

The Attentive Post – Independence Politics of Fanatical National Identity Glitches in the Sudan and South Sudan

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ABSTRACT

The Study Sought to examine the Attentive Post – Independence Politics of Fanatical National Identity Glitches in Sudan and South Sudan in examine the national identity glitches in Sudan and South Sudan in the post-independent period. The study analyzes the differences in handling of national identity problems by the leaders of Sudan and South Sudan in the post-independence period. The researcher consulted the existing literature on national identity politics counting Robinson, 2019, Anderson, 2006, Guba and Lincoln, 1991, Deng 1995, Sharkey 2008, and Shepherd 1966. The study used the qualitative comparative research design consisting of in-depth interviews carried out in South Sudan. The study employed the random sampling which was used to choose the local population and convenient sampling because of access and availability issues. Purposive sampling was used to select the officials, heads of local government and elders. One set of semi-structured questionnaires with open and close ended questions were used. The statistics were computed with the help of the statistical packages for social scientists (SPSS, 0.2 version). The study found that; there were differences and similarities between Sudan and South Sudan post independent period. The politics in Sudan was basically grounded on the north-south divide which had features on religion, ethnicity, and Arab-Africa differences on culture social-cultural factors which influenced the way people from the south were marginalized, forced to embrace Arabic language, education, social injustices, economic alienation which made the southern Sudanese feel were not true citizens. In South Sudan there was ethnic tribes where the dominant tribes who were involved in the War with the north felt that they were privileged as opposed to the less dominant tribes. The study further found out that there were significant similarities on national identity problems. There were issues over the economic marginalization, social injustice, political exclusion, and alienation, conflicts which culminated into armed conflict, inequalities in education, and the divided society where there were unity problems. The study concluded there were clear differences and similarities in handling of national identity problems by the leaders of Sudan and South Sudan in the post-independence period. The differences in handling national identity in Sudan were majorly on religious basis (Sharia Law), the institutions that were built in north were north-south divide, the north- south divide and the constitution in Sudan did not lay enough grounds to incorporate the participation of the southern Sudanese into their constitution. In South Sudan, the handling of national identity issues was grounded and backed by the leaders who had participated in the fight for independence. The study recommends for national identity and national integration approaches applied in both Sudan.

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Keywords: *Post-Independence, Politics, National Identity*

1. Introduction:

National identity has become a big debate in politics within states that were colonized. Post-independent states majorly in Africa have experienced problems of national integration and identity. This chapter introduces post-independence politics of national identity on a comparative basis of Sudan and South Sudan in Sub-Saharan Africa. It presents the background of the study that includes; the historical background, theoretical, conceptual and contextual background, the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, the specific objectives the research questions, scope and significance of the study. At the international level, the concept and emergence of nation states up to 1918 was not a new phenomenon (Anderson, 2006). Up surging State response was abruptly acknowledged to be at the front position as the reason for interstate armed conflict or wars and the association between national politics of identity and state borders. Characteristically, at the core of any nation-state, there are shared features like ethnicity, language and religion. These features generate the national identity that strengthens the concept of the nation by recognizing or ascertaining who are the citizens of a given nation and who are not (Anderson, 2006). In Africa, the situation of the politics of national identity cannot be well explained minus the politics of colonies. Colonial politics was at the center of the number, size and shape of African states through their partition of Africa with current impacts for national identity, since colonial rule impacted the nature of colonial ethnic borders and national identity (Robinson, 2019) in many Sub-Saharan Africa. It is important to argue that colonial politics fabricated the state-society relations when the colonial master alienated the state from civil society a practice which engendered the bottomless suspicion of the state by the society. This did not occur in isolation as many colonial institutions were passed on to the post-independent leaders where the language of instruction was foreign for example; English and French which made many Africans learn these new languages. Out of the legacies of colonial politics many African States are grappling with national identity challenges which have resulted into many states experiencing new wars or civil wars which can be explained by ethnic diversity and absence of national identity. Since independence in 1956, the decision makers in Sudan have failed to tackle the complex objectives in a national constitution for the citizens of Sudan. Fundamentally, the contemporary politics of national identity in Sudan started from early power in the state that created a divisive racial setting of the territorial population into Blacks, browns, Muslims and

