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Since its inception, the state of Sudan has had a divided national identity and has a history tainted by ethnic and tribal conflict and divisions. As people migrate, these divisions seem to follow. The purpose of this study is to identify the impact of the 2018-2019 Sudanese Revolution on ethnic and tribal divisions within the Sudanese American diaspora in Greensboro, NC. To do this, I completed 20 in-depth interviews with Sudanese Americans to speak about their experiences in the diaspora, the Sudanese Revolution, and the de-ethnicization process within the diaspora in Greensboro, NC. To build this study, I explore Sudanese migration to the US, definitions of nationalism, social movement mobilization, diaspora identity formation, and civil society. This research fills a gap in the literature by presenting national identity building in the Sudanese diaspora community and the role of an external event on this identity. The results presented in this study indicate that the Sudanese Revolution heavily influenced the de-ethnicization process within the diaspora community. Sudanese Americans in Greensboro found that the revolution united the community by identifying a common goal: a better Sudan.

“WHO ARE WE? SUDANESE!”: SUDANESE REVOLUTION AND NATIONAL IDENTITY
FORMATION WITHIN THE SUDANESE AMERICAN DIASPORIC COMMUNITY

by

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DEDICATION

To my community,

Without you, this study would not have been possible. Thank you for taking the time to share your stories and experiences with me. You all are my inspiration.

To my friends and family,

Thank you for always cheering me on and being a source of encouragement.

Lastly, and most importantly, this thesis is dedicated to my parents, the sacrifices they made, and the life they helped build for me and my siblings. I am eternally grateful and indebted to you both.

APPROVAL PAGE

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1.1. The 2018-2019 Sudanese Revolution

In December 2018, the Sudanese population in Atbara began protesting the rising costs of fuel and bread in the country. The rising costs of these two commodities is symbolic of the economic failure, inflation, and political corruption that fueled the general public's dislike of Omar Al-Bashir and his entire regime. Quickly, protests began to ensue across the entire state of Sudan calling for the removal of Al-Bashir who held power for 30 years. Protestors demanded freedom, peace, and justice as can be heard in one of the revolution chants: "*Hurria, Salam, wa Adala!*" In addition to this, protesters were demanding a civilian government as also heard consistently through the revolution: "*madaniya!*"

Finally, on April 11, 2019, Al-Bashir stepped down from power, ending his military dictatorship and opening the door for a more inclusive Sudan and the hope of a civilian-led government. The removal of Al-Bashir was the beginning of the *hopeful* reversal of human rights violations and exclusion of historically marginalized groups in Sudan. From the time that protests began in December, Sudanese people across the globe had a feeling this uprising wouldn't be like other uprisings. Perhaps the most important aspect of this uprising is that it isn't exclusive to Khartoum. The 2018-2019 Revolution is one that unified all Sudanese regardless of their ethnic, racial, and tribal identities. This, arguably, is the reason why this specific uprising was sustained for the length of time that it did and led to tangible change (Awad, 2022).

1.2. Sudan and Ethnic Division

Since its inception, the state of Sudan has had a divided national identity and an unorganized sense of nationalism. Throughout the years following independence, the Sudanese national identity has excluded many minority groups in the East, South, and West because of the

ways this identity was grounded in the Islamic faith, the Arabic language, and Arab culture. Throughout the history of Sudan, exclusionary nationalism was practiced. To better understand ethnic division and nationalism in Sudan, it is important to understand the root of this nationalism and how it came to be. The terms ‘Sudani’ or ‘Sudanese’, which are now used to point to inhabitants of Sudan or those in the diaspora, were once derogatory labels that were only applied to slaves. Sharkey goes into the history of these terms and begins by explaining that early Arabic-speaking Muslim geographers called the entire region south of the Sahara, ‘Bilad al-Sudan’, which translates to ‘Land of the Blacks’; this region was that from modern-day West Africa to East Africa (Senegal-Ethiopia) (Sharkey 2003). Originally, the term ‘Sudan’ was used by the French to refer to their African colonies in the West and eventually the British and Egyptians began applying the same term to modern-day Sudan. To be ‘Sudanese’ meant to be in a position of ‘less-than’ because of a status of being black and a slave. Northern Arabs used the term to allude to non-Arabic-speaking and non-Muslim groups, which are generally known to be groups in the East, West, and South. It was not until the 1920s that educated northern elites began embracing the term to express a sense of national unity. According to Sharkey, this view of southerners as slaves continues to persist today through the usage of the term ‘*abid*’ (Sharkey 2003). This type of rhetoric has been common since before modern-day Sudan came to be as we know it today. Sudanese national identity has paved the way for a form of racism that has “...been rooted in local histories of slavery and in the unequal distribution of wealth and power between regions and social groups” (Idris 2013, 39).

After the creation of the Sudanese state, the idea of being Sudanese and Sudanese nationalism were all intertwined in Arabic and Arab culture. According to O’ballance, Sudanese politics did not touch the south, leaving the region neglected and underdeveloped (which stems

from colonial times when the British favored Muslim, Arab men from the north for educational and employment opportunities). Upon independence, southern Sudanese were only given six of 800 openings in civil service and only three of 43 seats on the committee for constitution drafting (Horowitz 2000). The exclusion of minority groups in Sudan can be best illustrated in a manuscript that was published in May 2000 in Sudan titled *The Black Book: Imbalance of Power and Wealth in Sudan*, or in Arabic, *al-kitab al-aswad*. The manuscript was delivered by men in front of a mosque after Friday prayer and it detailed the breakdown of political and economic power in Sudan and how one group has dominated since independence (Flint, De Waal 2005). The manuscript explained that groups in the south, east and west. Furthermore, the *Black Book* asserted that northern Arab tribes dominated in the police and military hierarchy, judiciary, and provincial administrations (Flint, De Waal 2005).

While this same ethnic exclusion has initially carried over into the diasporic community, some scholars describe how Sudanese diaspora in the US has also gone through a de-ethnicization process due to their particular identities as being in the diaspora (Abusharaf 2002). In this research, I investigate the role of the Sudanese Revolution as a turning point in the formation of national identity among the diaspora. Between the months of December 2018 and August 2019, Sudanese community members organized protests together, met together to make t-shirts and posters, raised money to send back home, and prepared food and drinks for protesters to stay energized in support of the Sudanese Revolution.

As part of these demonstrations, the community showed instances of a more unified identity. Based on personal observation, there was never a focus or a need within the Greensboro Sudanese diaspora to identify with those coming from western Sudan, but Revolution chants changed that. During the June 30, 2019 demonstration in Greensboro, people were chanting “no

more hate, no more war, we are all Darfur!” and “*ya ansoori ya mgroor, kul al balad Darfur!*” which translates to “you arrogant racist, the whole country is Darfur!” addressing former president, Al-Bashir.¹ The sense of ‘all’ mentioned breaks down the wall of ethnic separation that once existed and identifies the diaspora as one whole body together.

While scholars have studied Sudanese diaspora in the US from a variety of perspectives, national identity building among the Sudanese diaspora community is not a well researched topic. For example, scholars have studied Sudanese migration and the primary drivers of migration among Sudanese (Abusharaf, 1997, 1998, and 2002); others have reviewed south Sudanese refugees resettling in different parts of the world as a result of the Sudanese Civil War (Shandy, 2007). Those scholars who looked at the inter-ethnic relations between the Sudanese diaspora in the US focused on the conditions to the diaspora community in the host country by underlining the feeling of loneliness, or *ghorba*, that Sudanese diaspora members feel and its effects on de-ethnicization of the diaspora community (Abusharaf 1997), rather than investigating how events in Sudan may affect inter-ethnic relations among Sudanese diaspora. In this research, I study the role of the 2018-2019 Sudanese Revolution on the ethnic relations among the Sudanese diaspora. Focusing on social movement mobilization and the role of diaspora organizations and based on 20 in-depth interviews among the Sudanese diaspora community in Greensboro, I analyze how diaspora communities involved in the movements supporting the Sudanese Revolution and how this processes affected the relations between ethnic groups and foster the national identity formation among the Sudanese diaspora in the US. The thesis will be organized in the following way: I will present my literature review, followed by my

¹ Darfur is the western part of Sudan that is often associated with genocide and led to former president, Al-Bashir, being the first head of state indicted with charges of genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes by the International Criminal Court.

methods and methodology. Afterwards, I will present my research findings after which I will highlight my arguments, discuss my findings and conclude the study.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

2. 1. Sudanese Migration and Diaspora

Sudan is a country in the north-eastern portion of the African continent, bordering Egypt to the north, Chad to the west, Eritrea and Ethiopia to the east, and South Sudan to the south. Since gaining independence, Sudan has been undergoing years of political, civil, and economic unrest. Sudan is home to nearly 600 different ethnic groups with more than 400 languages and dialects (Metz 1992). Some of the largest ethnic identities in Sudan include: Arab, Dinka, Beja, Nuer, Nuba, Nubian, Fur, Bari, Azande, Moru, and Shilluk; furthermore, 40% of the Sudanese population identifies as Arab (Lesch 1998). It is because of this diverse population, that Sudan's history has been tainted with ethnic division and conflict. Sudan is marked with a history of ethnic cleansing, genocide, war, economic and political instability, and religious oppression. In 2021, the UNHCR identified that as of 2021, the state of Sudan has produced a total of 805,874 refugees under the UNHCR mandate, 69,956 asylum seekers, 2,552,174 internally displaced persons (UNHCR Refugee Data Finder).²

² The UN Refugee Convention of 1951 defines a refugee as anyone who has lost protection of their state of origin or nationality and has a "...well founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" and is unable to return to their state of origin. An asylum seeker, according to the UNHCR, is "...someone whose request for sanctuary has yet to be processed". Lastly, internally displaced persons (IDP's) are individuals who have not been able to yet cross international borders for safety.

The Sudanese Civil War is among one of the main causes of Sudanese migration³ out of Sudan, primarily the migration of southern Sudanese. Between 1983 and 1998, 350,000 Sudanese fled abroad as refugees and Sudanese death tolls and population displacements as a result of the war exceeded those of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Iran-Iraq War, and the Lebanese civil war (Sharkey 2003). The conflict in Sudan is often traced back to British colonial policies that favored Arab northerners while simultaneously marginalizing southerners and other minority ethnic groups in all aspects of life. These policies continued following decolonization and can be found in the unequal access to education, health, political participation and development of social as well as physical infrastructure (Abusharaf 1998). For southern Sudanese and other Sudanese ethnic minorities (westerners of Darfur, Nuba), their migration was forced under times of war, which is different from most other Sudanese.

