

**The adaptation of South Sudanese Christian refugees in Ottawa,  
Canada: social capital, segmented assimilation and religious  
organization**

**Dissertation submitted towards full completion of the PhD  
degree by:**

**Anton R. Lovink.**

Department of Classics and Religious Studies, University of  
Ottawa.

July 30, 2010

**Supervisor: Dr. Peter Beyer**

External examiner

Dr. Carol Duncan (Wilfrid Laurier University)

Internal Examiners

Dr. Lori Beaman  
Dr. Marie-Françoise Guédon  
Dr. Martin Kalulambi-Pongo

© Anton Lovink, Ottawa, Canada, 2010

## Table of Contents

Preface .....	vi
Chapter 1: Sudan; research methodologies; objectives; interviewee backgrounds; chapter outlines	13
A. Background of the Sudan.....	13
1. Racial and religious divides .....	13
2. The ethnic divides in the Sudan .....	14
3. The influences of Christianity.....	15
4. Gendered effects.....	16
B. Research overview .....	16
1. Background .....	16
2. Objectives .....	18
3. Definitions.....	19
4. Insider/outsider issues as an older, gay White male.....	20
C. Research methodology.....	21
1. Theoretical fields.....	21
2. Race (Black) and gender as key constructs .....	21
3. Research techniques.....	23
<b>D. Interviewees: Background, context.....</b>	<b>26</b>
1. Alew Bwolo .....	26
2. Interviews enabled through Alew Bwolo .....	27
3. Gordon Kur Micah Luala; Introduction to the Dinkas .....	30
<b>4. Interviews with Dinkas enabled through Gordon Luala .....</b>	<b>33</b>
5. Other contacts through St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church.....	35
<b>6. Interviews with leading members of the Sudanese Church in Ottawa.....</b>	<b>36</b>
a. Helena Lino Costa .....	36
b. Five leading males of the Sudanese evangelical church.....	38
c. Sudanese-born young adults focus group.....	41
<b>7. Pastor Joseph Kiirya; Jordan Community Church.....</b>	<b>42</b>
E. Gender, social class analysis, participant-observer process as gay.....	44

F. Participant observation – detailed information .....	46
G. Anglican and Catholic denominational perspectives .....	46
H. Chapter outlines .....	47
Chapter 2 – Literature review: Ethnic and religious history of Sudan; social capital; religion and immigration North America; segmented assimilation; sexual orientation .....	49
A. Introduction.....	49
B. History, culture, religion and ethnic relations in South Sudan .....	50
C. The Sudanese in North America.....	55
D. Religion and immigration in the United States .....	59
E. Religion and immigration in Canada .....	62
F. Social capital literature.....	69
G. Segmented assimilation .....	73
H. Sexual orientation, the African church and its diaspora .....	74
Chapter 3 - Social capital among the South Sudanese in Ottawa .....	77
A. Introduction.....	77
B. Social capital - theoretical framework .....	78
<b>C. Bonding social capital - definitions</b> .....	80
<b>D. Bonding social capital from extended family relationships</b> .....	80
E. South Sudanese ethnic social bonding in Ottawa .....	84
F. The Dinkas in Ottawa.....	88
G. The Dinka language as source of bonding social capital: cultural capital .....	91
H. The lack of a common language for South Sudanese as a base of social capital .....	94
I. Trust and common values as the base of social capital .....	97
<b>J. Religious community as a source of social capital</b> .....	98
<b>K. Bonding social capital among gendered groups</b> .....	100
<b>L. Bridging capital</b> .....	101
<b>M. Bridging to the Kenyan/Ugandan community</b> .....	106
N. Linking social capital to mainstream organizations: the need for a council of elders .....	108
<b>O. Conclusion of chapter</b> .....	110
Chapter 4: Segmented assimilation: gender, age and race lenses .....	112
A. Identity, rights and lenses .....	112
B. Segmented assimilation theory.....	113

1. Convergence .....	114
2. Divergence; race.....	115
3. Selective acculturation or adaptation .....	116
4. Chapter thesis and organization .....	117
C. Gender issues; increased power for women.....	118
1. Sudanese customary law and its evolution .....	118
2. Gender role changes; wives convergence.....	119
3. Consequences for men of changed gender roles .....	124
D. Young adult experiences and perspectives .....	127
1. Daughters.....	129
2. Sons .....	134
3. Identity for both genders.....	137
E. Racialized experiences.....	137
1. Racism in Toronto.....	138
2. Racial analysis in Ottawa as not Toronto .....	139
3. The South Sudanese experience of racism .....	142
F. Conclusion.....	146
Chapter 5: An organizational church for the South Sudanese in Ottawa? .....	148
A. Introduction.....	148
B. The Christian Church in Southern Sudan .....	151
C. Traditional ethnic religion.....	152
1. Dinka world views .....	153
2. Nuer religious expression .....	155
D. History of the Black church in Canada as relevant to the Sudanese .....	156
E. Local Anglican relationships with Sudanese refugees in Ottawa.....	158
F. Catholic relationships with the Sudanese .....	164
G. History of the New Ambassador (South Sudanese) church in Ottawa .....	167
H. Evangelization and Islam for the Sudanese in Ottawa .....	171
I. Bridging to another East African church? .....	175
J. The future of a ‘Sudanese’ church in Ottawa.....	177
K. Combining the Sudanese and Jordan Community Church?.....	181
<b>L. Music as a focus for worship; the role of young adults.....</b>	<b>184</b>

M. Support for church projects in East Africa .....	186
<b>N. Values conflicts for East African-born Christians; ‘homosexuality’ .....</b>	<b>187</b>
O. Homosexuality as universal reality .....	194
P. HIV/AIDS .....	196
Q. Questions for further research: the church for African migrants?.....	201
Chapter 6: Conclusion - Maintained ethnic identity, gender roles and religious organization for the South Sudanese in Ottawa? .....	203
A. Review of dissertation focus .....	203
<b>B. Ethnic identity and its role? .....</b>	<b>203</b>
<b>C. Gendered lives? .....</b>	<b>204</b>
D. Racial discrimination? .....	205
E. The Church for the South Sudanese, and other East African Christians? .....	206
F. Values conflicts?.....	208
G. Further research questions .....	209
Postscript – Initial glimpses of South Sudanese refugees in other second-tier Canadian cities ....	212
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>215</b>
<b>Organizational websites consulted with no author .....</b>	<b>227</b>
Appendix A: Adult questionnaire for interviews with South Sudanese refugees in Ottawa .....	230
Appendix B: Names of those formally interviewed organized by date.....	232
Appendix E – ‘African’ churches in Ottawa (a possible sample).....	236
Appendix F – Political chronology of the Sudan.....	238
Appendix G - Arabic map of the Southern Sudan .....	239

## Preface

I was first baptized as a Christian at the age of 23 in the town of Bawku, more particularly as a Pentecostal in the north-eastern corner of Ghana near the borders with both Togo and Burkino Faso. Before that day I had only sporadically been in a church. My parents could think of “better” things to do on Sundays. My father totally rejected the church and formal religion.

In Ghana, over the next two years, I became conscious both of the power of religion, and the importance of the church and the faith community as the focus of daily life. It provided many structured opportunities for people to be together at least twice a week. The Christian community was the source for meaningful friendships for all members. It was the focus for innumerable events in the lives of individuals and in the life of the community: from births through illnesses; from marriages to baptisms; from birthday celebrations to funerals; for Christian and secular calendar events and more. It was also the place where members could find considerable resources.

However, the language of worship was of a particular ethnicity, Mamprusi. Those of other ethnicities were essentially excluded, unless translation into English was provided.<sup>1</sup> Other ethnicities tended to go to other churches. For example, those of the dominant southern Ghanaian ethnicities, many Ashantis and Gas living in Bawku as the employees of the distant central or regional governments, went to the local Presbyterian church which had a highly educated pastor. In contrast, the Assembly of God Pentecostal church pastor who baptized me was only biblically literate. The Presbyterians had considerable power since at that time, through the Basel Mission, they still partially controlled the hospital in town. The Catholics and Baptists were also active in the region, all appealing to different ethnic groups and/or specific populations. For example, the Catholics were very active among farmers, the Baptists more among the hill people.

I was also very conscious of the power of traditional African religions. Christianity had only come to this part of Africa in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In front of many homes,

---

<sup>1</sup> Translation of sermons was provided to me by the chief hospital laboratory technician who had been educated in English.

especially in villages, and even in town, there were sacrificial altars covered in feathers and dried blood. The power of local healers and religious leaders was well recognized and influenced behaviour in a documentable ways, sometimes inducing illness and even suicide.

As well, Islam in the upper region of Ghana had a strong presence. On Eid, at the end of Ramadan, life in Bawku came to a halt. The merchant class all tended to be Muslim, so that the market was closed on Fridays. At the mid-day prayers at Eid, literally thousands of men prayed together in the main town square. I seldom saw any Muslim women in the street. That evening, the festivities were found throughout town. Wonderful copious meals were provided.

The society was gendered. Men in church worshipped on one side; women on the other. There were no women in leadership positions, even in the Sunday school. All my Ghanaian teaching colleagues at the local secondary school were men. Other than food vendors, as I remember, all merchants were men. All community leaders were men. Admittedly, my 3-year stay in northern Ghana was in the 1970's, but I was back again in Bawku in July, 2000. Both in the church and in the community, I did not notice any difference from a gendered and religious perspective.