Christian animists, slaves and frees Africans and Arabs, animists and pagans, northerners and southerners. It can be argued that these racial classifications have thrown out the political understanding among the territorial citizens, instead they simply represent racial exclusion and inclusion. According to Guba and Lincoln (1991) exclusion is a consistent body of performance that power pursues in setting imbalances of national identity in Sudan. The wide ranging experiences of racial segregation created racial classifications made it unfeasible to get national identity and political resolutions between the contrasting identities in order to construct unified institutions for the people of Sudan. It has been argued that Muslim Arabs of the north stated that the detachment within Sudan ethnic groups was a creation of the foreigners, first by the Turkish, the Egyptians and then the British who did the final divisions under their divide and rule. The South and North classifications led to economic, political, religious and cultural exclusions that led to political violence and societal security that led to the secession of southern Sudan into the new state of South Sudan. The people of the present South Sudan, are among those who fought for recognition and identity as the result of historically created categories and a state where struggle for recognition and access to resources continued to destroy property and devour lives of many people (Zambakari, 2015). It can be argued that the crisis of citizenship in South Sudan is linked to the history of state formation in Sudan (Zambakari, 2015). He points-out, there could be similarities and differences between identity and citizenship struggles by South Sudanese to those “struggles with the contested nature of citizenship in Sudan.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Subtleties of glitches of National Identity

The failure to properly conceptualize the problematic of identity in Sudan from 1956 on has led to divisive governance catastrophes (Deng 1995). Ignored or downplayed by the ruling elites, the failure became pivotal to the two Sudanese civil wars (Sharkey 2008). Although Northern, Eastern, Western and Southern Sudan had at least defined themselves ethnically and geographically (Shepherd 1966), the main identity divide that would define the history of Sudan from Sudan's independence on 1 January 1956 to South Sudan's independence on 9 July 2011, was the North-South (Arab-African) contradiction. Northern Sudan was defined as Arabic and Islamic, and the South was defined as African and traditionalist animist in sociological terms. These identity distinctions have been criticized as

uncritically totalizing because the differences between Northern Sudanese and Southern Sudanese were a complex socio-cultural entanglement (Idris 2005) contrary to the way they were politicized and sentimentally embraced by Northerners and Southerners (Yangu 1966; Albino 1970). Although Southern Sudanese identified as Africans and Northerners as Arabs, Idris (2005) and Deng (2004) aver that most Arab Sudanese are of both African and Arab ancestry. The genealogical reality of Sudanese identities was therefore considered more complex than the simplistic exclusivity with which Southerners and Northerners operationalize them. As Deng (2004) has argued, the African-Arab “dichotomy is an oversimplification, for the majority in the North are non-Arabs, although Muslims.” Nonetheless, a sense of a collective identity developed in Southern Sudan and Northern Sudan as state policies either created identity differences or exaggerated existing ones (Ibid).

Without a common language and culture, Southern Sudanese minimized this shortcoming by downplaying their tribal differences in order to bolster a cause for liberation as “Southern Sudanese” (Nyaba 2016). Therefore, Southern Sudanese-ness was concretized as a collectivizing socio-political reality against the North’s power monopoly, the economic marginalization of the South, and the oppression of Southern Sudanese. Consequently, when South Sudan seceded from Sudan on 9th July 2011, one wondered about the essence of South Sudanese “national identity” (Jok 2011; Zambakari 2015).