Sudanese Americans live in what is commonly known as, *ghorba*, in Arabic. *Ghorba*, as Abusharaf describes, is an antonym of *gurba* or *garaba*, which means nearness, proximity, and kinship (2002). The opposite of this, as mentioned, is *ghorba* which can refer to being far and in a state of loneliness and can be heard in a song by Sudanese singer, Salah Willy, titled *Yuma al-Zaman Gasy* (Oh Mother, The Times are Harsh), in which he says: “*dayaata fi al ghorba ajmal seneen oomry. Aasy asood waarjig wa it-hana fi kobri*” which can be translated to “I lost

³ Sudanese migrants are known as *almughtaribeen*, or someone who lives outside of their native country and lives in *ightirab*, or in a state of being away from home. Historically, Sudanese have migrated to the Middle East, specifically the Persian Gulf region which includes Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, and the United Arab Emirates. These countries have been known to be amongst the largest destinations for labor migrants and currently host about 25 million migrants (Valenta, Jakobsen 2017). This all came to an end at the beginning of the Gulf War. The Islamic military government in Sudan led by Omar al-Bashir expressed support of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait which subsequently led to adverse effects in the relationships that Sudan had not only with Kuwait but with Saudi Arabia and its Arab allies (Abusharaf 1997). This eventually led to the governments of these states in the Gulf forcefully removing Sudanese migrants. This prompts Sudanese migrants to leave the Gulf and migrate to North America. In the US, there is a mixture of both voluntary and involuntary migrants (refugees) from Sudan.

the most beautiful years of my life in alienation/loneliness, I wish to go back and enjoy my old age”. This represents the feeling of loneliness and isolation that exists within Sudanese diaspora-not just in the United States, but across the globe outside of Sudan. *Ghorba* also refers to a psychological state, like Abusharaf argues when she says: “...a sense of alienation one finds away from family and friends away back home” (2002, 128). Often times growing up, I heard my parents telling family members back home “*alghorba hara*” or “alienation is hard”. In terms of Arabic linguistics, *ghorba* is derived from the Arabic word *gharib*, referring to someone or something that is a stranger, odd, or foreign. This suggests that being in a place away from home puts someone in a strange space and in a status of an outsider.

Although they live in this state of alienation from their home, Sudanese diaspora members have found ways to create community in the US and other host countries. Diasporas have had multiple definitions from the coining of the term. The first being describing Jews who were exiled from their home and afterwards other victimized groups including Turkish Armenians, Kurds, and Tibetans (Budabin 2014). For the purpose of this research, diaspora will be defined as “...communities of migrants who share a homeland to which they remain connected” (Wilcock 2018, 364). A driving force in the creation of diaspora communities is the ‘longing to belong’ (Wilcock 2018, 365). This can be attributed to the fact that once migrants move to their host country, they are seen as outsiders, so this diaspora community provides a home away from home. Diaspora formation is especially interesting in the case of Sudan considering the fragmented national identity since colonial rule that led to years of ethnic conflict and division. A study done on the Sudanese diaspora in the U.K. found that there were ethnic elements to the diaspora in the U.K. (Wilcock 2018). Sudanese diaspora formation in the US seems to be an anomaly due to the low salience of ethnicity in Sudanese diaspora formation in

the US. Despite deep ethnic cleavages in Sudan, Sudanese in the American diaspora seem to have managed to form a community within the diaspora. De-ethnicization becomes the process by which Sudanese in the American diaspora begin unlearning their ethnic identities and forming a national Sudanese identity (Abusharaf 2002).

Abusharaf (2002)'s explanation puts too much emphasis upon the particularistic conditions of community building among the Sudanese diaspora in the US. While the forms of community building and diaspora experiences has a significant role in the 'unlearning of the ethnic identities' among Sudanese Americans, it cannot account for the role of an 'external event', i.e. Sudanese Revolution, on the rise of national identification among this community. By focusing on this important event, this thesis looks at the role of Sudanese Revolution on this community in the creation of a common national identity.

2.2. Nationalism and Ethnic Identity

Within the literature, different scholars provide similar features for what makes a nation: a common history, culture, religion, language, race, kinship, etc. (Smith 1979, Stern 1995, Anderson 1983). The definition of an ethnic group also defines the group based on common culture (Cojanu 2014), but also on biology, field of communication and interaction, and membership (Barth 1969). The literature identifies three main theoretical explanations to nationalism and ethnic identity: primordialism, modernism or constructivism (for the purpose of my research, I will use the latter term), and instrumentalism. Primordialism states that nationalism and ethnic identity are natural parts of human life (Ozkirimli 2010). This assumes that ethnic identity and nationalism are not constructed and have existed as long as humans have existed. The primordialist approach explains ethnic identity and nationalism as never changing and having specific never-changing features such as cultures, traditions, histories, language,

physical traits, religion, etc. (Hale 2004). Constructivism as a theoretical approach would argue that ethnic identity and nationalism are socially constructed and can be changed (Horowitz 1985). Unlike primordialism, constructivists don't see identity or nationality as natural to the human groups. Instead, this approach identifies that there are different social, political, economic, and historical processes and circumstances that lead to the 'constructing' of national and ethnic identity (Thananithichot 2011). Some scholars of nationalism argue that it is a result of modernity (Smith 1998). Similarly, there is the belief that nations and nationalism came due to the cultural systems and processes that existed, leading to these 'imagined communities' (Anderson 1983). The instrumentalist approach is similar to constructivism wherein it doesn't agree that nationalism and ethnic identity are natural to the human being. Instead, this approach presents the two concepts as a "...political identity that can be constructed for contemporary political mobilization" (Thananithichot 2011). This approach centers the state as a vehicle for nationalism and ethnic identity formation.

In this research, I adopt a constructivist-instrumentalist approach to national and ethnic identities. In the case of the Sudanese diaspora, ethnic groups, relations and national identity were not fixed but transformed over time in response to various social processes. This research shows the role of the social movement mobilization on transformations in ethnic and national identity. More specifically, I contend that during the 2018-2019 Sudanese Revolution, different ethnic groups are now engaging in protest, leading to the formation of a unified national identity.

2.3. Social Movements and Diaspora Identity Formation

The literature on social movements and contentious politics provides insights to understand how Sudanese Revolution might lead to the national identity building among the Sudanese diaspora in the US. Tilly and Tarrow characterize a social movement as "...sustained

campaign of claim making, using repeated performances, networks, traditions, and solidarities that sustain these activities” (2015, 11). Contentious politics are based on making claims that bear on someone else’s interests (Tilly and Tarrow 2015). Social movements can come in the form of military coups, civil wars, and revolutions (Tilly 2006). Tilly distinguishes social movements from other forms of contentious politics by their sustained claims making and “...concerted displays of supporters’ worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitment” (2006, 11). One of the types of claims that are associated with social movements are identity claims, which are claims that point to a “we” as a unified force (Tilly 2006). This identity claim can be applied to the Sudanese diaspora in the case of the Sudanese Revolution of 2018-2019 if one looks at the call and response protest chant that was often used during protests within the diaspora: “Who are we? Sudanese!”

Identity formation has become of growing importance for the creation of social movements (Tugal 2009). This formation of identity is important for the case of Sudan and the Sudanese diaspora, specifically considering the ethnic division and conflict that engulfed the country’s history. Within the literature, this serves to be true in other cases such as the case of the mobilization of the Kosovo Serbs, where inter-ethnic inequalities shaped mobilization of this group of people and the survival of the movement was heavily dependent on the power of national identity (Vladisavljevic 2002). Yet while ethnic relations and formation of ethnic identities are important for social movement mobilization, social movements also contribute to the construction of group identities (see Tilly 2006), and more particularly ethnic and national identities.

This process is particularly visible in the formation of diaspora identities and mobilization. Literature on diaspora identities draws attention to how diaspora is formed as a

result of social movements and transnational mobilization (Adamson 2008). Diaspora members participating in social movements in solidarity with their homeland is an example of transnationalism, which refers to “...immigrants and their descendants who maintain connections with and are socially embedded in both their sending and receiving countries...” (Grossman 2019, 1269). Within the literature, many scholars identify social movements, or this transnationalism, as precursors to diaspora identity formation, or as “...a response to specific events and developments...” (Sokefeld 2006, 271). For example, the Kashmiri diaspora in the UK can be traced back to 1989, but Kashmiris did not identify as Kashmiri in the early years of migration, they simply regarded themselves as Pakistani; the insurgency in Indian Jammu and Kashmir led to the Kashmiri British diaspora to collectively begin to identify themselves as Kashmiri (Sokefeld 2006). Diasporas participating in social movements in solidarity with the homeland are part of diasporic politics. The aim of diasporic politics, some scholars argue, is to construct an identity, or an ‘imagined community’ (Adamson 2008, 2). This constructivist view of diaspora identity formation indicates that a diaspora is constructed by way of social movements and mobilization, as seen in the Hong Kong diaspora’s participation in the 2019-20 Anti-Extradition Bill Movement (Fong 2021). Likewise, prior to the Egyptian revolution, some Egyptians in the UK reported a lack of socialization with other Egyptians, but this changed after the revolution that revealed “...bonds and a sense of self that are rooted in multiple, intersecting identities of belonging” (Underhill 2019, 375).

The same can be seen within the collective diasporic identity within the Sudanese American community. Concerning Sudanese migrants from the historically marginalized Darfur region in western Sudan and those from Khartoum and the centralized regions of north Sudan, Claire Parker says in a Washington Post article, “...the two communities increasingly feel bound

by a common purpose” (Parker 2019). In this same article, one protester from Darfur living in D.C. is quoted to have said that the situation in Sudan at the time “...united Sudanese across all political, geographic and social boundaries” (Parker 2019). This operates as a starting point for my research in discussing how the Sudanese Revolution of 2018-19 caused a national consciousness within the diaspora.

Using this framework, we can argue how a unified Sudanese diaspora identity was solidified due to the mobilization of Sudanese Americans during the Sudanese Revolution of 2018-2019 through collective action. During the transnational movement, which involved protests, demonstrations, meetings as well as sustained forms of claim-making through networks and organizations, Sudanese Americans formed an identity that went beyond that of their ethnic and tribal affiliation.

Social movement mobilization and organization can be produced through organizations, or, civil society. In his study on ethnic riots in India, Varshney (2001) found that forms of civic engagement have a significant role on ethnic peace. More specifically, existing inter-ethnic networks serve as agents of peace and while exclusive intraethnic communities, can lead to increased ethnic violence: “There is an integral link between the structure of civil life in multiethnic society, on the one hand, and the presence or absence of ethnic violence, on the other” (2001, 362). This research reveals the importance of formal civil society (NGOs, professional organizations, business associations). For instance, we can identify the diaspora organization known as Sudan House Global Organization, a local non-profit, and its role in mobilizing the Sudanese diaspora. Together with social movement mobilization, this research focuses on the role of diaspora of civil society organizations (both formal and informal), which

enabled collective mobilization among the diaspora community during the Sudanese Revolution, which in turn, affected the national identity formation.

CHAPTER III: METHODS AND METHODOLOGY

3. 1. Methods and Case Selection

I conducted 20 in-depth interviews with Sudanese American diaspora community members in Greensboro in 2022. During the 2018-2019 Sudanese Revolution, the Sudanese diaspora in Greensboro hosted a local “Millions March” on June 30, 2019. This march was in solidarity with the “Millions March” happening in Sudan on the same day. June 30 is significant because 30 years prior on that day, Omar al-Bashir led a military coup which led to his 30 year dictatorship in Sudan before having to step down on April 11 2019. It was on this day that the Sudanese community in Greensboro welcomed Sudanese from as close as Charlotte, Raleigh, and Durham, to Sudanese as far as Arizona. Greensboro, NC is known for its large Sudanese community. According to UNCG’s Center for New North Carolinians (CNNC), there are approximately 4,500 Sudanese living in Greensboro, the largest of any other African diaspora in the area. CNNC mentions that the diaspora is split between Sudanese from north Sudan and those from the south fleeing the war and being resettled as refugees. According to the Migration Policy Institute (MPI), between 2015 and 2019, the two counties with the highest count of Sudanese people are Fairfax County, Virginia, and Guilford County, North Carolina. This is why the case of Greensboro is one that is important in understanding Sudanese identity formation within the diaspora-because it is such a large population with a mix of majority and minority ethnic groups.