The tensions between Christians, Muslims and followers of traditional faiths, as well as between the different ethnic groups in town and regionally were clearly evident, and are one of the continued reasons for ethnic and religious tensions in the north-eastern part of Ghana today.<sup>2</sup>

From all my reading on the Sudan, and my conversations with Sudanese refugee migrants now in Ottawa, the northern Ghanaian context appears not to be significantly different from the religious situation in Southern Sudan today. Both the town of Bawku, Ghana, and the city of Juba, the capital of Southern Sudan, are on the 'fault line' between world religions, Christianity and Islam, as well as between lighter and darker skinned 'black' peoples. This line runs across Africa. Often north of the 10<sup>th</sup> latitude Muslim

---

<sup>2</sup> "Bawku conflict: fifty in court", *The Ghanaian Times*, 09 May, 2008

<http://www.modernghana.com/news/164766/1/bawku-conflict-fifty-in-court.html> accessed July 27, 2009. There are references in the article to the conflict between the Kusasis and the Mamprusis, both religiously divided tribes groups, as well as to the killing of a prominent Muslim businessman.

influence has become politically dominant, whereas South of the line Christian influence, partly the result of European penetration, has tended to become dominant. It is probably also true that around the 10<sup>N</sup> latitude parallel, including Southern Sudan, Islam and Christianity have historically been in direct conflict, also co-existing with traditional religious systems. The local population is totally conscious of the religious and cultural choices that can be made by choosing one of three religious alternatives, or holding the three in balance.

The above analysis and description of my Ghana experience is part of the reason I was so interested in working with the Southern Sudanese population in Ottawa. It can be reasonably argued that the South Sudanese come out of a similar geo-political and religious context to that of northern Ghana. Moreover, from previous experience with the Sudan, through my work as Africa program associate for Church World Service,<sup>3</sup> sending aid to the churches in the Sudan during the first civil war there, I had read and learned quite a lot about the Sudan. I presumed that the Christian refugees from the Sudanese conflict in Canada would be similar to the Ghanaians in their multiple understandings of their Christian faith, while at the same time continuing to be intensely ethnic (tribal) and cultural in their personal identities. The Sudanese would also recognize the powerful influence of Islam and the pervasiveness of racial differences as distinguishing individual and ethnic features.

I also wanted to study the adaptation experience of the Christian Sudanese in Canada because I had spent three intense years teaching language and life skills to many dozens of Muslim Somali adolescents refugees in Ottawa in the early 1990's. I knew how important their Muslim faith and community was for many of these adolescents and their parents. I had experienced some of these Somali-speaking young adults who had abandoned their faith and even their ethnicity, sometimes by associating with other Black groups and occasionally without any community context. Without value systems anchored in cultural and religious belonging, these young people had difficulties academically,

---

<sup>3</sup> Church World Service is the relief and development arm of the ecumenical National Council of Churches in New York. In this capacity, I was administratively responsible for shipments of 'surplus' (PL480) US government food and medical supplies to church agencies in Southern Sudan, largely through the port of Mombasa and by truck through Nairobi to Juba, but also occasionally by air to Juba itself.

socially and emotionally. They often dropped out and had trouble with the law. I also knew from working with other Black migrants, including a Jamaican-born teacher colleague, that police and other teachers were not able to distinguish between various Blacks of different ethnicities and religions. Racism from dominant Canadian society was an impediment to the assured success of some Black migrants to Canada.

When my local Anglican parish in Ottawa, Canada, St. John the Evangelist again sponsored a South Sudanese family in 2002, I therefore jumped at the chance to explore and support the lived experience of African migrants from possibly similar cultures to that of Northern Ghana and that of Somalia. As an English second language high school teacher then, and a former high school teacher in Ghana, I was especially interested in supporting the adaptation of two adolescents in this South Sudanese family. So began my 8 year immersion in the travails of the Sudanese Christian and ethnic communities in Ottawa, the subject of this dissertation.

However, no research and no analysis are entirely objective. The facts chosen, the interviews completed, the observations made, the perspectives offered are always filtered through the eyes of the writer, me. I therefore believe firmly that the filter needs to be thoroughly examined, sometimes equally to the subjects researched.

During my years of living in Africa, and 3-8 blocks from Harlem in New York City, and now teaching Somalis and supporting South Sudanese refugees, I have had to reflect on my being racially White and wealthy studying and working in Black religious and cultural environments. In Ghana, being White was the absolute first thing people noticed about me, connoting both power and wealth. Both in Ghana and on the streets of Harlem, I sometimes felt like I had a dollar sign on my forehead. In Africa and New York City, I was often the target of theft and certainly of begging. I was seen as a source of wealth and sometimes power to access mainstream institutions.

My Whiteness as a symbol of wealth and power, whether real or perceived by the Sudanese community, is not significantly different in Ottawa than in New York City and Ghana. The only exceptions are with relatively upper class, educated and/or wealthy Blacks who have experienced significant power in the Sudan and might return to power, as refugees sometimes do, including some of my Sudanese-born informants, power being defined as the ability to make decisions without necessary reference to others.

Certainly, in 7 years of being in Sudanese meetings, attending church and secular events, my presence as often the only White person was always noticed, and frequently commented upon by those leading or organizing the event. My presence as a White man definitely affected any event I attended.

Perhaps equally, the fact that I am a very tall White male, sometimes perceived as an 'alpha male', influenced the way people responded to me, both males and females. Many males saw me as an influence that had to be recognized. I was perhaps even seen as a threat by some men. Some women really enjoyed talking to me, especially as I sought out their company at social and church events, sometimes to the dismay of males. Generally, males and females did not associate together socially at these events. The dissertation definitely has a gendered perspective, trying to show that the experience of South Sudanese males in Canada is significantly different from that of females. This perspective is obviously coloured by my own maleness.

Finally, the research is also coloured and influenced by my being a committed, quite evangelical Christian Anglican, and also by my being a gay man, publicly fighting very hard for full inclusion of gays and lesbians in the Church. My involvement as a leader in a local gay/lesbian affirming Anglican Church, particularly in a congregation that had sponsored several Sudanese refugees, gave me a lot of credibility. My faith is also very influenced by my evangelical background in the Assemblies of God in Ghana and in Ottawa. However, my being a gay Christian raised many problems, but also provided significant insights.

Before I began the research, I had no intention to reveal my sexual orientation. However, three of my principal informants, Gordon Luaala, Riek Adwok\*<sup>4</sup> and Joseph Kiirya, knew about it from the beginning of my work with them. Others found out through a simple Internet search, my CV circulating or possibly through an incidental comment I inadvertently made. I was often asked why I did not come to church with my wife.

When Jordan Community Church found out that I was gay, and that the pastor of the congregation Joseph Kiirya knew and was willingly working with me, a significant

---

<sup>4</sup> **Please note:** ALL subsequent names with an asterisk \* next to them are aliases for those who did not give the researcher permission to be identified by name in the publication of the research results.

controversy erupted in the congregation. Several leading members of the congregation left. The congregation suffered financially. Somewhat to my dismay, sexuality issues became a part of my research. The reasons are multiple. The current debate in Africa on same-sex marriage within the Anglican Communion is widely covered in the media. The highly visible debate in Canada, and the formal recognition of same-sex marriage by the Canadian government in July, 2005, the year I began my research, contributed to the virulent reaction of some of my informants when they found out that I was gay.

There is nothing that I could have done about my informants discovering my being gay. I only hope that my commitment to the successful future of the Sudanese communities in Canada, as well as the continuing ministry of the Christian church to their needs and that of East Africans in Ottawa generally, will overcome any doubts that the research underpinning this dissertation provides credible insights into the East African refugee and immigrant experience in Ottawa. However, I want to use this preface to apologize to those in the East African churches whose identity and religious faith was threatened or challenged by my presence.

This dissertation, written in late 2009, is also being completed at a time in Canada when the country is coming to recognize that there may be irreconcilable conflicts between the most important and innovative developments in recent Canadian political life: the revolution in individual equality rights including that of gays and lesbians and the multicultural rights of immigrant-origin ethnic groups. Both rights are enshrined in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, but it is probably true that individual rights will be the dominant ethos.

Finally, it is important that I recognize those many individuals who have been most helpful in the research and writing of this dissertation. Most of these individuals who I formally interviewed are listed in Appendix B. This dissertation would not have been possible without the support of these individuals, especially those who spent many hours discussing this research and the many that opened their homes to me as well as countless others who interacted with me informally at dozens of South Sudanese and Jordan Community related event Thank you to all. In particular, the research could not have been completed without the support and friendship of Gordon Kur Luala, Alew Bwolo and (Rev.) Joseph Kiirya. I obviously also could not have completed the long process of the

research for and the writing of this dissertation without the continuous support of my supervisor, Dr. Peter Beyer at the University of Ottawa and of my spouse of 26 years, Alain Lanoix. To so many, I am eternally grateful to so many people for their openness, friendship and support during the last nearly 6 years!