After realizing such complex relationship between Sudan and South Sudan, one would imagine the similarities and differences between the two states after South Sudan got its independence. It can be argued that South Sudan that was considered to have some commonness among the tribes would have a clear and rather smooth path to the construction of national identity after 2011 independence from Sudan. As the possible secession of Southern Sudan neared, tribes in the Greater Equatoria became increasingly wary of a possible Jieeng political and economic hegemony (Lokosang (2010),

2.2 National Identity and Social Cohesion in Sudan and South Sudan

There have been academic arguments for the importance of national identity for social solidarity and cohesion in states like Sudan and South Sudan. One such argument asserts the importance of national identity and nation-building in liberal democracies and in states which are aspiring to be democracies like South Sudan and Sudan (Tamir 1993; Miller

1995). Miller (1995) argues that “it may properly be part of someone’s identity that they belong to this or that national grouping”, and that national identity can be important for replicating at the national level the solidarities found in small communities like those which were in southern Sudan during and after the Anglo-British rule in Sudan. This can in turn be important for sustaining support at the national level for such things as the political order and the welfare state. Miller (1995) also argues that national identity has more significance in advanced liberal societies than many would admit. Although people may be “repelled by the raucous form that nationalism often takes in countries that are less developed and less liberal”, there are moments when people “see their own well-being as closely bound up with that of the [national] community” (ibid, 15). Canovan (1996) also sees national identity as important, and uses the metaphor of national identity as a ‘battery’ that makes states operate, with citizens motivated to work for common goals.

2.3 Economic Discrimination

One of the most defining features of labor markets in states like the United States and even in Sudan and South Sudan labor market is the large and persistent disparity in unemployment that exists between ethnic groups like Black and white workers in United States in America. This disparity is well-documented in decades of official estimates from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, dating back to 1954 when the agency first began reporting rates of unemployment for whites and “non-whites.” Nearly seven decades’ worth of data can be summed up in one simple ratio: 2-to-1. It means Black job seekers are about half as likely to secure employment during a consecutive 4-week period as are white job seekers. This has been true across multiple periods of economic expansion and recession, and is observed for all age cohorts, at every level of education, and for men and women alike (Valerie, 2022). since the 1980s, when data first became available, unemployment rates for Hispanic workers in the United States in America have also consistently been higher than those of white workers. Such labor experiences were common in Sudan between the Egyptian Arabs and the southern Sudanese (Lin, 2018).

2.4 Language Problem and National Identity in Sudan and South Sudan

Language is a crucial part of any culture as it was in both Sudan and South Sudan now. It is a dominant feature in determining the bases of nationalism or ethnicity, as it represents a nation’s identity and preserves its heritage. Language is also the driving force behind the unity of the peoples and makes them

distinct from other nations. Language is never imposed but adopted and once a language is adopted, it is difficult to eliminate it from the society until the society decides to change or adopt something different. The question about the State language of Sudan was raised immediately after the independence in 1956. The Sudan, as it stood before secession of southern Sudan, clearly and definitely failed to form a united country. It was involved in an internecine civil war. The war was not merely a war of resistance against economic marginalization of the south, but one of racial or ethnic resistance to the dominant discourse in the north which lays claim to being racially and culturally superior. The violent political conflict that led to the secession of southern Sudan and the ongoing conflicts in some parts of the Sudan are legacies of the past. Sudanese language policy and showed its complexity, arbitrariness, and fluctuation. The Arabic language acquired dominant status while other languages were marginalized in the process. The historical diffusion of Arab identity and implied the relevance of the latter for civil conflicts and the cessation of the South. This was another aspect which showed the social identity problem in Sudan where southern Sudanese were forced to speak Arabic and it was another issue of domination (Zouhir, 2015).

2.5 Religious Problems and National Identity in South Sudan and Sudan

National identity has been and still an essential tool for governance. This is the particularly the case for developing countries like South Sudan and Sudan, given the challenges they have to face in terms of management of the economy, sustainable development, income inequalities and, as in the case of India, management of ethnic and religious diversity. One can use the argument of Islam in Sudan before secession and the imposition of Islamic principles on the people from southern Sudan. Comparatively in Europe, the debate about the construction of a collective identity which involves the debate about national identities as opposed to European identity, as well as the contribution of religion and ethics to both and the redefinition of a broader national/European interest is very much alive and at the core of some of the difficulties faced by the EU integration process. To name just a few of these challenges: the failure of the treaty establishing the European Constitution, the quarrel about the accessions of Turkey and the Balkan states, the reform of the welfare state, and the integration of migrants, especially those belonging to different cultures and religions (Bose, 2007).