3. 2. Sampling and Data Collection

Over the course of two months (August & September 2022), I completed 20 interviews with Sudanese Americans who migrated to the US at 18 years or older and were present in

Greensboro before the start of the Revolution in December 2018.⁴ My criteria was Sudanese Americans who migrated to the US from Sudan at the age of 18 years or older and were present in Greensboro prior to the beginning of the revolution in December 2018. The reasoning behind this is that individuals who were at least 18 years of age when they left Sudan should have some understanding of ethnic division and conflict in Sudan and people who were living in Greensboro prior to the revolution can express differences in the community before and after.

To recruit respondents, I utilized snowball sampling. Snowball sampling is a form of purposive, non-probability sampling, where the researcher seeks participants that are relevant to the research question being posed (Bryman, 2012). I began by contacting a small group (seven individuals) of respondents; this included some former and current members of the diaspora association's executive committee⁵, and key members in the community which included non-profit directors, small business owners and known active members during the Revolution (supporters or otherwise). During initial contact with these individuals, I sent them a flier in both English and Arabic (Appendix A & B) that briefly explains the purpose of the study, asking if they were interested, and if they knew anyone else who would be interested. Those who expressed interest also mentioned that they will be sharing the flier within their social circles. Once it was shared with broader social circles, I heard from seven individuals expressing interest in the study. Six individuals were after I completed interviews with some respondents and they recommended other people. Before each interview, I sent respondents PDF documents of the consent form in English and Arabic via WhatsApp (Appendix C & D); I also provided them with this form in person prior to beginning the interview. The form included more details about the

⁴I obtained the IRB approval in July 2022.

⁵ This organization, *Bayt Al Sudan*, or formally called *Sudan House Global Corporation* is a non-profit organization serving the Sudanese community within the broader triad region. Every two years, an election is held to nominate and elect 11 members for the executive committee.

purpose of the study and details about their participation in the study. Once respondents confirmed receipt and understanding of the consent form, interviews began.

3.3. Qualitative Interviews and Respondents

I conducted semi-structured interviews and incorporated both open and close ended questions. Throughout this form of qualitative research, I was able to answer questions about how and why identity formation occurs from the perspective of my respondents. Throughout the interviews, I was able to gather information regarding the respondents' (1) demographics, (2) migration and diaspora, (3) ethnic and national identities, relations, and views (4) engagement within the diaspora through organizations and civil society, and (5) views on Sudanese Revolution and participation in protests movements (See Appendix E & F for interview questions). Demographics that were provided to me told me simple things like respondents' age, gender, age upon arrival to the US, and educational background. During interviews, I also gathered information about respondents' ethnic and national identities and relations. Respondents engaged with me about their level of participation and engagement in the diaspora community; this included participation in the Revolution, diaspora organizations/associations.

This study relied heavily on respondents' ability to share with me their experiences, so interviews were scheduled based on their availability and done at the homes of each respondent. On average, the interviews lasted anywhere between 45 minutes to an hour and a half. Interviews were in both Arabic and English and were recorded via my phone after confirming with respondents if it was okay with them. After the interview, the recordings were securely uploaded to a UNCG Box drive. This drive also had a spreadsheet with respondents' name, alias, interview date, and whether or not the interview was completed. For the purpose of this study, aliases have been used to maintain anonymity.

Among 20 of my respondents, 12 were males and 8 were females. The majority of the people that were interviewed identified themselves with northern Sudanese tribes. These included: Ja'ali (5)⁶, Bedayria (2)⁷, Danagla (1)⁸, and Rikabia (1)⁹. Three people that were interviewed did not wish to specify a tribal affiliation/identity; one chose to identify himself using the geographic location his family is from, which is Wad Madani, the capital of Al-Jazeera state in the northeast part of Sudan, only three hours away from Khartoum (Sudan's capital). Another respondent expressed that his paternal grandfather comes from Turkish lineage and his maternal grandfather comes from Egyptian lineage and another respondent also chose to identify himself using the geographical location his family originates from: Dabbat al Fogara in northern Sudan. The remainder of the tribes represented include: Fur from western Sudan (3), Zaghawa

⁶ Ja'alini tribe is the largest and most widely distributed Arab tribe in Sudan. They are known to be descendants of the Prophet Muhammad's (peace be upon him) uncle, el-Abbas (Macmichael 1922).

⁷ Bedayria, along with other tribes, is a smaller tribe that falls under the umbrella that is the Ja'alini tribe that also inhabit northern Sudan. They live predominantly in Northern State, Sudan, or *alwaliya alshamaliya* (Macmichael 1922).

⁸ Danagla are a tribe in northern Sudan (Dongola, Northern State, Sudan) and are part of a larger group, Nubians, that extend from southern Egypt (Macmichael 1922).

⁹ The Rikabia are also an Arab tribe that settled in Dongola in Northern State, Sudan. They trace their ancestry back to Husayn, son of Ali Ibn Abu Talib who is the son-in-law of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) (Macmichael 1992).

from western Sudan (1)¹⁰, Ta'isha tribe from western and southern Sudan (1), Rizeigat tribe from western Sudan (1)¹¹, Nuba from the Nuba Mountains (1)¹², and Dinka from southern Sudan (1).¹³

Everyone that I interviewed is a migrant from Sudan. There were a number of factors that led them to come. General pull factors were education, marriage, economic opportunity, and just overall quality of life. Some push factors for respondents were: political instability and military dictatorship, war, lack of economic opportunity, and a poor quality of life. The majority of respondents came either through the Diversity Lottery Program or through refugee status. Nine of the people that I interviewed came through the US Diversity Lottery.¹⁴ Six of the respondents came to the US via refugee status; this includes one male from southern Sudan who fled Sudan due to the Sudanese civil war, and five individuals from western Sudan who fled due to conflict in the Darfur region of Sudan. Three of my respondents came by way of student visas (F-1 Visa); one of these respondents ended up not attending school right away and instead applied for political asylum. One female from the Tai'sha tribe in Sudan, which extends through Chad, Darfur, and South Kordofan, came to the US on a visitor's visa (B-2) and then applied for

¹⁰ Both the Fur and Zaghawa tribes in western Sudan (Darfur) are non-Arab, African tribes of Sudan belonging to the early Darfur Sultanate pre-colonialism. These tribes exist in both western Sudan and Chad (Machmichael 1992).

¹¹ Both the Ta'isha tribe and Rizeigat tribe are Arab, baggara (cattle herder) tribes in western Sudan and Kordofan. They also exist in Chad and Darfur, but they are also mixed with Arab ancestry (Macmichael 1992). The current conflict in western Sudan is as a result of conflict between these Arab tribes in Darfur and the African tribes in Darfur. In the conflict, *Janjaweed* are a militia group of Arab Baggara tribes funded and armed by the Sudanese government (Hassan, Ray 2009).

¹² The Nuba people in Sudan are generally known as the indigenous African inhabitants of Sudan prior to Islam & Arabization spreading to Sudan. This group inhabits the Nuba Mountains of Sudan, the Blue Nile State, and South Kordofan (Macmichael 1992).

¹³ The Dinka are a tribal/ethnic group in South Sudan; they are also considered some of the early inhabitants of Sudan prior to Arab and Islamic influence entering the country. They are a Nilotic group which is indigenous to the Nile Valley (Machmicheal 1992).

¹⁴ The US Diversity Lottery is a program that was established by the Immigration Act of 1990 in which the US committed to issuing 55,000 immigrant visas to diversify the immigrant population in the United States (US Embassy in Sudan). In FY 2021, the US received 391,335 entries from Sudan (US Department of State).

political asylum once she arrived in the US. Lastly, one respondent came to the US by family reunification-her husband petitioned for her.

Furthermore, through my interviews with Sudanese Americans, I was able to identify those who participated in any acts in support of the Revolution, and those who did not. 18 individuals from those that I interviewed confirmed some kind of participation in the Revolution with other diaspora members. Two respondents said that they did not participate due to lack of time, not wanting to be involved in politics, and not agreeing with the way the Revolution began. For those that participated, they all had the same sentiment: they were doing it for their country.

CHAPTER IV: RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1. Sudanese Identity

Before presenting my findings surrounding the Sudanese Revolution and de-ethnicization, it is important that I share the ways in which respondents describe their Sudanese identity. Virtually every person that I interviewed spoke highly of their Sudanese identity when asked about symbols that define their identity and Sudanese identity. Seven out of the twenty respondents described Sudanese identity as one that is diverse and a mixture of many different identities in one. Bashir, a gentleman from the Fur tribe in western Sudan, says: “Sudanese are like a cocktail...we’re mixed with Africans and Arabs. We’re like a cocktail, we can’t identify with Arabs or Africans. We’re in our own category.” Others find that this diversity is the root of an identity crisis in Sudan which inevitably brings Sudanese people down as a nation. In addition to this, some see Sudanese people as inherently lost and without an identity. Niama is a 44 year old woman from one of the tribes from western Sudan (Tai’sha tribe) and from her perspective, the Sudanese people are at a loss when it comes to their identity. The ethnic and tribal makeup of the country makes it difficult for them to identify as either African or Arab. Niama also talks to me about how Sudanese people arabize themselves and identify with being Arab more than being African. This could be mainly because of the years of *ta’rib* that the country underwent. Also, many times there is a certain degree of honor or prestige that comes with identifying as Arab since Islam was born in the Arab world.

To have some understanding of Sudanese identity politics, it is important to mention some background information of Sudan’s history.¹⁵ From its start, the state of Sudan has been

¹⁵ The Arabization of Sudan began through the spread of Islam. The majority of Arab tribes in Sudan came by way of Islam and the spread of the faith. This, of course, happened through trade relations and military conquests from the 7th-16th century (Hasan 1967). Further diversity in the country happened following the Ottoman conquest of Sudan between 1820-1824 by Muhammad Ali Pasha (Beska 2019). Sudan’s geographical location makes it unique and perhaps is the reason

rooted in Arab culture. Throughout Sudan's history there has existed a sense of Arab superiority; Heather Sharkey explains this when she says, "There is an exceptionally strong urge for Arabism among the Northern Sudanese people; everybody wants to be an Arab" (Sharkey 2007, 21).

Arabs were foreigners that came from the outside and infiltrated the land. Many groups such as Persians, Greeks, Romans, and Turks attempted to conquer Sudan (or did so successfully), but according to Zouhir, no group successfully implemented their linguistic, cultural, and religious values as well as the Arabs did. This was done through a process known as *ta'rib*. *Ta'rib* is the process of Arabization and the implementation and spread of Arab identity and the Arabic language (Sharkey 2007). To be Arab meant to have greater dominance over other groups, and thus indicating high social status. By the time Sudan gained independence, Arabic was the most widely-spoken language and there was an attempt to assimilate this language in the English south. Northern Arab elites did this by implementing Arabic in schools in the south.

