2014, August 14). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Nelson. (2014, August 8). Munuki, Juba, South Sudan
Nelson. (2014, August 9). Munuki, Juba, South Sudan
Phillip Manu, L. (2014, August 14). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
R. Philip, S. (2014, August 16). Badgji, Western Equatoria, South Sudan
Thomas. (2014, August 19). J.C.C. Model School, Juba, South Sudan
Yom. (2014, August 13). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan
Yousef. (2014, August 14). Souk Juba, Juba, South Sudan

Memoirs and Autobiographies:

Secondary Sources:


Natsios, Andrew S. *Sudan, South Sudan, and Darfur: What Everyone Needs to Know*. Oxford;