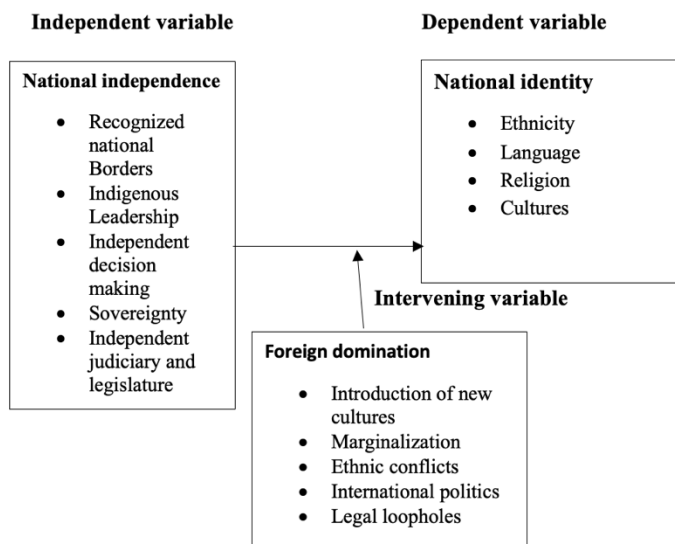
2.6 National Identity Problems in Sudan, South Sudan

The first and most common view of the Sudanese civil war is that it is an identity conflict. During the long years of North-South war, it was characterized as the Arab, Islamic north against the African, Christian or animist south. The Darfur conflict cannot be characterized in religious terms but colour-based and Arab-African labels have been widely used, not least by the belligerents themselves. Folk descriptions, which possess much political force, combine race and religion, primordial and constructed identities, and normative and descriptive ascriptions of identity, in a potent mix. While the country's rulers tend to see the nation normatively as an unproblematic sovereign inheritance contested by ungrateful troublemakers, intellectuals from the peripheries prefer to see national identity as work in progress - or to be precise, work that should be in progress but isn't (Hasan 1971).

There is much cultural wisdom in Sudan in support of the ethnic, racial and religious explanation for the war. Skin color plays an important role in Sudanese social attitudes. There is no doubt at all that there is a racism deeply embedded in northern Sudanese elite culture (Abdel Salam 2000). The history of slavery and exploitation is felt consciously by many Sudanese in their day to day interactions. The government has declared jihad on several occasions and while official pronouncements especially in English have downplayed the racial bigotry and religious intolerance implicit in such announcements, less sophisticated provincial clerics and administrators have not hesitated to express racist sentiments in all their ugliness. Meanwhile, the Southern resistance has appealed to eastern and southern Africa and to Christian churches for solidarity.

The impact of the constant state of war within South Sudan has had a detrimental impact on the creation of a new collective identity as a sovereign nation-state. Since its inception in 2011, the government has been constantly working to end the violence within the state, without working on creating an image of a new South Sudan that all citizens can work towards. The constitution itself was simply modeled after that of a democratic nation, not considering the ethnic, religious, cultural, and geographical differences found within South Sudan's borders. The animosity between Sudan and South Sudan still overshadows the landscape and causes the South Sudanese to disregard the lack of tolerance within their own nation (Hale 2012).

Conceptual framework



Source 2023: Concepts developed by researcher as adapted from Benjamin Richards (2013)

National identity refers to the identity of the citizens of a state with their own state's historical and cultural traditions, moral values, ideals, beliefs, national sovereignty, and so on (He & Yan, 2008). It is manifested as individuals or groups believe that they belong to a state as a political community (He & Yan, 2008). It can be argued that national identity is the product of the development of modern nationalism. Since the French Revolution, modern nationalism is not only an ideology but also a political and social movement based on this ideology. The most direct political product of modern nationalism is the nation-state. Any modern nation-state includes two important aspects. One is the nation-state system and the other is the national identity of the inhabitants in the territory of the state (Zheng, 2004). Cultural identity as a manifestation of social attributes of human beings is also an important medium affecting the identity of individuals and ethnic groups and national identity (Han, 2010).