Although the looming identity crisis defines Sudanese identity, all respondents, regardless of tribal and ethnic identity, express pride and mention community, kindness, and hospitality as symbols of Sudanese identity. Fatima, a Ja'ali female, says: "Sudan is our blood, our heart, and our everything." Similarly, Abraham, a south Sudanese man who identifies with the Dinka tribe expressed similar sentiments. Abraham said:

You know, where you come from is your pride, you can always hold your head up high and be proud of it no matter what the difficulties are. Yes, there are issues, there is war and all of that, but still, you are proud of where you come from and you can look at your culture and there is pride.

why the country is incredibly diverse-religiously, linguistically, and ethnically. Due to the country being a 'half-way point', many west Africans used Sudan as a rest area to and from pilgrimage in Saudi Arabia (Yamba 1995).

In addition to the pride being felt by Sudanese people, all of my respondents expressed that their Sudanese identity, in the case of being a migrant, is more important to them than their ethnic or tribal identity and as I will explain in the coming pages, the Sudanese Revolution strengthened this feeling of national identity and pride. This identity crisis faced by the Sudanese people combined with the pride that is felt being Sudanese is what makes the case of the Sudanese people a fascinating one. As migrants, many respondents felt that once they came to the US, no one saw them as their tribal identity (mainly because non-Sudanese people are unaware of Sudanese tribal groups), so they just became Sudanese. This correlates with Abusharaf's argument concerning alienation and *ghorba* which pushes people into a collective national identity. Most of my respondents explained that tribal affiliation did not come up until they met another Sudanese person and they were trying to introduce themselves and find connections. Although this was the case, once people did find connections with individuals that shared their tribal identity, people began, unconsciously or consciously, creating groups based on tribal identities as I will explain in the following section.

4.2. Experiences of ethnic divisions before and after migration

During my interviews, the expected deep ethnic divisions in Sudan was not very evident in the Sudanese diaspora in Greensboro. When asked about their experiences with other ethnic groups while they were living in Sudan, most people did not ever notice the way their families interacted and never even knew tribal differences and divisions until they finished high school and began college (those who did). These people mentioned that they grew up often around people from other tribal groups, attending schools with them, working with them, being neighbors, etc. One interaction that was interesting that two people mentioned was that they remember growing up and having maids in their home that were from South Sudan, which is

typical for many households in Sudan, even until this day. Amna, a 43 year old woman who identifies with the Fur tribe explained that the Arabization of Sudan was something done by the government of Sudan, the *kezan*¹⁶, which is an explanation as to why growing up and being in Sudan, her family had normal interactions with other tribal groups; she says that “this idea of who is Arab and who isn’t came through the *kezan*.”

There were three respondents who confirmed that when they were living in Sudan, their families displayed negative attitudes towards other tribal groups. For example, Fatima, the Ja’ali female mentioned earlier, says that her family was clearly discriminatory. She explains that her family being Ja’ali meant that they viewed themselves and their tribe as ‘*al-ashraf*’, or the honorable ones, and because of this they had negative views of other tribes and ethnicities in Sudan. She says that her family found other tribes (specifically those of darker skin) as less than and used terms such as, ‘*abd*’¹⁷ to degrade them. Abdo is a 43 year old male who did not specify a tribal or ethnic identity but did explain that his family originated from Madani in north Sudan and he immediately uses the word ‘racist’ to describe his family in Sudan when asked about their interactions with other ethnic and tribal groups. Finally, Sarah is a 52 year old woman who identifies with the Ja’alin tribe from northern Sudan. She shares with me a very interesting story that happened in her village when she was younger in Sudan. She begins by sharing a Sudanese

¹⁶ *Kezan* (singular: *Kuz*) is a term used colloquially to describe Omar Al-Bashir, his regime and supporters. This also includes members of the Muslim Brotherhood in Sudan, the National Congress Party and the transitional government in 2019, along with the current powers in Sudan which came from Al-Bashir’s regime.

¹⁷ *Abd*, or *abeed* (plural), is the Arabic term for slave (ex: Abdullah, a common Muslim name that translates to slave of Allah), but Sudanese people have used it historically to degrade darker-skinned people in Sudan. The term can be seen as the equivalent of using the N-word as a non-black person in the US. Although the word is outdated and known to be a derogatory one that dehumanizes an entire group of people, it is still commonly used today by northern Sudanese individuals to describe darker skinned groups from southern Sudan, Nuba Mountains, and Darfur (western Sudan). This type of rhetoric has been common since before modern-day Sudan came to be as we know it today. The history of slavery and racial tensions between Northerners and Southerners has heavily influenced violence against Southerners.

saying that describes her village that translates to: “We’ve never had a dark ear come to us”, meaning that she grew up in a village in which they were not exposed to other tribal identities, specifically those with darker features. Sarah explains that at some point, a group of southern Sudanese entered the village to work as housemaids and on the agricultural land/fields of landowners. Down the line, someone from this group does something that goes against the values of the people of her village (she says she suspects that he got drunk) and she explicitly remembers the people in the village bringing a lorry truck for the southerners and removing them from the village. This story was interesting because the image that it illustrates is symbolic of the degradation, dehumanization, and discrimination that ethnic division in Sudan has caused over the years to non-Arab groups.

When asked about ethnic division in the diaspora, 15 respondents answered that ethnic divisions do exist within the diaspora community, three respondents do not think these divisions exist, and two expressed that although they have heard of these divisions they have never actually seen proof of them. A respondent, Sarah, explains in her interview with me that a lot of times people will try to say that these tribal divisions no longer exist with us, but she argues they do. She continues to speak on her observations in the community, that every tribe has their own *shola*, or clique, that they lean towards and compares this to the black/white racial divide in America. Many others shared the same sentiments. Amina, another woman from the same tribe as Sarah, said:

People here are categories. Like, people are in groups based on if they’re *dongolawi*, *ja’ali*, *shaygi*, *gharaba* (westerners of Sudan), and so on and so forth. I think here people practice it (tribalism) more than they do in Sudan, I don’t know why.

Although some people find that this type of division is negative, Adam, a 36 year old man who identifies as *Dongolawi* from northern Sudan, finds that this is normal and may not be such a terrible thing. He agrees that this exists and that divisions are present in the Sudanese community in Greensboro, but finds it to be a positive thing. He explains that generally in life, people tend to feel more comfortable around people that share their identities so it is a normal thing for it to be happening.

The majority of respondents (coming from Arab tribes), interestingly enough, did explain that due to the trauma of ethnic conflict that happened in Sudan, many people migrate to the US and make the conscious decision to isolate or separate from the broader Sudanese community. This came up several times concerning Darfurians and their self-isolation. Sahar, another woman who identifies as part of the Ja'alini tribe from northern Sudan, says that people from the Nuba Mountains (often referred to as the indigenous people of Sudan and also home to conflict today)¹⁸ and those from Darfur chose to isolate because "they feel as though we (core tribal groups) are lacking in our treatment with them. They came with negative memories they can't easily forget." This idea of memory and how it appears in migration comes up several times throughout interviews and members of core tribal groups find that, during the revolution, it was their responsibility to help (or attempt to help) historically marginalized groups in 'forgetting' or 'moving past' these difficult memories of conflict in Sudan, so that the community could come together as one in support of Sudan. Abraham, the south Sudanese male mentioned earlier, found

¹⁸ Although not directly involved in the Sudanese Civil War, the Nuba people have been significantly affected by the war and the aftermath of the war. The war did not enter the Nuba Mountains until 1985, two years after the Second Civil War reignited; in this year, SPLM/A raided South Kordofan and ever since tens of thousands of Nuba have been killed and displaced (Bradbury 1998) Because of the lack of adequate representation within government, Nuba people found themselves within the SPLM/A as well fighting for their self-autonomy with the South Sudanese (De Alessi 2013). In a post-independence society, people of the Nuba have faced acts of genocide and ethnocide by Muslim Arabs who have infiltrated the region.

this to be true. He said to me: “Yes, there is division, but there are people who look into different ways for us to be Sudanese together and forget about what has happened in the past.”

4.3. Sudanese Revolution and de-ethnicization of the Sudanese Diaspora

On December 19, 2018, protests took over the city of Atbara protesting the rising costs of bread and fuel. Instantly, Sudanese Americans in Greensboro took to WhatsApp and social media expressing their concern and their support of Sudan. Nine days later, on December 28, 2018, the Sudanese community in Greensboro hosted the first of many demonstrations in support of Sudan in downtown Greensboro. At the start of the Revolution, participation was low. One community member described demonstrations this way:

At first, the demonstrations were very weak. We would come and it would only be six of us carrying posters and standing. Slowly, as enthusiasm for the Revolution increased and the sit-in happened in Sudan, then the number of people began to increase. People started to come out in larger numbers. We used to stand in downtown Greensboro on the intersection of Market & Eugene. At one point, we marched to Lebauer Park and there was a large event one day for Blue for Sudan in which everybody wore blue and it was so beautiful.

People would come out and protest with posters and chant key Revolution chants such as “*tasgut bas!*” or “fall, that’s all!” asking for the regime of Omar Al-Bashir to step down from power. Many respondents mentioned the WhatsApp groups that were created in support of the Revolution for people that were committed to planning demonstrations, creating donation pages, and overall informing people of what was happening in Sudan. Since the first demonstration in December 2018, Greensboro became home to at least six known demonstrations led by Sudanese community members. The largest of these was on June 30th, 2019. Al-Bashir stepped down on

April 11, 2019 but was replaced with people from his regime, which of course was not enough to Sudanese in Sudan and outside. While Sudanese across the globe celebrated the removal of al-Bashir, they also knew there was work that needed to continue in order to ensure a real civilian-led government, as seen in the one word chant that led the Revolution, “*Madaniya!*”, or “civilian!” demanding a civilian-led government.

June 30, 2019 marks the 30-year anniversary of the military coup led by al-Bashir in 1989 that lasted for 30 years, which is why this day was chosen as the day for “*al-milyoonia*”, or the Millions March and it was meant for Sudanese people all across the globe to come out and protest the continued military regime. The Sudanese community in Greensboro hosted their own right here. On this day, Sudanese from all across North Carolina came to participate. Participants met at the Independence Center on the corner of W. Market st and Eugene st in Downtown Greensboro. Like the earlier quote mentioned, the event was also known as #BlueforSudan for diasporas worldwide. #BlueforSudan was a campaign that began on social media in solidarity with Sudan and in honor of those that died for the Revolution, specifically one victim, Mohamed Mattar, who’s favorite color was blue. On this day, participants came out to downtown Greensboro all wearing blue and marching from the Independence Center to Lebauer Park where there were music performances, speakers including youth, allies, and city council members.

Out of the 20 people that were interviewed for this study, 18 people participated in demonstrations in support of Sudan, regardless of tribal or ethnic affiliation. For example, one South Sudanese male that I interviewed stated that: “Whatever is affecting your neighbor is affecting you. So what is happening in Sudan is also happening to South Sudan.” Other participants gave several reasons for their participation. The majority stated the simple fact that they are Sudanese and want to support their people and their country: “Why did I participate?

Because I am Sudanese. I have the feeling of wanting to support my country and make it better.” Others participated because they felt like it was the least they could do since there were people risking their lives everyday in the front lines:

I feel like this is my duty and this is the most simple thing I could do to support my brothers and sisters in Sudan in the streets taking bullets and facing all of the harm in their faces and I still feel like at the end of the day I’m not doing anything compared to what they are doing but this is what I could do at that time.