Ottawa, July, 2010

## **Chapter 1: Sudan; research methodologies; objectives; interviewee backgrounds; chapter outlines**

### **A. Background of the Sudan**

#### **1. Racial and religious divides**

The Sudan is the largest country in Africa grouping racially and religiously different peoples, many of whom have never successfully lived together politically in one nation state. According to the first (and only) census of the country at independence in 1956, 113 languages are spoken in the country with there being 175 major ethnic groups. (Jok, 2007, p. 158) Racially, “39% of those surveyed claimed Arab descent; 30% were classified as southerners (African affiliation [as Blacks]).” (Sidahmed, 2005, p. 136) Religiously and politically, a military coup in 1989 brought to power the National Islamic Front (NIF), “crystallizing the trend to preserve the hegemony of the Arab Islamic culture in a diversified society” (p. 52). In 1992, a *jihad* (Islamic holy war) was declared against the southern army, the Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Army (SPLA), “thus projecting the war against rebel citizens [in the South] as a religious war” (p. 53). “The central government’s campaign of “Sudanization” (sic), meaning the imposition of Arabic and Islamic cultural and religious norms on the country’s traditional tribal cultures, was vigorously enforced, sometimes with violence”. (Meyer and Nicholls, 2005, p. 8) A chronology of political events in the Sudan, including the situation in the South and Darfur, compiled by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, is included as Appendix E. (The Republic of Sudan, CBC News online. June 6, 2005).

This chronology documents that the Sudan has been unstable for over 40 years. It states with some authority that there was “factional fighting, economic stagnation and ethnic skirmishes” from 1965 to 1969, followed by a military coup and then by a “hiatus” in the north-south civil war from 1972 to 1982. In 1983, the government of Sudan instituted traditional Islamic law (*sharia*) for the whole country, including for the significantly Christian South. The most difficult period was from 1989 to 1997 when most political refugees left the Sudan, many eventually coming to Canada. The “Machokos Protocol” in 2002 ended Canadian government sponsoring of refugees to Canada. That

protocol was followed in 2005 by the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Southern Peoples' Liberation Movement and the central Khartoum government, enabling the gradual return of some of the most skilled Southern Sudanese from Canada back to the Sudan.

## **2. The ethnic divides in the Sudan**

Southern Sudan itself is very divided ethnically and politically, a fact exploited by the central government in the North. At the independence of the Sudan in 1956, according again to the 1956 census, the ethnic distribution in Southern Sudan was between the Nilotics (Nuer, Dinka, Shilluk) in the northern provinces of the South, neighbouring on Arab parts of the country to the North, Bahr el Ghazal<sup>5</sup> and Upper Nile (A'Ali an Nil), and the many smaller ethnic tribal groups – of Bantu, and Nilo-Hamitic origins inhabiting the more southern province of Equatoria (Al Istiwa'i). The map at the beginning as the last appendix and last page of this dissertation will be helpful to visualize the provincial and national boundaries as well as principal cities, including Juba, the new capital of the Government of the Southern Sudan, set up in 2005 after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between Northern and Southern Sudan.

The northern provinces of the South, on the map in the appendix named Bahr Al Ghazal and especially A'Ali An Nil, have 18% of the Sudanese population with the Dinkas being the majority, numbering about 4 million people (Dinka, 2009). The southern province has 12% of the population with numerous ethnic groups (Sidahmed, p. 136). The northern provinces of the South are ethnically relatively homogenous with significant tensions only between the two largest ethnic groups, the Dinka and Nuer. As agro-pastoral ethnic groups, these ethnicities compete for access to land, resources and political power. Ethnicity is the most important marker of identity for most people in the Sudan.

In the south . . . tribal and ethnic groupings continued to be the strongest form of socio-political expression and as such constituted the power bases for most of the parties and movements in the South. In this sense divisions in the south appeared as tribal. (Sidahmed, pp. 136-37)

---

<sup>5</sup> Please consult the map of the Sudan for more information.

The following speech by a tribal chief of the Dinkas, the dominant ethnic group in Southern Sudan, to a Kenyan general leading the international peace negotiations in 2004 to end the more than 20 year civil war highlights some of the reasons that forced so many people to flee the Sudan as refugees.

When you visited the north, you must have noticed the differences between the Arabs in the north and us here in the south ... they are red-skinned and we are black ... their names were Ali, Muhamed, Osman, etc. and our names here are Deng, Akol, Lual. We have no shared ancestry. They pray differently but they want to force us to believe in their gods; they try to impose their language upon us and they have killed our people in the process over the years. . . . Their climate is arid and hot and ours is cooler and vegetated, and they want our land. Their economy is more advanced and we have nothing here because they have extracted our resources for their own use; their entire way of life is different from ours . . . and now you are asking us if we can live together with the Arabs as one people in a country where we, the black people, do not have a voice. . . . I assure you, the Arabs are not people we want to share anything with and history speaks for us. We have never been one, we will never be one ... They have done terrible things to us. We are not one race. (Jok, 2007, pp. 1-2)

The reasons the Southern chief in the speech above opposed any peace with the North are racial, familial, religious, linguistic, cultural, economic and historical. Southerners fled to many countries including Canada for all of these reasons. The complexity of the situation in the Sudan cannot be overestimated.

### **3. The influences of Christianity**

Through the process of indirect British rule as late as the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, various Christian denominations were assigned responsibilities for specific areas of the Sudan and for the ethnic groups living there. (Steven Pass, 2006; Shandy, 2007, pp. 40-44; Essien and Fayola, 2009, pp. 51-56) Christian denominations built schools and hospitals throughout the South. Consequently most educated people in the South became

Christians and learned English. As a result, for example, most Dinkas who converted to Christianity became Anglicans or Catholics depending on the Dinka-speaking area in which they lived.

However, the political and educational privilege for Christianity and English in Southern Sudan effectively disappeared with the military coup when the NIF came to power in 1989 and later imposed *sharia* law and Arabic on the South. Currently, it is estimated that 30 percent of the Southern Sudan's 8 million people profess Christianity, 5 percent are Muslim and 65 percent are followers of various systems of worship indigenous to the region. (Jok, 2007, p. 158) Christianity is largely the religion of the towns and the educated classes, dividing the society somewhat along class lines as well as ethnic ones. Traditional religious frameworks continue to have an influence on the thinking of the Sudanese southerners. "Spiritual leadership and intervention are important to the Dinka, who are intensely religious and for whom God (Nhial) and many ancestral spirits play a central and intimate part in everyday life" (Dinka, 2009). Traditional religion among Sudanese migrants in Ottawa surfaced occasionally in the research documented by this dissertation.

#### **4. Gendered effects**

Lastly, in terms of background on the Sudan relevant to migrants in Canada, the long civil war in the Southern Sudan has changed traditional life there. The war had economic, racial, religious and political causes. But in the long period of instability, with so many men fighting or killed, women in Southern Sudan "assumed greater responsibilities" (Deng, 2010, p. 34) "Large scale conflicts over long periods of time have encouraged changes in gender roles as well as restructuring of the relations of dominance of the old over the young" (p. 105). In other words, under conditions of civil war, traditional gendered and age relationships change, a process accelerated when the South Sudanese moved to Canada.

#### **B. Research overview**

##### **1. Background**

According to Statistics Canada, 495 Sudanese have officially come to live in Ottawa, most coming in the period 1991-2006 as refugees.<sup>6</sup> Most were Christians. This dissertation is a study of their ethnic, gendered and religious adaptation. In early April, 2005, I was given ethical approval from the University of Ottawa research grants and ethics services board (REB) to formally begin my research on “the adaptation of South Sudanese Christian families in Ottawa” (file : #03-05-01).

The focus of the research is only on South Sudanese Christians in Ottawa because of personal contacts I already had with them as Anglicans or church sponsored refugees in that city and because of my own background in Africa as a Christian teacher and international development administrator for Church-based agencies in support of the Southern Sudan. (See the preface for more information). As documented later, the Sudanese also interested me since they were the first, largely Christian group of Black migrants from Africa coming to live in a city that has only recently become racially and culturally diverse, in contrast to Toronto which has had enormous racial, religious and cultural diversity for a long period of time, partly because of its sheer size, but also as Canada’s foremost port of entry.<sup>7</sup> Most immigration and refugee settlement literature in Canada dominantly studies immigrant communities in Toronto, and other gateway cities, such as Montreal and Vancouver. Ottawa is the largest second tier immigrant city in Ontario, and also unique in being Canada’s capital city with many international focused organizations as well as the decision-making centre for all Canadian foreign policy decisions related to the Sudan.

---

<sup>6</sup><http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/english/census06/data/topics/RetrieveProductTable.cfm?ALEVEL=3&APATH=3&CATNO=97-557XCB2006007&DETAIL=0&DIM=&DS=99&FL=0&FREE=0&GAL=&GC=99&GK=NA&GRP=0&IPS=97-557-XCB2006007&METH=0&ORDER=&PID=89424&PTYPE=88971&RL=0&S=1&ShowAll=&StartRow=&SUB=&Temporal=2006&Theme=72&VID=&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=&GID=838003> Accessed December 7, 2009

I suggest from informal conversations with informants that the official numbers of South Sudanese are effectively quite a lot higher than 495 individuals, both as a result of migration from other cities in Canada and as a result of both ongoing refugee claims as well as relatively significant numbers of undocumented ‘visitors’ who have come to live with extended families and function in an ‘underground’ economy. As well, the census is projected based on the year 2000 data, before the arrival of many Sudanese in Ottawa. Nevertheless the numbers of South Sudanese is probably not much more than under individuals, still a small community.