2.7 The gaps in the Literature

The above studies have focused on literature related to the comparison of post-independence politics of national identity in South Sudan. The literature that has been reviewed is very much done outside Africa and mainly done by authors who have not discussed the national identities in Africa may be because of the connection with colonialism's role on the problems of national identity, this leaves the researcher with the question to answer what has been left undone by these authors since his trend is very concerning and perturbing to government. Therefore, there was need to have a study to give an understanding on the relationship of post independent national identity

differences between states that either were colonized or those that had a relationship and then seceded which this study tries to examine.

3. Methodology

The study used the comparative research design that increased understanding between cultures and societies in the two states to create a foundation for comparison and collaboration in the two states. Random sampling techniques was to choose the local population (women and men) using convenient sampling. The locals were known to be many and therefore the technique suited for the big number of locals was convenient and simple random sampling, chosen as a sample which was more representative. A total of 255 interviews was done and the interview guide was used to collect in-depth data in form of explanations and opinions about the "why" questions in the study. This method was used to gather in-depth data from officials who were considered more knowledgeable and were used to triangulate the data obtained from the questionnaires given to the locals. The questionnaires were subjected to expert raters. The rated findings were used to compute a content validity index using the formula 0.7 validity . The researcher also measured the reliability of the questionnaire items. Cronbach's alpha was also used to determine the coefficient between a sincere response and all other sincere responses of the same item that were drawn randomly from the same population of interest. The formula used was $\alpha = \frac{kr}{1 + (k-1)r}$. It made use of the number of variables or question items in the instrument (k) and the average correlation between pairs of items (r): The researcher ensured reliability by constructing thorough conceptual framework in which the terms used in data collection instruments was explained and analyzed using Statistical package for Social Sciences (SPSS). During data analysis, the study researcher categorized the data by identifying recurring themes, languages, opinions, and beliefs to have an ascertained Post – Independence Politics of Fanatical National Identity Glitches in Sudan and South Sudan, including the political challenges of fanatical national identity in the context of Sudan and South Sudan.

4. Discussion of the Result and Finding

4.1 Silhouette of the respondents

The majority were male represented by 63%. Women were the minority represented by 37%. The results reveal that the majority of respondents could read and comprehend political fanatical glitches of national identity.

4.2 Difference and Similarities in some Practices that led to National Identity Problems

The finding revealed that the majority (78%) of the respondents were aware of the problem of national identity in Sudan and South Sudan suggests that this problem has been an ongoing issue in both Sudan and South Sudan. The persistence of the national identity problem in Sudan and South Sudan further implies that very little has been done to deal with it even when it seems to have led to the secession of southern Sudan from Sudan. This line of thinking is in line with what Deng (1995) when he argued that the little attention given to the challenging national identity had caused disruptive or conflict ridden authority in Sudan and South Sudan. Sharkey (2008) also argued that the giving of lower focus by the elites in Sudan and South Sudan to the national identity problem has been the cause of the Sudanese civil wars. The study found out that there were differences and similarities in what happened in Sudan and South Sudan. The differences and similarities in Sudan and South Sudan could be seen at ethnic levels, and these differences were known in Sudan and South Sudan. The knowledge of these differences was not dealt with. The similarities were not used to bring unity. According to Idris (2005) these differences were only used for politicians in the North and South. The differences were politicized knowing they were complicated social cultural predicament which would lead to conflict and instability in both Sudan and South Sudan.

4.3 Harmful National Identity

Form the findings on the causes of differences in Sudan, it can be seen that north south divide was characterized by issues which either arose because of that divide or ethnicity. It can be argued that these provided the foundation for political, economic, social and justice exclusions and marginalization. While explaining this, Achudume (2017) argued that there were numerous theories and suggestions which explained causes of the differences in Sudan. He went ahead and discussed some reasons which included: 'exclusion of South Sudan from political power and development; the racial and ethnic divide between the north and south since colonial times; Islamization policies by different leaders of Sudan; radicalization of the South Sudanese, who are animists and Christians'. Tesfaye (2012) further argued that Sudan did not look to deal with the historical, systematic and violent marginalization of South Sudan by the British colonial administration and eventually the Sudanese administration led by the Northern elites. The failure to rescind longstanding prejudices as well as discriminatory policies against South Sudan, the unwillingness of successive Sudanese administrations

to ensure the development of South Sudan and integrate the population into the political landscape of a unified Sudan led to the build-up of grievances which eventually found expression in a civil conflict in 1955 that lasted over 17 years.