Everyone that participated found that their participation, and diaspora support in general, was crucial to the success of the Revolution; the diaspora was able to bring attention to what was happening in Sudan by utilizing social media and news media, creating petitions, making trips to DC and marching from Capitol Hill to The White House. The Greensboro community made two trips to Washington D.C. during the Revolution (along with other diaspora communities across the US). They found that this was important because if they could get to the White House, they could bring attention and generate more support for Sudan. One female participant described it this way:

I see America as the world police. Somehow, they are because if you look, other countries are fearful of America. So, when people go to the White House, it’s just like you’re going to the police department to report a crime. And that’s exactly what we did, we reported a crime.

Virtually every person that I interviewed found that the Revolution had some kind of impact on ethnic and tribal divisions in the Sudanese community, except for Osman, a man who identifies as Zaghawa from the western part of Sudan, better known as Darfur. Osman did not see that ethnic division existed in the Sudanese community, anyway. Eight people used the phrase

“*al thawra wahadat al nas*”, “the Revolution united people”, and others used some variant of the word, ‘*tawhid*’, or ‘oneness’ to describe the Revolution’s impact on the Sudanese community. Fatima, a 37 year old female from northern Sudan, thought the Revolution changed how people interacted with one another since now people were all coming out for one goal. Fatima noticed that at the demonstrations in downtown Greensboro, she saw people that she didn’t used to see at events or community gatherings but coming out to these demonstrations meant that they were coming out for Sudan and she wasn’t alone in this thought. Aziz, a 64 year old man who identifies with the Bedaria tribe from northern Sudan, said: “The revolution wasn’t about you go protest by yourself and I go protest about myself, it was all of us going out together. Us Sudanese, misfortunes unite us.” This is important because it illustrates that people are now coming out for a common goal, and that is the hope of a better Sudan; Hassan, a 54 year old man from northern Sudan had a similar thought: “the Revolution was kind of a vision for them and for us to see Sudan better and better. It lit the way for us. I mean, we wanted change.”

By coming together in support of their country, Sudanese (inside and outside of Sudan) were challenging the many long years of ethnic and tribal divisions that many associated with the regime of Omar al-Bashir, especially since the split of Sudan happened under his rule along with the ongoing conflict in Darfur. Several respondents explained to me that the al-Bashir’s regime reinforced tribal and ethnic divisions that were created by colonial powers, but the Revolution came to dismantle that. The Revolution opened the eyes of Sudanese to the conflict happening in Darfur that they were unaware of prior; this then led to perhaps one of the biggest changes in the Sudanese community in Greensboro. Sarah, from the Ja’alin tribe in northern Sudan, explained to me that she was completely unaware of the conflict in Darfur, she didn’t realize that there was

what some have argued to be a genocide, and is what is currently one of the charges that former dictator, al-Bashir, is facing from the International Criminal Court (ICC). She said:

We didn't know what was happening in Darfur until the Revolution...the people from the west, you know, they used to say 'you didn't support us and stand with us and now you're saying Darfur this and Darfur that, but they've been killing us for years' and that's when I brought the Holy Quran and swore to them that we didn't have any idea about what was happening in Darfur and our eyes were shut, we didn't see any videos or photos or anything. What the government did in Darfur, we were not aware of. After Darfurians believed me, then it was everyone together at protests, women from Darfur, women from the north, women from the south, we all protested together.

Sarah did not share this sentiment alone. I interviewed six people from western Sudan, or Darfur; three women (one who identifies with the Ta'isha tribe and two who identify with the Fur tribe) and three men (who each identify with the Fur tribe, Zaghawa tribe, and Rizeigat tribe). Osman is a 51 year old man who identifies with the Zaghawa tribe and was one of the people who did not see ethnic/tribal division happening in Greensboro, and therefore, did not see that the Revolution had any impact. Alia is a 39 year old female who identifies with the Fur tribe and agrees with the fact that many Sudanese were unaware of what was happening in Darfur. She says:

A lot of people before, here and in Sudan, had a very dangerous way of thinking. Even people I used to sit and socialize with would say to me, for example, 'This didn't happen in Sudan, no one was killed in Darfur.' But, you know after they saw what happened during the demonstrations in Sudan where people were killed, people were convinced. I know people personally who were not convinced anything was happening in Darfur. You

know we had a lot of problems in Darfur. They were killing us with airstrikes and no one would believe us. They'd say "Really? That's happening in the west?" They didn't believe it. They didn't believe it until people were murdered in demonstrations during the Revolution and everyone was a witness through social media and then suddenly they said "Wow how can this happen?" and we said to them "This is just a small model of what has been happening in Darfur". People were finally convinced that stuff like this could happen in Sudan. Before, people wouldn't sympathize with us. People were killed, there were massacres. People didn't want to believe it happened to us. But now, a lot of women I know here believe me and they agree that we struggled. People's thoughts changed totally.

This was one of the clear impacts of the Revolution that contributed to the de-ethnicization process of the Sudanese community in Greensboro. Before, Darfurians did not feel heard or seen by other Sudanese. So, some of them isolated themselves from the community. The Revolution, for one, allowed people to see the reality of what was happening in Darfur and what people were experiencing. Secondly, the Revolution was a reason for people to go and knock on the doors of known Darfurians in the community in an attempt to get them to participate in the community. Abdo explained that the Revolution broke down the barriers between ethnicities and tribes. He said:

During the revolution, we would go knock on the doors of people from Darfur and bring them out to protests and demonstrations with us. This started the breaking of tribalism, we began it during the revolution...and people saw us chanting "*ya ansoori ya maghroor; kul al balad Darfur!*"

“Ya ansoori ya maghroor, kul al balad Darfur!” was one of the most popular chants in the Sudanese Revolution translating to “You arrogant racist, the whole country is Darfur!” addressing al-Bashir who was known to have exploited tribal and ethnic divisions in Sudan. This chant was incredibly significant because for what seems to be the first time, northern Sudanese were showing clear solidarity with those in Darfur. Amna said that prior to the Revolution, people never defended Darfur or stood up to the government against human rights violations in Darfur. She said to me:

The people who didn't know about the war happening in Darfur now know about it. People in Darfur were dying, but no one knew-from the north, south, no one because there was no equipment to take pictures or videos to show people what's happening in Darfur, how things were being burned down, how people were dying. Now, finally when there's shots being fired and killings happening in central Sudan in Khartoum, Darfurians are speaking up and saying ‘We have been struggling for more than 20 years and no one has ever stood up against the government because it's killing your brothers and sisters in Darfur. No one.’ But now people from central Sudan feel what we feel and believe that Darfurians have truly been oppressed for all these years. They have been tortured and killed but they didn't have support. It wasn't until the UN came in and took pictures and videos of Darfur that people began to see the struggle that Darfurians were going through.

This was central to the Revolution since it shows the unification of people during this time. The Revolution brought these things to light for Sudanese people who were otherwise unaware of them. By addressing al-Bashir directly with the chant, Sudanese across the globe were illustrating a united front in order to remove him from power. Although before, some of my

respondents weren't aware of the conflict in Darfur, they were now feeling a sense of shared responsibility to end it and one of the ways to end it was to lead a successful revolution that would remove al-Bashir and his entire regime.

4.4. Diaspora organizations and de-ethnicization process

Sudan House Global Corporation, or Bayt Al Sudan, was formed in 2016 and is a local 501(c)(3) community association that is home to about 813 Sudanese community members, as of September 2022. The mission of the organization is as follows:

The Sudan House Global Corporation is an organization built on cultural bridging, providing services dedicated to serve and help American and immigrant communities of Sudanese and African descent in Greensboro and its surrounding areas to better integrate and prosper.

When asked about their involvement in the Sudanese community in general, all 20 respondents mentioned their involvement (or lack thereof) with Sudan House. Respondents answered in one of three ways:

1. They are heavily involved with Sudan House,
2. Partially involved time permitting,
3. Not involved

14 people expressed that they are heavily involved with Sudan House. This looks different depending on who I asked; some people served/are serving on the executive committee of it, some are active volunteers with the organization, and some identify themselves as core founding members of the organization. To explain her reasoning for being an active member of Sudan House, Nafissa, a 52 year old woman who identifies as part of the Ja'alin tribe from northern Sudan, said:

Well of course, the Sudanese *jalia*, to us, is a kind of support system for our community, in both happy times and sad times. It's no surprise that we love to be active in it. You know a person, depending on their ability, wants to participate in the social events of the *jalia*.

According to Abusharaf (2002), a *jalia* is a community association which “Sponsors events that preserve the cultural world of Sudanese and counter their experience of racialization, downward mobility, and peripheralization as newcomers from the developing world” (138). Sudan House is a *jalia*, among many of the ones that were attempted in the past in Greensboro. Sudan House is the most successful one, according to one of the respondents, due to the fact that members of the executive committees have made efforts to reach out to historically marginalized Sudanese tribes and ethnicities and include them in the community.

Five of my respondents expressed that they are only active in Sudan House (and the Sudanese community as a whole) if their time permits. Ali, a 62 years old man who identifies with the Nuba tribe from the Nuba Mountains, said that most of the events/meetings/etc that are held by Sudan House are typically done on the weekend and he works during the weekends. Otherwise, he tries to be active in the group chats and help out where he can if he can. This was the case for the other four people; they would participate in events and volunteer with the association if these aligned with their schedules as employees, students, parents, spouses, etc. Lastly, Amna reflected on the question and said that she used to be somewhat active in Sudan House and WhatsApp group chats associated with it, but she experienced what she describes as racism and since then she has chosen to take a step back and keep more to herself.

One respondent, Hassan, sees Sudan House as the future of de-ethnicization within the Sudanese community in Greensboro. One of the main goals of the organization since its

formation was to purchase or build a community center because it is seen as something that will unite the Sudanese community. Hassan agrees with this goal and believes that once it is attained, talk of tribal and ethnic identity and division will significantly decrease, if not completely removed from within the community. He says:

I think Bayt al Sudan united people more than anything. The goal is to bring people together. If you notice, everything we (executive members of Sudan House) do, it brings everyone. You know, when we get our 'house' (community center), it will change everything and bring everyone together too. There will be discussions, conversations, prayers, parties, everything will be there. Now, people are divided and separated, but when there is one thing to unite everyone, like Sudan the country, things will change. I mean Bayt Al Sudan will be like a smaller Sudan here.

When looking at the organization's website and reviewing its goals and mission, there is no mention of an intent to unite Sudanese or rid the Sudanese mentality of tribalism or racism. But even though it doesn't say it explicitly, there are people who find that Sudan House is actively working towards this. As Hassan said above, Sudan House plans regular events for the community and these are open for the public. Several respondents mention the biggest annual event that Sudan House hosts called '*alyawm al usri*' or 'family day', which is known to gather the largest number of Sudanese than any other event.

The organization is also said to make conscious efforts to practice complete inclusivity, including gathering people for revolution demonstrations. Asim is a 62 years old man who identifies with the Rikabia tribe from northern Sudan. When reflecting on his thoughts on ethnic divisions in Greensboro Sudanese community, he explains that he sees the Darfurian community here *chooses* to isolate themselves from the larger Sudanese community (others have expressed

this same perspective) and have *'hasasiya'*, or sensitivity, about merging with the community.