<sup>7</sup> See my statistical tables in Chapter 4 E for more information

## 2. Objectives

Much of the literature on immigration and religion (Alba et al, 2009; Ebaugh et al, 2000; Foner et al, 2000; Warner et al, 1998) shows the importance of religious community membership in ethnic maintenance for new immigrants in large cities; their opportunity to sing, pray and find community together in a first language and to discuss the common past and present; affirm common values, as well as to ritually mark individual rights of passage. The literature, at least for first wave immigrants, presumes an inextricable link between language, ethnicity and religious identity. Part of the purpose of this dissertation is to discuss these linkages for the South Sudanese.

However, this literature does not problematize the ethnic religion linkages in effecting the migratory transition. Religious and ethnic organizations tend to reinforce traditional gender roles and conformist heterosexual values. The role of leadership of such institutions in mediating value conflicts is seldom analyzed in the literature. A literature review follows in the next chapter.

Like much immigrant and religion research, a significant focus of my research is on ethnic identity maintenance and its religious expression, particularly for the Dinkas, the largest ethnic group in Southern Sudan. At the same time as these identities are expressed through group membership including family, ethnic, peer and church groups, every individual ultimately works out their identity relatively alone, especially in a post modern society. Identity depends in Canada on an individual combination of specific factors including gender, age, race, social class, and sexual orientation. Such individualized identities may counter the continued influence of reconstructed religious and ethnic grouping for migrants often rooted in their culture of origin. For South Sudanese refugees, the influence of this culture of origin may remain dominant as they often consider the possibility of returning to the Sudan and as they stay in touch with their former context especially via cell phones and the Internet and via frequent travel.

The dissertation therefore has three substantive chapters. After the literature review in chapter two, chapter three looks at the role of social capital for the South Sudanese, their adaptation through relationships in ethnic groups, families and churches. Chapter four

focuses on segmented assimilation theory as a tool of social analysis, reporting on my research on the adaptation to Canada by the Sudanese as gendered and Black migrants, including as young adults. Finally, chapter five combines elements of the previous two chapters, focusing on the processes for establishing a Sudanese church in Ottawa, including group and individual dynamics, but again recognizing that African contexts are always consciously present.

Referring to adaptation to Ottawa of South Sudanese refugees, the questions asked in all three chapters are the following:

- a) What was the role of their ethnic identity? How was it maintained? Why or why not?
- b) How did gendered relationships change within families, for adults and for adolescents? How were these changes attenuated?
- c) Was racial discrimination a challenge in adapting to Ottawa? Why or why not?
- d) How did the South Sudanese express their Christian faith in Ottawa and what were the roles of the Church in their adaptation processes?
- e) How did the dominant individualism of Canadian culture affect the South Sudanese and their families coming from a more tradition-bound society? What are possible solutions to resulting tensions?

### **3. Definitions**

By “adaptation” is meant the changes in values, family relationships, cultural and religious practices and beliefs which must eventually be the result of moving homes to another country and significantly different dominant culture. Adaptation is a survival mechanism eventually necessary for new migrants like the South Sudanese to interact significantly with the dominant society. However, the use of the term adaptation for this dissertation also presumes continued maintenance of an ethnic/cultural and/or religious identity rooted in the Sudan. First language use is a carrier of this identity as well as continued linkages to the extended family in the Sudan. By South Sudanese is meant those who were born in the Sudan as Christians. By Christian I mean those who attend a church once a month or in the Sudan had gone to church often. It is to be noticed that I nearly exclusively interacted ostensibly with Christian Sudanese during this research and had no

interactions with identifiable followers of indigenous Sudanese religious systems, the majority of the population in Southern Sudan.

Identity is how we perceive ourselves and are perceived by others. At least for migrants from the Global South, identity may always be influenced by culture or origin, gender, chronological age, and to some extent by race. It is recognized that individuals are always changing or 'becoming', especially in situations of migration living in a new dominant culture. By ethnic identity is meant the importance attached to the use of a first language, particular foods and cultural traditions, as well as reference to particular histories and geographies, including the burial places of ancestors. By religious identity is meant the ways in which individuals access a spiritual or transcendent world, especially in order to transition through rites of passage such as birth, marriage and death, and to find support in times of physical, mental and emotional difficulties. The research tries to explore the relative importance of these identities in the adaptation process to life in Canada.

#### 4. Insider/outsider issues as an older, gay White male

During this research, I very much took to heart the warning by George Dei (2007) that my racial identity as a researcher is "as significant as [my] class, gender and sexual identification". ( p. 62) What I observed in my 5 years of working in the Sudanese communities is filtered through the lens of a White, gay male with considerable power because of my presumed social class, education and relative wealth. That power also influenced whom I was able to interview for this research and what occurred in all my interactions with the Sudanese, both formal and informal.

I know that I was noticeable at any African event very often because I was the only White man, and that my presence had an effect on what happened at some events. I never attended an event where my presence was not publicly noted by the person presiding. Translation was sometimes provided apparently only for my benefit. I am also an older, balding man in an African cultural environment in which age is respected. My age seemed to allow me to ask questions about marriage, divorce, values in Sudanese homes that a younger researcher could probably not have asked.

Because I am gay, I believe that I was welcomed alone by at least 4 women in their homes, with no males present. Obviously I cannot prove this welcome, except that the transcripts of my interviews with them showed a frankness and openness with me about sensitive family and personal matters that were astonishing. They knew confidentially about my sexual orientation through two of my trusted informants, Luaala and Bwolo. However, my being ‘outed’ as a gay Christian participant observer in one African migrant church in Ottawa, in the latter stages of this research, negatively affected this church and the willingness of some adults and young adults to talk to me by late 2008. I should emphasize however, that several women continued to want to talk with me privately, after my being outed, but time had run out for my research.

### ***C. Research methodology***

#### **1. Theoretical fields**

The dissertation uses the lenses of social capital theory with its focus on trust and reciprocity (Castles, 2000; Field, 2003; Fukuyama, 2001; O’Neill and Gidengil, 2006; Pieterse, 2003; Putman, 2000,) and segmented assimilation theory (Boyd, 2002; Portes, 1996; Rumbaut, 2005; Zhou, 1997) to study the South Sudanese refugees’ integration through their most important groupings, ethnic, gendered, racial, peer and religious. An understanding of South Sudanese cultures anthropologically is also demonstrated by studies of South Sudanese cultures in the United States as well as in the Sudan itself. The study also focuses on the cultural, gendered and language dynamics of a nascent South Sudanese-focused and a related East African migrant Christian congregation, building on the work of other sociologists of religion and anthropologists working among African-born and/or Black refugees and immigrants in North America. (Beyer, 2006a & b; Corten & Marshall-Fratani, 2001; Dei, 2007; Duncan, 2008; Shandy, 2002, 2005, 2007; Stepick, Rey & Mahler, 2009; Warner & Wittner, 1998, Wuthnow, 2002). Anglican and Catholic denominational records of their experience with Christian Sudanese refugees were examined and explored.

#### **2. Race (Black) and gender as key constructs**

Throughout this dissertation, the term Black is used to refer to skin colour of all South Sudanese migrants and is a term often associated with constructs like the 'Black Church'. Although the term Black has racial connotations, in this dissertation the term has different meanings contextually. In the context of the Sudanese living in the United States, and immigration from the United States to Canada over centuries, being Black is associated with histories of slavery and racial discrimination. As applied to immigrants from the Caribbean and more recently to Black immigrants from West Africa to Canada since the 1960s, the term Black is associated both with these geographical areas' histories of White colonialism, but especially for Caribbean migrants with experienced racism in Canada. Refugees from the Southern Sudan in Canada and generally from East Africa have different histories and racialized experiences to those coming from West Africa and the Caribbean.

Although Southern Sudan was theoretically part of the British Empire and more importantly of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium (Spaulding and Beswick, 2000), the racial divide in the Sudan now is between a dominant Arab North and a Black South, two parts of a country with artificial borders, but in which the struggle for access to resources have been interpreted as racial and religious conflicts. (Jok, 2007; Johnson, 2003; Meyer, 2005; Shandy, 2007) Race in the Sudan, including discrimination based on hues of Blackness, has been an inevitable part of experience there. However, although the Sudanese in Canada may become racialized and publicly associated with other Black communities in Canada over time, this dissertation argues that the Sudanese have different understandings of what it means to be Black compared to those coming from other countries. Being Black for the Sudanese may be more defined in relationship to Arabs rather than to Whites, as the construct would be generally understood for those coming from the United States or from the Caribbean.

As well, it is argued that South Sudanese first-wave refugees, prior to having to flee an oppressive Arab-Muslim led government, had some power or influence over others in the Sudan. Many South Sudanese refugees in Canada had the power to oppose the central government. South Sudanese first wave of refugees' sense of power, not having to always refer to racialized others for decision making, means that they may be able to initially resist most of the effects of racism in Canada. East Africa generally has no history of slavery at least a related to North America.