While there was discrimination, exclusion, social injustices, economic marginalization in Sudan and South Sudan, the causes of the differences in South Sudan was built on the fact that in South Sudan there was a revelation of the internal weaknesses of the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). This led to differences by excluding political, civil and women groups, and strengthening the armed dictators in the north and introducing one in the South, the 2005 CPA saw the seeds of retardation are inhibiting progress in South Sudan (Mamdani, 2017). It set a bad beginning with a militaristic assumption that; only those who waged war should determine the terms of the peace and extended to the privileges which were enjoyed by some people especially the dominant tribes in South Sudan. The basis meant that there was exclusion on political and civic groups, strengthening the armed dictatorship in South Sudan along dominant groups which led to exclusion and marginalization, and introducing one in the South (Mamdani, 2017)

4.4 National Identity Problems in Sudan and South Sudan after Independence

From the findings about national identity problems in Sudan and South Sudan, it can be inferred that the leaders did not give enough effort to these problems even when they persisted from the time of independence and the signs were there that national identity problems were destined to lead to serious threats. This view was shared by Amal (2012) who stated that Sudan was led into diverse identities to two dichotomous categorizations which were Arabism, associated with Islam and Arabic descent and culture, and Africanism, linked to Christianity, indigenous beliefs and African culture. These polarized views, along with the dominant ideology of the imposition of Arabism and Islam as the basis of national identification, triggered a national identity crisis. This crisis contributed to the escalation of armed conflicts notably the civil war between the North and the South and the current conflict in the Sudan's Western province of Darfur. It is also important to state that one of the biggest problem of national identity was the national and human security threats which subsequently led to the secession of Southern Sudan from Sudan in 2011. This view was shared by Woodward (2012) when he discussed that Omer al-Bashir announced that his government would create a situation in which Sudan could finally

determine its identity as an Arab and Islamic state governed under sharia law. In South Sudan there were several problems which included the lack of a common language and culture, Southern Sudanese minimized this shortcoming by downplaying their tribal differences in order to bolster a liberatory cause as “Southern Sudanese” (Nyaba 2016). Therefore, Southern Sudanese-ness was concretized as a collectivizing socio-political reality against the North’s power monopoly, the economic marginalization of the South, and the oppression of Southern Sudanese. Consequently, when South Sudan seceded from Sudan on 9 July 2011, there were questions about the essence of South Sudanese “national identity” (Jok 2011; Zambakari 2015). The national identity problems in South Sudan were experienced in job allocation, political exclusion by dominant tribes, education in foreign countries by children of the privileged, failure to have a national army and the several social divisions according to the south Sudanese from the diaspora.

4.5 Effects of National Identity glitches on the People

Like in Sudan, national identity problems affected people in almost every aspect of life, where some people were marginalized along tribal lines and even the army was divided along tribal lines, education in South Sudan was poor as the privileged took their children abroad to study. In relation to this Signin Ojulu, 2016 has argued that at a structural level, political entities were also very visibly ethnicized, which acted as counter to the unification and propagation of a single national identity after independence in 2011. On the local level, ethnic conflict fueled by visceral sentiments of difference which continue to plague South Sudan. Such fractionalization pointed to a higher degree of attachments to personal identities, ethnic affiliations, religion, sex, and others as opposed to a greater national identity.