But, to remedy this, Asim says:

Sudan House tries to bring them closer. They go to them, they call them and sometimes they'll become a part, but some still don't want to join the community. We want them to be with us and see there's no difference between us and them. I mean, we're all in *ghorba* together and may God protect us in our *ghorba*. Any misfortune that befalls someone here, you have to find someone to stand with you and at least when we're all together it's better for us than to be separated so we can stand with one another, support one another until we see our country again. I hope that we can become one big community and that Darfurians believe that we're not any different.

But, one cannot mistake Sudan House as a stand alone process. The diaspora association played an immense role in the mobilization of Sudanese Americans in Greensboro, NC. A former member of the executive committee of the diaspora association reminisced on how he and other committee members went knocking on doors to mobilize people for upcoming protests, marches, and other demonstrations. Through the association, there were already pre-existing group chats that housed the Sudanese community. There are four groups in total related to Sudan House. There is one large group for the entire community, one group for men only, a group for all women, and a group for youth ages 16-30 years old.¹⁹ During the period of the revolution, the groups were incredibly active in mobilizing people to attend demonstrations, donate, and post infographics and fliers on social media.

¹⁹ These are the four primary groups associated with Sudan House; there are other supplementary groups that come up as needed, for example: the COVID Relief group that was created for Sudanese doctors in Greensboro and other community volunteers to educate the community on COVID-19 and provide support to those who were known to test positive.

In addition to this, two respondents, Ali and Bashir, mentioned during my interviews with them that during the revolution period, Sudanese politics was all that people talked about in Sudan House. When speaking with the president of the community association during the time of the revolution, he expressed that it was important for the organization to not be heavily involved in the politics of the revolution due to being a non-profit organization and being an organization that represents all Sudanese, regardless of political affiliation, ethnicity or tribe, etc. But he echoed what was mentioned earlier. Sudan House gave people a ‘platform’, as he puts it, to set up donation and fundraising pages in and events, share their political opinions without fear of being ostracized. The organization can be said to be propelling de-ethnicization within the community, but to refer to an earlier argument I made, existing ethnic diversity and cooperation in the *jalia* enabled collective mobilization among the diaspora community during the Sudanese Revolution, which in turn, affected the national identity formation.

In addition to this, one respondent, Abdo, shares that the current committee of Sudan House (elected in May 2021) is the most diverse of the committees since the organization's inception. He says that this is one of the clear examples of what the revolution left behind; he says blatantly: “If it wasn’t for the revolution, we wouldn't see the diversity in the committee for Bayt al Sudan now.” He attributes this to the outreach and mobilization done with historically marginalized groups, specifically those from Darfur, during the revolution.

Abdo also states that the revolution was the first thing to unite Sudanese people in Greensboro and from there, more people began joining the organization. This serves to be true based on my conversation with the former president of the organization. He shared with me a chart which shows that April, May, and June 2019 all had increased numbers of new members in each month; more than any other month since the original 134 members in August of 2016.

These months are reflective of the fall of Al-Bashir, Ramadan and *iftars* done for the revolution, and the June 30 ‘Millions March’. From this one can deduce that yes, Sudan House is instrumental in uniting the Sudanese community in Greensboro, but not without the help of the revolutionary movement.

4.5. De-ethnicization and civil society

The same can be said about other forms of civil society, informal or formal. Civil society also plays a role in the de-ethnicization process based on the experiences of some of my respondents. Every single one of my respondents, regardless of their involvement (and level of involvement) in the diaspora organization, mention their engagement with the Sudanese community through other forms of informal civil society. All 20 of the respondents pointed to social networks as something that contributes to de-ethnicization in the Greensboro Sudanese community. Some social networks that respondents cited were religious groups/the mosque, families, circles of friends, businesses, and athletic teams, specifically soccer teams. All of these social networks served as platforms for the revolution to thrive in Greensboro and thus further affecting national identity formation within the diaspora. For example, Sahar identifies civil society as instrumental in mobilizing for the revolution; she says:

Little by little, because of the Revolution, our holidays, our events, everything became one. Everything became about the Revolution. If we celebrated *Eid*, we were celebrating the Revolution, if we were doing a community *iftar*, we were doing an *iftar* for the Revolution. So because of this, for the first time, Sudanese people here found one thing to bring them all together. We now see a community that is cohesive and I think we’re going in the direction of one day completely forgetting the idea of tribalism and ethnicity.

During the period of the revolution, everything in Sudan became about the revolution and this happened in Sudanese diaspora communities across the globe. To echo what Sahar said, I remember Eid al-Fitr in June 2019 and after the Eid prayer at the Greensboro Coliseum, Sudanese individuals stood on the corner of W. Gate City Blvd and Patterson St. chanting revolutionary chants with posters bringing attention to what is happening in Sudan. This further adds to Sahar's point that religious celebrations became about the revolution, everything became about the revolution which further impacted national identity formation.

Through civil society, specifically informal civil society, community members are able to build relationships and smaller communities, such as a sports community. Abraham, the gentleman from South Sudan that I interviewed, shared with me that it is through soccer that he has met other Sudanese from different tribal identities and integrated with them. He says:

I play soccer here and I've met a lot of Sudanese people through that. Sudanese always come together for soccer, they even have a big national tournament every year. That brings people together, whether they are north Sudanese or south Sudanese.

He continues to explain that soccer, and sports in general, is a great way to bring people together because of how people are coming together for one goal and building a team. This could also be applied to mobilization for the revolution in the sense that the goal for everyone became one. These informal gatherings of people were ethnically diverse and illustrated ethnic cooperation among Sudanese and this, in turn, led to increased mobilization during the Sudanese Revolution which impacted national identity formation.

CHAPTER V: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the de-ethnicization process within the Sudanese American community and the impact of the 2018-2019 Sudanese Revolution on this process. Building on the literature on nationalism, social movements and civil society, I show how Sudanese Revolution affected the feelings of national identity and ethnic relations among Sudanese diaspora in the US. The data suggests that in mobilizing for the Sudanese Revolution, Sudanese Americans were able to cultivate a unified national identity. The revolution was impactful, but not on its own. The data further suggests that institutions and processes such as diaspora organizations and informal civil society aided in building collective action that would later solidify national identity in the diaspora community.

During the transnational movement, which involved protests, demonstrations, meetings, as well as sustained forms of claim-making through networks and organizations, Sudanese Americans formed an identity that went beyond that of their ethnic and tribal affiliations. Based on my in-depth interviews with Sudanese diaspora members, ethnic division that has plagued Sudan for decades has managed to migrate with people as people migrated out of Sudan. Respondents gave different reasons for this: feelings of belonging, similar identities, and collective memory and trauma. But, as the results indicate, the revolution changed this; the majority of respondents noted that the revolution united people. More specifically, the revolution did this in two ways, through identifying one goal for everyone: a better Sudan and shedding light on the conflict that has been happening in Darfur.

These two processes created a sense of shared responsibility that increased mobilization for the revolution, which in turn unified Sudanese diaspora members, as respondents echoed in their statement of “*al thawra wahadat al nas*” (the revolution united people).

Diaspora identity formation by way of transnational movements isn't something specific to the Sudanese people in Greensboro, NC. Literature on diaspora identities points to this same phenomenon in different instances. For example, Egyptians in the UK bonded over a sense of self and belonging after the revolution (Underhill 2019). Diasporas participating in social movements in solidarity with the homeland are part of diasporic politics. The aim of diasporic politics, some scholars argue, is to construct an identity, or an 'imagined community' (Adamson 2008, 2). In the case of the Sudanese diaspora, ethnic groups, relations and national identity were not fixed but transformed over time in response to various social processes, taking on a constructivist approach to identity.

As previously mentioned, the revolution was impactful, but not on its own. The data further suggests that institutions and processes such as diaspora organizations and informal civil society aided in building collective action that would later solidify national identity in the diaspora community. In the previous pages, I have discussed the ways in which a local diaspora organization helped mobilize and build a platform for the Sudanese Revolution and then had increased growth within the association due to unification found in the revolution. The relationship between the Sudanese Revolution and the diaspora organization is interesting due to the fact that the revolution both *impacted* the organization and was *impacted* by it. The organization experienced an increase in participation and diversity in leadership during and after the revolution and the findings indicate that this is because of the de-ethnicization that was propelled by the revolution. The findings also indicate that the organization provided a platform for the revolution to have successful mobilization due to the organization already having a base in Greensboro. As Abusharaf argues in her work, these *jalias*, or community associations that create a community for migrants in their host country (2002). So, it is because of this existing

community formed by Sudan House Global Corporation that that organization was able to mobilize people for the revolution, and in turn affect national identity. The same contention can be held in regards to informal civil society. Just like the *jalia*, informal civil society provided a pre-existing community for diaspora members. Diaspora members were then able to take advantage of these and mobilize and promote the revolution. The findings suggest that existing ethnic diversity and cooperation in these civil society organizations (both formal and informal) enabled collective mobilization among the diaspora community during the Sudanese Revolution, which in turn, affected the national identity formation.

In earlier pages, I explained a gap in literature about Sudanese migration and diaspora identity formation. Scholars have previously focused on the individual feeling of loneliness, or *ghorba*, to explain the collective identity that is formed within diaspora communities. While I did find this to be also true, there was more to national identity formation within the Sudanese American community in Greensboro, NC. My study aims to fill in this gap by having investigated the role of an event in the home country, the 2018-2019 revolution, on the de-ethnicization process among the Sudanese diaspora in the US. The Sudanese diaspora, in my case study, serves as a case of how domestic upheaval produces identity formation. Due to the fact that the Sudanese revolution is relatively young, there is not a lot of academic research yet done on the subject and there are many lenses of which one could study the revolution from. With that being said, this research adds to a lack of work on the Sudanese revolution.

This study identified the ways in which the Sudanese Revolution challenged generations of division and conflict and fostered national identity. While this study provided insight into Sudanese Americans' experiences with identity, revolution, and ethnic division, it is a small sample and limited to one diaspora community. Future research could perhaps include a larger

sample in the diaspora or go beyond the diaspora and look internally in Sudan and determine if this relationship between social movement mobilization and national identity formation persists.

Finally, to end, the 2018-2019 Sudanese Revolution brought people of different tribal and ethnic backgrounds together due to a shared goal: a better Sudan. The initial protests in Atbara, Sudan began as a way to fight against the decades of political, social, and economic decline and instability. Since the revolution, a successful democratic transition has yet to happen. But, the revolution has started a process that may create a more inclusive national identity in Sudan, whose impact is also visible on the diaspora community as well.

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APPENDIX A: ENGLISH RECRUITMENT FLIER

FOR MY SOCIOLOGY MASTERS THESIS, I AM CONDUCTING A STUDY ON THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY IN DIASPORA COMMUNITIES, SPECIFICALLY IN THE SUDANESE AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN GREENSBORO, NC.

I AM LOOKING TO INTERVIEW SUDANESE AMERICANS IN GREENSBORO WHO MIGRATED TO THE US AT THE AGE OF 18 YEARS OR OLDER AND WERE PRESENT IN GREENSBORO BEFORE THE START OF THE SUDANESE REVOLUTION IN DECEMBER 2018.