As well, as argued statistically in chapter 4E, the racial context of East African-born refugees coming to a relatively newly immigrant and racially diverse city like Ottawa means that the experience of being Black in this smaller second-tier immigrant city will be different from the racialized experience of Sudanese refugees living in a very large metropolitan area like Toronto, with an over 150 year history of large Black populations, largely born in the Caribbean, or Canadian citizens of long duration but most originally from the United States with its history of slavery. The recent literature on Blacks in Canada consulted for this dissertation tends to focus exclusively on the nation's largest cities: Alexander, 1996; Braithwaite, 1996; Dei, 1997, 2007; Dreidger, 2000; Foster, 1996, 2002; Hier and Bolaria, 2007; Talbot, 1989; Winks, 1997. Much of chapter 4 and parts of chapter 5 consider racial aspects of the South Sudanese adaptation in Ottawa.

The term '**gender**' often appears in the dissertation, but not as a theoretical category or to theorize gender roles. Rather, the word gender is used to refer descriptively to the clearly defined roles in families attributed to the two genders, male and female, in relatively traditional cultures like Southern Sudan, and to describe how these roles may shift, influenced by the more gender-equal dominant Canadian culture.

It is recognized throughout the dissertation that gender roles are constantly in evolution. For example, in a war-torn society like South Sudan, with husbands and sons often absent from the home fighting or earning income, women may often increase their power, their capacity to make decision without necessary reference to their husbands. Similarly, in Canadian society, when South Sudanese-born wives are often able to earn more income than their husbands, gender roles will shift to give great power to women.

The literature reviewed on gender is exclusively focused on the gendered experiences in North America of immigrants and refugees from the Global South, including the Sudan or in the specific contexts of religious organizations and of ethnic groups: Ajrouch, 2004; Beswick, 2000; Boddy, 2007; Caiazza, 2006; Duncan, 2008; Feliciano, 2005; Hajdukowski, 2008; Holtzman, 2000(a); Mohammed, 2003; Norris, 2006; O'Neill, 2006; Warikoo, 2005; Winland, 1994. References to much of this literature are found in chapter 4 on segmented assimilation, but also elsewhere in this dissertation.

### **3. Research techniques**

My research approach was to first formally interview the South Sudanese (5 of those listed in Appendix B) whom I had already met on previous occasions through church channels and as a result of my immigrant advocacy and settlement volunteer work. These were people who already trusted me. I used the attached interview questions as the initial basis for our interviews. (Attachment A) After getting important data on each interviewee's past, and their current ethnic and religious identities, the goal of the interview was to discover adaptation challenges in Canada. Using the language of my application to the research ethics board at the University of Ottawa, the interview explored each informant's current "understanding of family, married relationships, of the rights of women and children, all of which may be different from Canadian currently dominant understandings". Some of these initial interviewees agreed to talk with me several times.

At the end of these first interviews, I always asked for suggestions of others in the Sudanese community whom they would be willing to contact on my behalf for a future interview at a convenient date and time. This way of identifying people for qualitative research of the kind in which I was engaging is snowballing, "sometimes the best way to locate subjects with certain attributes or characteristics necessary in a study" (Berg, 2004, p. 36). Extending the metaphor, as a snowball rolls down a hill on a warmish day, it will collect other snowflakes.

Thus, my presumption was that all my first informants would talk about my research with others before our meeting, and that more people would be willing to talk to me as a result. All informants were keen to talk about their experience. Prior to an interview, I could therefore assume a significant level of trust or openness to sharing information and personal thoughts with me. As a result, all my interviewees signed the participant consent form for the interview without any hesitation, although 4 out of my eventual 20 interviewees did not want to be identified in the research for specific personal and political reasons. The names (or aliases) of the 26 people interviewed by date or dates for a total of 30 personal interviews and one focus group is found in appendix B.

All interviews were transcribed and each transcript was then e-mailed to all informants as an attachment, or personally given at a subsequent public meeting or brought to their home. In this way I gave all informants the opportunity to comment or correct their

comments and information in the transcript. Several did change the tenor of their comments and/or provided more information.

The final interview transcripts were then coded to the various topics of the research, using a general “grounded theory” approach. (Charmaz, 2006) Each line or paragraph in each transcript was linked to a particular topic including; ethnicity, gender, youth, race within one of the theoretical fields; segmented assimilation, social capital or religion.

This range and number of people interviewed for this research represents the male, female and youth leadership of the South Sudanese Christian population in Ottawa. Out of the total of 495 “immigrants” from the Sudan in Ottawa identified by Statistics Canada in 2006, a considerable number were not refugees, especially the 80 who came before 1995,<sup>8</sup> and the Muslim Sudanese-born population in Ottawa. With these considerations, in 2006 there were probably no more than 250 Christian South Sudanese adults and children in Ottawa of whom only a limited number could speak English to qualify as leaders in Southern Sudan and in Canada. In view of my snowballing technique for identifying interviewees, my interview sample of 21 Sudanese born individuals is therefore about 10% of Christian Sudanese-born population in Ottawa, possibly a representative sample of the population on which the research is focused, and definitely more than representative of the Sudanese Christian leadership.

Since the focus of the research is significantly on the role of the organizational church in the refugee adaptation process, to complement the interviewing, I was able to collect a lot of information and perspectives while attending and participating in the South Sudanese evangelical New Ambassador church regularly for over 3 years and the East African Jordan Community Church nearly every 3<sup>rd</sup> week for over a year, taking notes, observing and interacting with congregants as well as with the leadership of these churches informally. The 25 events I formally attended as researcher are listed in appendix C, with attendance figures in these churches broken down by gender and age grouping and with contextual information. The results of the participant observer research are mostly documented in the chapter on the church and the South Sudanese, the longest chapter in this dissertation.

---

<sup>8</sup> See the more detailed population table in the section entitled ‘racial analysis in Ottawa’ in the segmented assimilation chapter.

#### **D. Interviewees: Background, context**

What follows then in subsequent paragraphs of this first chapter is how various contacts and strands chronologically developed into allowing me to formally interview 21 individual South Sudanese-born leaders, some several times, as well as several other informed individuals, for a total of 30 interviews from April 2005 to June 2009.

All informants I interviewed and with whom I interacted spoke and understood English well or well enough for my research purposes. Since all of the men interviewed had more than 10 years of schooling, had learned English well and had enough agency to make it to Canada, they can probably all be classified as middle/ upper class for Sudanese society. During my more than 4 years of research among the Sudanese, nearly all of them were able to travel extensively in North America or even back to the Sudan for visits, again classifying them as middle/upper class.

However, few of my South Sudanese adult interviewees had well remunerated or secure employment in Canada, partly because their training and experience were not easily transferable to Canada. Consequently, my interviewees generally lived in social housing or geared to income housing, and would therefore be perceived by Canadian society as 'lower class', living in the 'wrong' neighbourhoods and not able to access the 'best' schools. With the exception of Alew Bwolo, all interviews with Sudanese took place in their home or in my home.

##### 1. Alew Bwolo

My first contact with the Sudanese in Canada was in the summer of 2002 when I was part of a church committee at St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church in Ottawa which was sponsoring Sudanese refugees to Canada. Specifically, I was responsible for the adaptation support of two Sudanese-born adolescents. In the search for supportive services in the adaptation of these two illiterate and culture-shocked adolescents, I contacted Alew Bwolo, then an immigrant settlement councillor with Catholic Immigrant Services in Ottawa. Over his previous four years of work with this agency, as the only settlement councillor in Ottawa speaking both Arabic and several Sudanese languages including Dinka, the language of his step mother, Alew had supported many Sudanese refugees adapting to life in Ottawa. Alew himself is ethnically a Luo, like other informants described below.

In my 7 years of formally and informally working with the South Sudanese communities, I cannot gratefully overestimate the amount of time Alew gave me to share his insights into the challenges faced by the South Sudanese in their adaptation processes to life in Ottawa, at least 2 major interviews and countless informal conversations.<sup>9</sup> Alew gave me information on, and contacted on my behalf, many of the non-Dinka speaking refugees I interviewed, as well as helping me organize the young adult focus group.

As part of the first wave of Sudanese in Ottawa, Alew Bwolo spent all his adult life before coming to Canada in the capital city of Khartoum, working for the Catholic Church. Alew's children have not known any other life except that of the city, only occasionally having visited the South while still living in Khartoum. Because of his race and religion, very black and a committed Christian, as well as his political activities, life in Khartoum became increasingly difficult after the imposition of Islamic sharia law in the Sudan in 1985. Alew left Khartoum in 1992 for Cairo and arrived in Ottawa in 1998 as a Canadian government sponsored refugee. He is currently very active in his local Catholic church and in the regional Knights of Columbus organization. He has three children. The oldest, Deng (m), now 20 years old and a member of my young adults' focus group, was born in Khartoum

During my first interview with Alew, I specifically asked him to refer me to leaders of the South Sudanese communities who were not Dinka-speaking, although I recognized by the time of our first formal conversation in April, 2005 that the Dinkas were the largest Sudanese ethnic group in Ottawa. I then already knew that Gordon Luala, mentioned later, would refer me to other prominent Dinkas in Ottawa.