4.6 Ethnicity in Education and Work opportunities in both Sudan and South Sudan

Ethnicity was an issue in education as education between the north and South was different and was based on racial and regional division as was characteristic of Sudan. In South Sudan education has also experienced tribal lines as some people from certain dominant and powerful tribes have gone to neighboring states or abroad for their education and others have remained in South Sudan. the study indicated that education was unequally provided and this implied that if education was meant to be equal to bring integration and identity then it was going to be hard to make people in the south to be educated in

Arabic. The findings further indicated that the Arabization of education made the people feel forced into Arabic education. This view was shared by Skaras, Carsillo, & Breidlid, (2019) when they argued that the elites of an independent Sudan who inherited power from the Anglo-Egyptians sought to implement an education system that was generally Arabicized and Islamized. The thinking was that national integration, patriotism, or civicness could be achieved through the Islamic religion and nationwide use of the Arabic language. In the failure of this people of the south saw the other practices outside education as forcing those languages and education when they were not part of the decision making. In South Sudan, the finding was that education that has been provided is considered for those who are not well placed in dominant ethnic groups. The children of those in dominant ethnic groups have been privileged to go abroad to attain education. While both Sudan and South Sudan thought that education would bring national identity the methods used did not support the idea. Wawa (2021) argued that when South Sudan seceded from the Sudan in 2011, there was euphoria among southerners. Education again became a tool for engineering unity, but this time from the perspective of a South Sudanese nationalism, inculcating the desired values and philosophy for national life (Opoh, Unimna, & Ogbaji, 2014). However, this was not promoted and therefore the fact that some children were educated in other countries to get government jobs, this sowed disharmony and divisions which could not support national identity.

4.7 National Integration in both Sudan and South Sudan

On the findings that there were efforts towards national integration and identity, it is implied that the leaders of the time did not give appropriate approaches to the problems. This could have been because of the fact that the leaders were from the privileged groups of the north in the case of Sudan and from the dominant ethnic groups in the case of South Sudan. The complexity of the tribes in Sudan and South Sudan required an effort that was focused and an effort by leaders who were read to be practical with achievable outcomes. This was not the case. This view was shared by Atta El-Battahani, (2008) who asserted that what was bestowed in relation to unity of Sudan as a country and prevented it from falling apart is not the state but the efficacy of the political system at large. An important aspect of the complexity of Sudanese society was its diversity which marked familial connections, social structures, cultural outlooks, value systems and gender statuses. These diversities did not only affect existing

possibilities for social mobility and integration, but equally directed bearing on moral norms, legal status and notions of identity. The leaders in Sudan and South Sudan did not take such complexity with the effort that was required. They somehow wanted to maintain the privilege they had acquired.

5. Conclusion

The study concluded that there were differences and similarities between Sudan and South Sudan post independent period. The politics in Sudan was basically grounded on the north-south divide which had features on religion, ethnicity, and Arab-Africa differences on culture social-cultural factors which influenced the way people from the south were marginalized, forced to embrace Arabic language, education, social injustices, economic alienation which made the southern Sudanese feel were not true citizens. In South Sudan there was ethnic tribes where the dominant tribes who were involved in the War with the north felt that they were privileged as opposed to the less dominant tribes. The dominant marginalized less dominant and treated them unequally. Economically, socially and political participation marginalization were similar with those of Sudan. On the second objective of national identity problems in both Sudan and South Sudan in the post-independent period, the study concluded there were significant similarities on national identity problems. There were issues over the economic marginalization, social injustice, political exclusion, and alienation, conflicts which culminated into armed conflict, inequalities in education, and the divided society where there were unity problems. However, there were differences between Sudan and South Sudan on problems like; harassment due to north south divide, ethnic human rights violations, religious law as basis of national law and secession of a part of the state. These issues demonstrated clear differences between Sudan and South Sudan. The study concluded there were clear differences and similarities in handling of national identity problems by the leaders of Sudan and South Sudan in the post-independence period. The differences in handling national identity in Sudan were majorly on religious basis (Sharia Law), the institutions that were built in north were north-south divide, the north- south Divide and the constitution in Sudan did not lay enough grounds to incorporate the participation of the southern Sudanese into their constitution. In South Sudan, the handling of national identity issues was grounded and backed by the leaders who had participated in the fight for independence. The dominant ethnic tribes have not built institutions which could deal with national integration and identity problems. The similarities between Sudan and South Sudan in dealing with

national identity were that the leaders in both states did not give enough effort to building national identity.

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