IF YOU WOULD LIKE TO PARTICIPATE, PLEASE RESPOND TO THIS MESSAGE INFORMING ME. IF YOU KNOW ANYONE ELSE WHO YOU THINK WOULD BE INTERESTED, PASS THIS MESSAGE ALONG TO THEM AND THEY CAN REACH ME VIA WHATSAPP AT (336) [REDACTED]

THE INTERVIEW WILL TAKE APPROXIMATELY ONE HOUR AND WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL. ALIASES WILL BE USED DURING THE WRITING PROCESS.

**THANK YOU,
YATHRIP ABDELGADIR**

في سعي للحصول على رسالة الماجستير في علم الاجتماع، أقوم بإجراء دراسة حول تكوين الهوية القومية والعرقية في مجتمعات الشتات ، وتحديدًا في المجتمع السوداني الأمريكي في جرينسبورو ، نورث كارولاينا.

أتطلع إلى مقابلة سودانيين أميركيين في جرينسبورو ممن هاجروا إلى الولايات المتحدة في سن **18** عامًا فما فوق وكانوا موجودين في جرينسبورو قبل بدء الثورة السودانية في ديسمبر **2018**.

إذا كنت ترغب في المشاركة ، يرجى اعلامي بالرد على هذه الرسالة. إذا كنت تعرف أي شخص آخر تعتقد أنه سيكون مهتمًا ، فمرر هذه الرسالة إليهم ويمكنهم التواصل معي عبر **WHATSAPP AT (314) [REDACTED]**

ستستغرق المقابلة حوالي ساعة وستبقى سرية. سيتم استخدام أسماء مستعارة أثناء عملية الكتابة

شكرًا لكم
يثر ب مكابي عبد القادر

APPENDIX C: ENGLISH ADULT CONSENT FORM
UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT GREENSBORO

CONSENT TO ACT AS A HUMAN PARTICIPANT

Project Title: “Who are we? Sudanese!”: Sudanese Revolution and National Identity Formation within the Sudanese American Diasporic Community

Principal Investigator and Faculty Advisor: Yathrip Abdelgadir & Sefika Kumral

Participant's Name:

What are some general things you should know about research studies?

You are being asked to take part in a research study. Your participation in the study is voluntary. You may choose not to join, or you may withdraw your consent to be in the study, for any reason, without penalty.

Research studies are designed to obtain new knowledge. This new information may help people in the future. There may not be any direct benefit to you for being in the research study. There also may be risks to being in research studies. If you choose not to be in the study or leave the study before it is done, it will not affect your relationship with the researcher or the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Details about this study are discussed in this consent form. It is important that you understand this information so that you can make an informed choice about being in this research study.

You will be given a copy of this consent form. If you have any questions about this study at any time, you should ask the researchers named in this consent form. Their contact information is below.

What is the study about?

This is a research project. Your participation is voluntary. My research is on identity, ethnic division, and diasporic communities. Through my conversation with you and other participants, I intend to address the question: How did the Sudanese Revolution change the relations between ethnic groups and foster the national identity formation among the Sudanese diaspora in the US and what is this new identity that arises? In posing this question I will investigate the role of the 2018-2019 Sudanese Revolution, organizational structures, and civil society in the formation of identity. To be able to answer this question, I will be conducting these interviews with you and other members of the Sudanese community in Greensboro, NC to gain insight into how identity is formed.

Why are you asking me?

You have been selected because you are a member of the Sudanese American diaspora in Greensboro, NC. You migrated to the US at the age of 18 years or older and you were present in Greensboro, NC before the start of the Revolution in December 2018.

What will you ask me to do if I agree to be in the study?

For this study, you will be asked to participate in an interview with me that will last no longer than an hour. I will ask you questions about your involvement in the diaspora, the Revolution, and your identity.

Is there any audio/video recording?

To make sure that I am fully present in our conversation, I would like to audio tape our conversation today. For your information, only I will have access to the recording which will be eventually destroyed after it is transcribed. Because your voice will be potentially identifiable by anyone who hears the recording, your confidentiality for things you say on the recording cannot be guaranteed although the researcher will try to limit access to the recording as described below.”

What are the risks to me?

The Institutional Review Board at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro has determined that participation in this study poses minimal risk to participants.

If you have questions, want more information or have suggestions, please contact (Yathrip Abdelgadir AND Sefika Kumral, who may be reached at(336) 000-0000 and (336) 334-5609 or ymabdelg@uncg.edu and s_kumral@uncg.edu.

If you have any concerns about your rights, how you are being treated, concerns or complaints about this project or benefits or risks associated with being in this study please contact the Office of Research Integrity at UNCG toll-free at (855)-251-2351.

Are there any benefits to society as a result of me taking part in this research?

As a part of your participation, my study may have the result of explaining how identities form within diaspora communities.

Are there any benefits to *me* for taking part in this research study?

There are no direct benefits to participants in this study.

Will I get paid for being in the study? Will it cost me anything?

There are no costs to you or payments made for participating in this study.

How will you keep my information confidential?

The data collected for this research study will be stored in a safe drive that will be password protected. All identifiable information about participants will be kept hidden and will not be used in the dissemination of information. All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential unless disclosure is required by law.

Will my de-identified data be used in future studies?

Your de-identified data will be kept indefinitely and may be used for future research without your additional consent.

What if I want to leave the study?

You have the right to refuse to participate or to withdraw at any time, without penalty. If you do withdraw, it will not affect you in any way. If you choose to withdraw, you may request that any of your data which has been collected be destroyed unless it is in a de-identifiable state. The investigators also have the right to stop your participation at any time. This could be because you have had an unexpected reaction, or have failed to follow instructions, or because the entire study has been stopped.

What about new information/changes in the study?

If significant new information relating to the study becomes available which may relate to your willingness to continue to participate, this information will be provided to you.

Voluntary Consent by Participant:

By participating in this interview, you are agreeing that you read, or it has been read to you, and you fully understand the contents of this document and are openly willing to consent to take part in this study. All of your questions concerning this study have been answered. By participating in this interview, you are agreeing that you are 18 years of age or older and are agreeing to participate in this study described to you by Yathrip Abdelgadir.

APPENDIX D: ARABIC ADULT CONSENT FORM

جامعة نورث كارولينا في جرينسبورو

الموافقة على المشاركة كعنصر بشري

عنوان المشروع: "من نحن؟ سوداني!" : الثورة السودانية وتشكيل الهوية الوطنية داخل الجالية السودانية الأمريكية في الشتات

الباحث الرئيسي ومستشار الكلية: يثرب عبد القادر وسفيقة كومرال

اسم المشترك:

ما هي بعض الأشياء العامة التي يجب أن تعرفها عن الدراسات البحثية؟

يطلب منك المشاركة في دراسة بحثية. مشاركتك في الدراسة طوعية. يمكنك اختيار عدم الانضمام ، أو يمكنك سحب موافقتك على أن تكون في الدراسة ، لأي سبب من الأسباب ، من غير عواقب.

تم تصميم الدراسات البحثية للحصول على معرفة ومعلومات جديدة. قد تساعد الناس في المستقبل. قد لا يكون هناك أي فائدة مباشرة لك لوجودك في الدراسة البحثية. وقد تكون هناك مخاطر للتواجد في هذه الدراسات. إذا اخترت عدم المشاركة في الدراسة أو ترك الدراسة قبل إجرائها ، فلن يؤثر ذلك على علاقتك بالباحث أو جامعة نورث كارولينا في جرينسبورو. تتم مناقشة تفاصيل هذه الدراسة في نموذج الموافقة هذا. من المهم أن تفهم هذه المعلومات حتى تتمكن من اتخاذ قرار مستنير بشأن مشاركتك في هذه الدراسة البحثية.

سوف تحصل على نسخة من نموذج الموافقة هذا. إذا كان لديك أي أسئلة حول هذه الدراسة في أي وقت ، فيجب أن تسأل الباحثين المذكورين في نموذج الموافقة هذا. معلومات الاتصال الخاصة بهم أدناه.

ما هو مضمون هذه الدراسة؟

هذا مشروع بحثي ومشاركتك فيها طوعية. بحثي حول الهوية والانقسام العرقي ومجتمعات الشتات. من خلال حديثي معك ومع المشاركين الآخرين ، أعتزم طرح السؤال التالي: كيف غيرت الثورة السودانية العلاقات بين المجموعات العرقية وعززت تكوين الهوية الوطنية بين السودانيين في الشتات في الولايات المتحدة وما هي هذه الهوية الجديدة التي نشأت؟ في طرح هذا السؤال سأبحث عن دور الثورة السودانية 2018-2019 ، والهياكل التنظيمية ، والمجتمع المدني في تشكيل الهوية. لكي أتمكن من الإجابة على هذا السؤال ، سأجري هذه المقابلات معك ومع أعضاء آخرين من المجتمع السوداني في جرينسبورو ، نورث كارولينا لاكتساب نظرة ثاقبة حول كيفية تشكيل الهوية.

لماذا أنت تسألني؟

لقد تم اختيارك لأنك عضو في الشتات السوداني الأمريكي في جرينسبورو ، نورث كارولينا. لقد هاجرت إلى الولايات المتحدة في سن 18 عامًا فما فوق وكنت موجودًا في جرينسبورو بولاية نورث كارولينا قبل بدء الثورة في ديسمبر 2018.

ماذا ستطلب مني أن أفعل إذا وافقت على المشاركة في الدراسة؟

بالنسبة لهذه الدراسة ، سيطلب منك المشاركة في مقابلة معي لن تستمر أكثر من ساعة. سأطرح عليك أسئلة حول انخراطك في الشتات والثورة وهويتك.

هل يوجد أي تسجيل صوتي / فيديو؟

للتأكد من أنني حاضر تمامًا في محادثتنا ، أود تسجيل محادثتنا اليوم على شريط صوتي. لمعلوماتك ، ساكون انا الشخص الوحيد الذي يتعامل مع هذا التسجيل. نظرًا لأنه من المحتمل أن يتم التعرف على صوتك من قبل أي شخص يسمع التسجيل ، فلا يمكن ضمان سرينك للأشياء التي تقولها في التسجيل على الرغم من أن الباحث سيحاول تقييد الوصول إلى التسجيل كما هو موضح أدناه.

ما هي المخاطر بالنسبة لي؟

قرر مجلس المراجعة المؤسسية بجامعة نورث كارولينا في جرينسبورو أن المشاركة في هذه الدراسة تشكل خطرًا ضئيلاً على المشاركين.

إذا كانت لديك أسئلة أو تريد مزيدًا من المعلومات أو لديك اقتراحات ، فيرجى الاتصال بالاتية اسماؤهم -

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إذا كانت لديك أية مخاوف بشأن حقوقك ، أو كيفية معاملتك ، أو مخاوف أو شكاوى حول هذا المشروع أو الفوائد أو المخاطر المرتبطة بالتواجد في هذه الدراسة ، فيرجى الاتصال بمكتب نزاهة البحث في على الرقم المجاني UNCG (855) -251- 2351.