## ***2. Interviews enabled through Alew Bwolo***

My first conversation enabled by Alew was with Dominic Funda, probably the most educated South Sudanese in Ottawa and one of its first refugee arrivals from the Sudan. After getting a PhD in theology in Rome, Dr. Funda returned to the Sudan in 1983 to become Secretary General of the Council for the South, the first point of contact for all

---

<sup>9</sup> In the interests of transparency, I should mention that Alew's immediate supervisor, Lucila Spiegelblatt was a personal good friend. The executive director of Catholic Immigrant Services, Carl Nicholson, was my former supervisor during my work with CUSO in Ghana, West Africa. As a Jamaican-born Canadian in Ottawa, Carl's reflections on the changing nature of being Black in Ottawa are reflected in my chapter on segmented assimilation.

foreigners in Khartoum wanting to have contact with the South, and the office also responsible for many of the internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the Sudan from the South. As an active Christian in the first years of the National Islamic Front, Funda became *persona non grata*. He and his family were consequently evacuated by the United Nations to Cairo from where they came to Canada as government sponsored refugees. Dr. Funda has 8 children, including 2 adopted ones from his late brother. When I interviewed him in 2005, his youngest son in his 20's was still living with him to help him with his 12 year old, developmentally delayed son for whom he had sole responsibility. With all these children and other extended family members in Canada, surviving financially in Canada was not easy. Funda's wife left him and moved to Windsor. Funda returned to the Southern Sudan in 2006 to again for a senior posting with the new Government of the Southern Sudan (GOSS).

The focus of our long conversation for the purposes of this research was on the inability of the Church in Ottawa to welcome refugees from different cultures; the lack of support given by Canadian society to traditional Sudanese marriages; the difficulty of parenting according to traditional Sudanese values. Because of Funda's overview of South Sudan and its peoples, I have extensively quoted from our conversation, although I recognize that his divorce left him relatively bitter toward Canada, whose government he saw as having encouraged his wife to leave him.

Alew also referred me to the then president of the Nuer Association of Ottawa, Lam Riet who agreed to see to me on two occasions. Although the Nuers are a much smaller community in Ottawa than the Dinkas, the ethnic focus of my research, the Nuer immigration experience has been extensively analyzed in other parts of North America, especially by Shandy (2007) and Holtzman (2000). I was also conscious of the historically competitive relationships in the Sudan between the Nuers and the Dinkas, although the Nuers live closer to the Ethiopian border and in Ethiopia itself, their thus escaping some of the effects of *sharia* law and persecution in the Sudan itself. (Abusharaf, 2002; Shandy, 2007)

Lam Riet came to Canada in the early 1990s when according to him the South Sudanese community was "very united", although very small. He was brought up and went to school in Ethiopia and only came to live in the Sudan in 1970. His father died there

fighting. Lam speaks no Arabic unlike nearly all other Sudanese-born and the Dinkas whom I met in Ottawa. Lam came to Canada in 1994, currently works for a high tech firm, and is completing his Bachelor of Science at Carleton University. He has three children, all of whom were born in Canada, and do not speak more than a few words of Nuer. His family occasionally worships at a monthly service together with other local Nuers at a Lutheran church in the west end of Ottawa. The foci of my discussions with Lam and his wife were on evolving gender roles in Canada, the difficulty in parenting his children, relationships with the Dinkas, and the role of religion and ethnicity in Canada.

The final important reference from Alew Bwolo was to David Ochan\*<sup>10</sup>, a Southern Sudanese former senior civil servant for the Government of the Sudan. Like Alew, David is a Luo, an ethnic group “found throughout East Africa as agricultural labourers and tenant farmers and as urban workers” (Luo, 2009). Ochan first arrived in Canada in 1992 as a visitor, but had to go to Egypt for medical reasons in 1993. By that time, there were already major difficulties for prominent Southerners living in Khartoum. Since he was already living in Canada, he applied and was accepted for refugee status. However, it took almost 6 years for him to bring his wife and four daughters to Ottawa.

David Ochan was the most influential non-Dinka leader in Ottawa, partly because of his former very senior civil servant position with the Government of the Sudan in Khartoum. He was the principal negotiator with the Catholic Diocese of Ottawa on behalf of the whole South Sudanese community and probably the principal contact between the South Sudanese diaspora in Canada and the Canadian government. I therefore formally interviewed him three times, but with several other informal conversations.

In chapter 5 on the church and the South Sudanese, I have recorded his perspectives on the roles of the local Catholic Church and the Catholic Diocese of Ottawa in supporting the adaptation of South Sudanese Catholics to Ottawa. Many of these were corroborated by a later interview with Deacon Wayne Lee, appointed by the Diocese to work with the Sudanese community in Ottawa.

---

<sup>10</sup> The asterisk next to the names of all informants in subsequent parts of this dissertation means that the name used is pseudonym. The interviewee did not want to be identifiable in reporting the results of the research.

Because of David Ochan's commitment to an improved education system in the Sudan, and my teaching of immigrant students in Ottawa-area secondary schools, David agreed to support me in my research to get the perspectives of young adults. With the approval of two Ottawa high school principals, he spent three days visiting classes as well as talking to teachers and students in two high schools with large immigrant populations. One school had a significant number of Black largely refugee immigrants from Somalia and the Sudan. My chapter on segmented assimilation includes a lot of his reflections. His oldest daughter participated in the first part of the young adult focus group in May, 2009, just a few months after visiting her father who had returned to a work in a senior position for the new government of the Southern Sudan in Juba.

Other than around schooling, parenting and the role of the Catholic Church, David and I also extensively talked about the ability of the South Sudanese communities to set up a council of elders to help resolve family differences, as well as ways for the Sudanese to avoid ethnic conflicts in Canada. As a senior elder in the South Sudanese community, David reflected with me on his involvement in resolving a considerable number of family disputes.

### 3. Gordon Kur Micah Luaala; Introduction to the Dinkas

My volunteer work with St. John the Evangelist Anglican church in downtown Ottawa also introduced me to the larger South Sudanese community, especially to the Dinkas in Ottawa, many of whom were Anglicans. The leader of the South Sudanese Dinkas, and to some extent of the larger Sudanese community, was Gordon Luaala, called Kur by other Sudanese.

I first met Gordon Luaala in December, 2002 when he asked the rector (main priest) of St. John's, Garth Bulmer, if the South Sudanese could hold a regular worship service in the church building. The meetings and subsequent discussions about this possibility and other events organized by Gordon which I attended are detailed in a later chapter. However, the refusal of St. John's and the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa as early as 2002 to offer low cost worship and meeting space to the South Sudanese led by the Dinka, Gordon Kur Luaala may have been a determining decision in undermining the viability of the Sudanese as a community. The major reason the Diocese refused to offer space was the fear of

encouraging ethnic conflict between Sudanese “tribes” in Ottawa,<sup>11</sup> but the Dinkas were then the only organized Sudanese community group with respected leadership.

Gordon Luala had been a leading Anglican in the Sudan and had by 2002 very quickly had become influential in Ottawa as well. Upon arriving in Canada, he joined an Anglican church, St. Mark’s. Within two years of his arrival in Canada, Gordon was one of the parish’s synod delegates to the 2005 Diocese of Ottawa regional synod where I met him. That synod began the discussion of the Church of same-sex marriage in the diocese.

Gordon’s background and reason for his becoming a refugee is summarized in the following 1995 quote from news release retransmitted by the Africa studies program at the University of Pennsylvania. I have corroborated this information with Gordon.

A former policeman and social worker, Gordon Micah Kur is being held without charge or trial in Kober prison, Khartoum North. According to Amnesty International he was arrested in February 1995 and held for a time in one of the "ghost house" detention centres. Amnesty says that his detention is 'part of the ongoing pattern of harassment and detention without trial by the Sudanese authorities of their political and ideological opponents,' and fears that if Gordon Micah Kur is transferred back to a "ghost house", his past involvement with the Sudanese Amputees' Association will put him at particular risk of torture. Gordon Micah Kur has been repeatedly harassed by the authorities, apparently because of his social work between 1987 and 1989 with the Sudanese Amputees' Association (SAA), a welfare organisation set up to help the victims of hand and foot amputation sentences imposed by the courts between 1983 and 1985. The SAA was regarded as insulting to Islam by supporters of the National Islamic Front ... and the organisation was among many which were banned on 30 June 1989.

Gordon Micah Kur was previously detained between September 1989 and June 1991 and was adopted by Amnesty International as a prisoner of conscience. In 1993 he wrote to a friend: "Since my release from detention two years ago one finds himself in a wider prison. For instance, I am not allowed to leave the capital city nor the country, and above that, all possible means of getting a job are blocked. I have actually been living on help I receive from friends from time to time ... but most of the other people have their families broken down. (Amnesty International, May 3, 1995)<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> See my later discussion in the chapter on the Church with its analysis of the Anglican response to the Sudanese in Ottawa and the chapter on social capital for an analysis of South Sudanese ethnic relationships in Ottawa.

<sup>12</sup> [http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Newsletters/SD\\_update68.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Newsletters/SD_update68.html) Accessed July 23, 2009

Gordon was driven by human rights concerns, sometimes in opposition to the dominant values of an Islamic state. There was no choice but for Gordon to flee the Sudan and to come to Canada in 1996 as a Canadian government sponsored refugee. He chose Ottawa because he had existing contacts there through the Anglican Church and already had a distant cousin living in the city. Similarly to David Ochan, Gordon also wanted to continue to maintain contact with the Canadian government in Ottawa and its relationships to the Sudan.

A year after his arrival, Gordon was able to bring his wife, Zeinab Mokwaj, and their then three children to Canada. Their oldest daughter, Akon was 8 ½ years old when she arrived in Ottawa and later agreed to participate in the Sudanese young adults' focus group. The family originally settled in Hull, Quebec, apparently because housing was cheaper there. The children went to school in French in Quebec, and have continued their schooling in French, although the family now lives in Ontario. Gordon is totally fluent in English, while Zeinab has been going to school full days to improve her English. The language of the home is mostly Dinka.

Building on the presence of other Dinkas in Ottawa, Gordon was the president from 2002 to 2006 of the South Sudanese Community Association, composed exclusively of Dinka speakers. Already by 2002, Gordon estimated that the association brought together 37 different families (Informal discussion, December 7, 2002). Since I know that Gordon classified his 2 cousins and their families as part of one family, it is possible that there were about 160 Dinkas in Ottawa, each family with 4 people. Following my earlier population discussion, the Dinkas were therefore probably about one half of the refugee Sudanese-born arrivals in Ottawa, and certainly the most organized ethnic group. Gordon became my principal, political contact in Ottawa, until his return to the Sudan in 2008.

Because of his background and personal commitments, Gordon closely followed the life of the Anglican Church in Africa, and well knew how the issues of gay priests and bishops and of the blessings of same-sex marriages were enormously dividing the Anglican Communion. Most African dioceses vehemently opposed the increasing roles of gays and lesbians in the Church. Gordon also knew how involved I was personally in organizing the struggle for full inclusion of gays and lesbians within the Church.

Because of his support for my research and his human rights advocacy perspective, Gordon invited me to many South Sudanese political and social occasions from 2004-2007. Many of my observations at these events and my informal and formal conversations with Gordon, his wife Zeinab and his oldest daughter, Akon are described and analyzed in following chapters.

Because Gordon was not able to find satisfactory paid employment in Ottawa, as a Canadian citizen and as a former police officer, Brigadier Gordon Micah Kur Luaala left Ottawa in early 2008 to begin work as Juba Headquarters Director of Traffic for Southern Sudan.<sup>13</sup> In 2009, we saw and talked to each other when Gordon was visiting his family in Ottawa. However, with her five children, Zeinab continues to live in Ottawa, occasionally attending various church events in the city. Their oldest daughter, Akon, returned to Southern Sudan with her father for the Christmas holidays in 2009. For the first time in her life, at the age of 21 after 12 years in Ottawa, she spent a week in the village where her father was born, meeting her grandparents for the very first time.

Gordon's departure from Ottawa left a real gap in the South Sudanese community. He was the glue which kept the Dinka community and to some extent other South Sudanese community members working together. His replacements as the chairperson of the South Sudanese Community Association do not have his skills and support. His immediate successor as chairperson, Lucy Peters, was not able to cajole members of her executive to meetings, documented by my meeting her in her home at her invitation for a meeting of the executive of South Sudan community Organization on March 18, 2006 when no one else came. She did not have Gordon's presence in the community, her gender possibly limiting her influence. Her successor as chairperson, Andrew Ring, although quite charismatic, at age 22 and as a student, he does not have the skills and presence to take over the leadership of the organization and to link to other Sudanese.

#### **4. Interviews with Dinkas enabled through Gordon Luaala**

Upon beginning my research in April 2005, I first again went to talk with Gordon Luaala to clarify my thinking about the evolution of the South Sudanese community in

---

<sup>13</sup> [http://www.zoominfo.com/people/Yiga\\_Fred\\_1002780686.aspx](http://www.zoominfo.com/people/Yiga_Fred_1002780686.aspx) Accessed July 23, 2009

Ottawa, particularly the role of the Church and of the South Sudanese Community Association he led. During our conversations, detailed in greater depth in other chapters, Gordon referred me to other Dinka speakers, namely his cousin Margaret, his sister-in-law Emmy, and the Dinka language teacher in the city, Ring Malou.<sup>14</sup> One of my formal conversations with Gordon also involved his wife Zeinab. From 2005-2007, Gordon was diligent in inviting me to several South Sudanese events, political, religious, social. For example, at his invitation, I was the only White person at the party after the commemoration of the life of the former Vice-president of the Sudan, John Garang as well as the only White protesting the forced repatriation of Sudanese refugees from Egypt. He also invited me to other events including a service to ‘thank God’ for protecting his family from fire and a Christmas and an Easter celebration before I was regularly attending the Sudanese church in Ottawa. Because he helped me build up trust in the South Sudanese community, his return to the Sudan in early 2008 made further research more difficult, except among practicing Christians.

After my first formal interview with Gordon, I had a long conversation with Ring Malou, the Dinka language teacher in Ottawa.<sup>15</sup> Ring immigrated to Canada in 1998 via Cairo. He is a Dinka who was a politically active elementary school teacher in the Sudan. For four years after arrival, he worked in the high tech industry in Kanata, a suburb of Ottawa, but got laid off in 2002. His wife, Rosa, worked as a cleaning lady from 4 to 11 every week day. They have four children, 2 in school – then 8 and 6 years old - and two children at home full time. Looking for employment in 2008, Ring returned to the Sudan at about the same time as Gordon for a few months, but he returned to parent and to again look for a job here.

For Ring, keeping his identity as a Dinka was of central importance. He stopped sending his oldest daughter to daycare because she was not allowed to speak Dinka there. Only Dinka was spoken in the home. My references to my conversation with Ring are

---

<sup>14</sup> No interview occurred without the potential interviewee having first made contact with me, and agreed to an interview.

<sup>15</sup> This heritage language elementary school program is organized by the Catholic School Board on Saturdays with funding provided by the federal government, channelled through provincial government educational ministries. See my chapter on social capital for a further discussion on the importance of language retention for social capital bonding.

largely around the importance in Canada of maintaining ethnic identity, as well as the difficulty of parenting in this country.

Gordon also referred me to his cousin, Margaret Chol, a Dinka Bor like Gordon. Margaret called me to invite me to meet me in her home with her two children, although her husband was in the Sudan. During the interview she told me that she had left Sudan and moved to Kenya in 1995 with her family for two years before arriving in Ottawa in 1997. Her husband had been a doctor in the Sudan working for Norwegian Aid, and returned to the Sudan again in 2005 to work in the Juba hospital. I met him twice at church while he was on home leave. Margaret's father was a commander with the South Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Army, and as a result she had a very informed political perspective on the situation in the Sudan. She is a professional hairdresser and by 2007 had set up her own saloon as business owner. I would often see Margaret at community events and at church. In both places she had an important role, both in organizing the social side of the event, but also in clearly expressing her opinion. Her English was totally fluent.

The last reference partly through Gordon was Emmy Ochan\*, Gordon's sister in law and also the sister of David Ochan\* whose background and participation in this research I describe earlier in this introduction. Mrs. Ochan had come to Canada in 1982 with her husband who was then a graduate student on a scholarship. Of all my interviewees, she had been in Canada the longest. Her husband, a prominent Dinka whom I never met, was back in Sudan. Emmy is a Luo. They have 9 children, most of whom appear successful with athletic and other scholarships. Several of the children born here went to Saturday school to learn Dinka under Ring Malou. Five of them still speak Dinka among themselves occasionally, although they have never been to the Sudan. Mrs. Ochan and her family regularly attended a local Catholic church.

The focus of my conversation with Mrs. Ochan\* was exclusively on the challenges and successes she has had in raising her children, as well as the gender role conflicts that occur in Sudanese-born families in Canada. She is still married, although her husband lives in the Sudan.

##### **5. Other contacts through St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church**

Continuing on with a review of South Sudanese refugees met through the Anglican Diocese in Ottawa, one of the South Sudanese supported, although not sponsored by the St.

John the Evangelist Anglican church parish was Riek Adwok\*. Riek was born very near the border with Uganda, completed two years training toward the Catholic priesthood and then qualified as a fully trained elementary school teacher, sponsored by the Catholics. With this training and his commitment to the church, Riek became very involved in setting up the first evangelical Sudanese church in Ottawa. As I began my research in 2005, Riek invited me to worship with the Sudanese church on Sunday afternoons. This worship and my continued trusting relationship with Riek became an important source of information and of contacts, particularly with the leadership of the Sudanese church. Interviews with Helena Lino, Michael Soro, Richard Gerard and Kwongo Bwogo, all leaders in the Sudanese church, were partly made possible as a result of my trusting relationship with Riek.

Finally, through my leadership and involvement at St. John's Anglican, I met Akic Ruati\*, his then wife and their young son. During 2004-06, the three of them quite frequently worshipped at St. John's where I would interact with them. Akic\* was an active member of the executive for the Dinka Community Association and a volunteer with the association, particularly working with youth. He was the basketball coach for the Saturday young adults' program funded through Ottawa Carleton Immigrant Services Organization by the city of Ottawa's community partnership program.<sup>16</sup> During this basketball program, I spent several informal Saturday afternoons talking with Gordon, Akic\* and other Dinkas as well as observing the interaction of the male adolescent basketball players.

Akic\* was baptized a Catholic and confirmed by the Catholic cardinal of Sudan, but was married in the Anglican Church of Cairo, the Anglican service reminding him of his Catholic background. Akic\* speaks fluent Arabic, Dinka and English. Akic\* has a large extended family with whom he communicates regularly, although most of them are living in the United States, Australia, Sweden and other parts of Canada.