هل هناك أي فوائد للمجتمع نتيجة مشاركتي في هذا البحث؟

كجزء من مشاركتك ، قد تكون دراستي مؤديه لشرح كيفية تشكل الهويات داخل مجتمعات الشتات

هل هناك أي فوائد بالنسبة لي من المشاركة في هذه الدراسة البحثية؟

لا توجد فوائد مباشرة للمشاركين في هذه الدراسة

هل سأحصل على أموال مقابل مشاركتي في الدراسة أم أن هناك أي تكاليف؟

لا توجد تكاليف عليك أو مدفوعات مقابل المشاركة في هذه الدراسة

كيف ستحافظ على سرية معلوماتي؟

سيتم تخزين البيانات التي تم جمعها لهذه الدراسة البحثية في محرك أقراص آمن محمي بكلمة مرور. سيتم إخفاء جميع المعلومات التي يمكن تحديدها عن المشاركين ولن يتم استخدامها في نشر المعلومات. جميع المعلومات التي تم الحصول عليها في هذه الدراسة سرية للغاية ما لم يكن الكشف عنها مطلوبًا بموجب القانون

هل سيتم استخدام بياناتي غير المحددة للهوية في الدراسات المستقبلية؟

سيتم الاحتفاظ ببياناتك غير المحددة للهوية إلى أجل غير مسمى ويمكن استخدامها للبحث في المستقبل دون موافقتك الإضافية

ماذا لو كنت أرغب في ترك الدراسة؟

يحق لك رفض المشاركة أو الانسحاب في أي وقت من غير عواقب. إذا انسحبت ، فلن يؤثر عليك بأي شكل من الأشكال. إذا اخترت الانسحاب ، فيمكنك طلب إتلاف أي من بياناتك التي تم جمعها ما لم تكن في حالة عدم تحديد الهوية. يحق للمحققين أيضًا إيقاف مشاركتك في أي وقت. قد يكون هذا بسبب تعرضك لرد فعل غير متوقع ، أو فشلت في اتباع التعليمات ، أو بسبب توقف الدراسة بأكملها

ماذا عن المعلومات الجديدة / التغييرات في الدراسة؟

إذا توفرت معلومات جديدة مهمة تتعلق بالدراسة والتي قد تتعلق برغبتك في الاستمرار في المشاركة ، فسيتم توفير هذه المعلومات لك.

الموافقة الطوعية من قبل المشارك

من خلال المشاركة في هذه المقابلة، فإنك توافق على أنك قرأت ، أو تمت قراءته لك ، وأنك تفهم تمامًا محتويات هذا المستند وترغب في ذلك علنًا الموافقة على المشاركة في هذه الدراسة. تم الرد على جميع أسئلتك المتعلقة بهذه الدراسة. من خلال التوقيع على هذا النموذج ، فإنك توافق على أن عمرك 18 عامًا أو أكثر وتوافق على المشاركة ، في هذه الدراسة التي وصفتها لك ينرب عبد القادر

APPENDIX E: ENGLISH INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

To make sure that I am fully present in our conversation, I would like to audio tape our conversation today. Please sign the release form. For your information, only I will have access to the recording which will be eventually destroyed after it is transcribed. In addition, you must sign a form devised to meet the human subject requirements. Essentially, this document states that: (1) all information will be held confidential, (2) your participation is voluntary and you may stop at any time if you feel uncomfortable, and (3) I do not intend to inflict any harm. Thank you for agreeing to participate.

I have planned this interview to last no longer than one hour. During this time, I have several questions that I would like to cover. If time begins to run short, it may be necessary to interrupt you in order to push ahead and complete this line of questioning.

You have been selected to speak with me today because you have been identified as someone who belongs to the Sudanese diaspora in Greensboro, NC. My research is on identity, ethnic division, and diasporic communities. Through my conversation with you and other participants, I intend to address the question: how and why the 2018-2019 Sudanese Revolution has fostered national identity building among the diaspora community despite the history of ethnic and religious division and conflict? In posing this question I will investigate the role of the 2018-2019 Sudanese Revolution, organizational structures, and civil society in the formation of identity. To be able to answer this question, I will be conducting these interviews with you and other members of the Sudanese community in Greensboro, NC to gain insight into how identity is formed.

1. Can you state your name and age please?
2. Tell me about your educational background.
3. What does being Sudanese mean to you?
 - a. What does being Sudanese entail?
 - b. What are some important symbols of Sudanese identity?
4. How do you define your ethnicity?
 - a. Explain your ethnic identity in your own words.
5. In the context of being an immigrant to the US, which identity is most important to you-being Sudanese or your ethnic identity?
6. What was your age when you came to the US?
7. Why did you choose to come to the US?
 - a. Explain your journey to the US
8. How has your identification with your ethnic identity and national identity changed as an immigrant?
9. What kind of background knowledge, if any, do you have of ethnic division in Sudan?
Explain in detail the extent of what you know.
 - a. Based on your experience, contribution, and participation in the Sudanese immigrant community in Greensboro, NC, has this ethnic division from back home spilled over into the diasporic community? Explain.
10. What is the extent of your engagement within diaspora organizations, such as Bayt Al-Sudan, and the diaspora community as a whole?
 - a. Has the extent of your engagement changed over time?
 - i. If so, what prompted this change?

11. Upon arriving in the US, explain the level of interaction between yourself and those that don't share your ethnic identity?
 - a. When you lived in Sudan, how did your family view other ethnic groups? Did your family have a lot of interactions with people who didn't share your ethnic identity?
 - i. Did this change when you came to the US?
12. What do you remember about the Sudanese Revolution of 2018-2019?
 - a. What were you hoping would come out of the Revolution?
 - b. Can you explain the events that took place in Greensboro in solidarity with Sudan during this time?
 - c. Did you participate in any protests, demonstrations, marches, fundraising, social media activism during this time? Why or why not?
 - i. How did you come to participate in the marches/protests?
 - d. As a member of the diaspora community, what was the purpose of the diaspora (in Greensboro and otherwise) organizing and participating in demonstrations (and other forms of support) in solidarity with Sudan? Do you think the diaspora was effective? What kinds of things did you see as effective?
13. How do you think the Revolution affected Sudan?
 - a. How do you think it affected the state in terms of ethnic division, if at all?
14. How do you think the Revolution affected the diaspora in Greensboro?
 - a. How do you think the Revolution has changed the way in which you interact with other ethnic groups?

APPENDIX F: ARABIC INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

الملحق أ: استمارة الموافقة على المقابلة

للتأكد من أنني حاضر تمامًا في محادثتنا ، أود تسجيل محادثتنا اليوم على شريط صوتي. يرجى قراءة نموذج الموافقة. لمعلوماتك ، ساكون انا الشخص الوحيد المطلع على محتويات التسجيل وسيتم اتلافه مباشرة. بعد نسخه. بشكل أساسي ، تنص هذه الوثيقة على ما يلي: (1) سيتم الحفاظ على سرية جميع المعلومات ، (2) مشاركتك طوعية ويمكنك التوقف في أي وقت إذا كنت تشعر بعدم الارتياح ، و (3) لا أنوي إلحاق أي ضرر بأي شخص. شكرا لموافقتك على المشاركة. لقد خططت لهذه المقابلة كي لا تستمر أكثر من ساعة واحدة. خلال هذا الوقت ، لدي العديد من الأسئلة التي أود تغطيتها. إذا بدأ الوقت ينفد ، فقد يكون من الضروري مقاطعتك من أجل المضي قدماً وإكمال هذا السطر من الاستجواب.

لقد تم اختيارك للتحدث معي اليوم لأنه تم تحديده كمشخص ينتمي إلى الشتات السوداني في جرينسبورو ، نورث كارولاينا. يتركز هذا البحث حول الهوية والانقسام العرقي ومجتمعات الشتات. من خلال حديثي معك ومع المشاركين الآخرين ، اود طرح السؤال التالي: كيف تبدو عملية إزالة العرق بين المغتربين السودانيين في الولايات المتحدة وما هي هذه الهوية الجديدة التي سوف تنشأ؟ في طرح هذا السؤال سأبحث عن دور الثورة السودانية 2018-2019 ، والهياكل التنظيمية ، والمجتمع المدني في تشكيل الهوية. لكي أتمكن من الإجابة على هذا السؤال ، سأجري هذه المقابلات معك ومع أعضاء آخرين من المجتمع السوداني في جرينسبورو ، نورث كارولاينا لاكتساب نظرة ثاقبة حول كيفية تشكيل الهوية.

الملحق ب - أسئلة المقابلة

هل يمكنك تحديد عمرك من فضلك؟

أخبرني عن خلفيتك التعليمية

ماذا يعني لك أن تكون سودانياً؟

ما هي بعض الرموز المهمة للهوية السودانية؟

كيف تحدد عرقك؟

اشرح هويتك العرقية بأسلوبك الخاص.

في سياق كونك مهاجرًا إلى الولايات المتحدة ، ما هي الهوية الأكثر أهمية بالنسبة لك - كونك سودانيًا أم هويتك العرقية؟

كم كان عمرك عندما أتيت إلى الولايات المتحدة؟

لماذا اخترت المجيء إلى الولايات المتحدة؟

اشرح رحلتك إلى الولايات المتحدة

كيف تغيرت هويتك العرقية وهويتك الوطنية كمهاجر؟

ما هو نوع المعرفة الأساسية ، إن وجدت ، التي لديك عن الانقسام العرقي في السودان؟ اشرح بالتفصيل مدى ما تعرفه

بناءً على خبرتك ومساهماتك ومشاركاتك في مجتمع المهاجرين السودانيين في جرينسبورو ، نورث كارولاينا ، هل امتد هذا

الانقسام العرقي من الوطن إلى مجتمع الشتات؟ اشرح

ما مدى مشاركتك في منظمات الشتات ، مثل بيت السودان ، ومجتمع الشتات ككل؟

هل تغير مدى مشاركتك بمرور الوقت؟

إذا كان الأمر كذلك ، ما الذي دفع هذا التغيير؟

عند وصولك إلى الولايات المتحدة ، اشرح مستوى التفاعل بينك وبين أولئك الذين لا يشاركونك هويتك العرقية؟

عندما كنت تعيش في السودان ، كيف نظرت عائلتك إلى المجموعات العرقية الأخرى؟ هل كان لدى عائلتك الكثير من

التفاعلات مع أشخاص لا يشاركونهم الهوية العرقية؟

هل تغير هذا عندما أتيت إلى الولايات المتحدة؟

ماذا تتذكر عن الثورة السودانية 2018-2019؟

ماذا كنت تأمل أن يخرج من الثورة؟

هل يمكنك شرح الأحداث التي وقعت في جرينسبورو تضامناً مع السودان خلال هذه الفترة؟

هل شاركت في أي احتجاجات أو مظاهرات أو مسيرات أو جمع تبرعات أو نشاط على وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي خلال هذه

الفترة؟ لما و لما لا؟

كيف أتيت للمشاركة في المسيرات / الاحتجاجات؟

كعضو في مجتمع الشتات ، ما هو الغرض من تنظيم الشتات (في جرينسبورو وغيرها) والمشاركة في المظاهرات (وأشكال

الدعم الأخرى) تضامناً مع السودان؟ هل تعتقد أن الشتات كان فعالاً؟ ما أنواع الأشياء التي تراها فعالة؟

كيف تعتقد أن الثورة أثرت على السودان؟

كيف تعتقد أنه أثر على الدولة من حيث الانقسام العرقي ، لو كان هناك تأثيراً؟

كيف أثرت الثورة في اعتقادك على الشتات في جرينسبورو؟

كيف تعتقد أن الثورة قد غيرت الطريقة التي تتفاعل بها مع المجموعات العرقية الأخرى؟