## **6. Interviews with leading members of the Sudanese Church in Ottawa**

### **a. Helena Lino Costa**

The first person I formally interviewed in 2005 from the Sudanese church was Helena Lino Costa. David Ochan and Riek Adwok had both recommended that I talk to her

---

<sup>16</sup> Letter from the City of Ottawa, Community and protective services, Cultural services and community dated July 2005, announcing funding of \$7,000 to the South Sudanese Community Association, c/o OCISO for « South Sudanese child development (in basketball) » project.

because of her charismatic and spiritual role in the church and the depth of her faith. Helena came to Canada sponsored by her sister Mary and by St. Basil Catholic church, the same church where David Ochan was worshipping. The church provided the first year housing for Helena and her family. Because I was worried in 2005 that Helena did not yet speak enough English since Arabic is the language of the home, David's brother-in-law Matthew\* offered to accompany me for my first meeting and to interpret from Arabic to English, if needed. During subsequent conversations with Helena, her eldest daughter Elizabeth helped out, although I was soon able to talk to Helena in English alone.

Helena was born in Wau where she obtained a high school certificate in Arabic. In Khartoum she was a teacher of Math, Arabic language and religion in the Catholic school set up in the capital city to help people from the South. Under similar conditions to other leading Southerners in Khartoum by 2000, she left for Cairo, Egypt to a United Nations High Commission of Refugees (UNHCR) refugee camp where she spent 4 years. The times she spent there were "very difficult" in part because she had to manage the care of two young daughters and more particularly her then 5-year old very hyperactive son, Rihan, who has meningitis with no speech abilities. To support her concretely and spiritually, the Anglican Church in Cairo provided her with child care and enabled her to spend a lot of time at the church. Elizabeth got a Sunday school certificate there to teach in Arabic.

It was in that Cairo church that Helena first met Jaffar Bashir who became the primary leader of the Sudanese worship/Bible study group in Ottawa before he moved to Kitchener in 2005. Her sister Mary who sponsored Helena to Canada was also a member of this group. Helena arrived in Ottawa in mid-2004. Rihan was put in a long-term care facility two years later.

Helena's husband still lives in the Sudan, along with four older sisters as well as her mother, all in the same area where she was born. She also has brothers living in the United States and in Australia. Once the girls have completed their education, Helena expressed the desire to go back to the Sudan to spend time with and help look after her mother there.

I interviewed Helena again in 2008 after having seen her during 3 years as the prayer and Sunday school leader, and after more informal conversations. In the second interview I wanted to verify the information from the first formal interview, which had been significantly interrupted by Rihan. As the leader of the Sudanese church, she was able

to provide me a more formal analysis of her life directions, the Dinka presence in Ottawa and perceptions of the future of the Sudanese church in Ottawa.

b. Five leading males of the Sudanese evangelical church

Finally in 2008-2009, after more than 2 years of regularly worshipping with the congregation of the South Sudanese church on Sunday afternoons, I formally interviewed the five most important male leaders of the New Ambassador Church: Michael Soro Enoka, the congregation's administrative coordinator; Richard Garang and Kwongo Bwogo together, as the team youth and music leaders in the congregation; Riek Adwok, whom I wrote about earlier in this introduction as a founding leader of the church; David Abraham, probably the most politically important leader by late 2008 of those Sudanese males still remaining in Ottawa and active in the church.

Michael Soro Enoka was the chairperson, spokesperson and organizer of the New Ambassador (Sudanese) church, but he never preached and even seldom read the lessons. From when I first started going to the church in late 2005, he invited various readers, made sure that there was a preacher and coordinated all worship and social events. He was the visible coordinator and well-connected to others in the South Sudanese communities. As a consequence, some people referred to the church as "Michael's church".

Michael Soro Enoka was born in Juba, southern Sudan on 21 June, 1969. He went through elementary school in Juba, but travelled around the Sudan because his father was a very mobile military officer. Michael therefore learned several languages including Dinka, Arabic and English as well as his own ethnic language, Bari, an ethnic group to which he does not have much connection. He was baptized as a Catholic, but his uncle currently is involved in partnering the Episcopal (Anglican) diocese of Missouri with the Diocese of Lui in the Sudan.<sup>17</sup> (This uncle came to Ottawa for Michael's sister's wedding.) Michael stayed with this uncle in Khartoum, where he finished high school. Michael's Christian faith is consequently very deep. He is a single man, giving him a somewhat odd status in the Sudanese community.

Michael grew up as "one of Juba boys", people of the city. He told me how he thought that he had perhaps moved around too much to have a "tribal identity". On the

---

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.diocesemo.org/news/2009/05/20/on-the-ground-lui/> Accessed 2009.08.21

other hand, he recognizes that village problems get solved together under the village tree, using tribal traditions and that ethnicity is the “glue” that brings people together. (July 22, 2008)

Michael left Sudan in December, 1988, lived in Iraq before going to Italy where he continued his education. He came to Canada in 1993 sponsored by a group of nuns, one of whom he met while taking Italian classes. He is internationally educated with intercultural experience like many mobile, male refugees already mentioned such Funda Dominic, David Ochan, Dominic Funda and others, gradually making it to Canada as a last refuge.

When Michael first came to Canada, he worshiped at St. Patrick's Catholic Church on Kent, partly because he lived on Lyon Street. "The church is the center of my being. I come from a conservative type of family, where I have always been taught to be a good person, and to do good. I feel guilty about not being in the church [on Sundays]." Michael now puts a very large percentage of his free time into the work of the Ambassador Church of Christ, trying to meet “the needs of the community” (July 22, 2008).

Richard Gerard and Kwongo Bwogo came to my home together, partly because Richard had a car, but also because they operated as a team. Richard coordinated the education and social activities for the young adults on Saturdays and their involvement in the worship services on Sunday. Kwongo was quite talented as a guitar player and led the music ministry in which nearly all young adults participated.

Richard came in to Canada in 2000. Kwongo arrived in Ottawa in 2001, but had left Sudan much earlier than Richard to seek higher education in India where he was trained as an aircraft maintenance engineer, another example of a refugee with significant intercultural experience. Both Richard and Kwongo's parents were high school teachers. Richard is now 32 years old and Kwongo is 38. Neither is married, giving them like Michael somewhat of an odd status in the community. Richard is a Shilluk, while Kwongo is a Bongo. For both of them "a tribe is a bigger family, providing cultural belonging." (October 8, 2008)

Kwongo was baptized as a Presbyterian, but is now a Catholic. Richard has always been a Catholic. For them Communion or the Eucharist is important and biblically rooted. They recognized the weakness of the New Ambassador church not being able to offer this Christian rite since the church lacked trained clergy. Both Richard and Kwongo were on the

New Ambassador church council. However, Richard had to leave in Ottawa in search of a job in March 2009, and to join his younger brother in Calgary, again emphasizing the mobility of all refugee populations.

Using the questionnaire in Appendix A, our discussions focused on the adjustment process to living in Canada, Canada's individualism as culturally dominant and the importance of maintaining cultural values, partly helped by Christian faith and by congregational support.

My last Sudanese interview in 2009 was with a leading member of the New Ambassador Church, David Abraham. I had long wanted to interview him after suggestions from several previously mentioned informants who viewed David as the most important person in the congregation. However, David was a long distance truck driver and was often away for months at a time. I would occasionally meet him and his wife, Catherine, but illness prevented our getting together. In December, 2008, he had open heart surgery forcing him to stay in Ottawa. After he recovered, our interview lasted several hours because David is a man with wide political and cultural experience in the Church and in South Sudanese Christian communities in the Sudan, in Ottawa and previously in Winnipeg.

David Abraham was born in Yei, near the Ugandan border. He is a Kakwa and was then 54 years old. Because of the imposition of Sharia law and of Arabic in the Sudan as the only official language in 1985, David's parents sent him to school in Uganda where he completed his secondary education. The Sudanese living in Uganda were apparently not allowed to go on to post secondary education there, but David could not write Arabic to study at the University in Khartoum. He therefore went to England where he completed a two-year diploma in music. As part of a band, he then traveled extensively throughout Europe and Africa. Politically, in the Sudan, David was involved in supporting the Sudanese Political Liberation Movement (SPLM), and worked as part of operation rainbow in the 1970s to provide aid through the churches to the southern Sudan. His family with 4 children fled to Jordan in 1994 where they were accepted as convention refugees. They arrived in Winnipeg, Canada in 1997.

David told me that his mother was the first "born again Anglican Christian in that part of Sudan" in Yei, near the village where the SPLM had its headquarters and the seat of

power of William Garang, a Bor Dinka and future president of the Southern Sudan under the 2005 Comprehensive Sudan Peace agreement.

David's elder brother was a commander in the Sudan Political Liberation Army (SPLA). David's Christian faith has always been a part of his life, "part of my own soul, my own redemption". (June 11, 2009) He suffered religious persecution. As an example, the government of Sudan refused to accept the name Abraham for his passport, but gave him the family Muslim name Ibrahim, which is the name carried by all his children. He is currently trying to change the name so that he and his children are not labelled as Muslims, but he finds the bureaucratic process very difficult.

For David, "being a Kakwa is equally important to being a Christian". The Kakwa tribe is found both in Uganda and in the Sudan. Idi Amin was a Kakwa. In fact, David would have been allowed to finish his education in Uganda under Idi Amin if he had been living in Uganda in the 1970s. The Kakwas are a sedentary, farming population, which, according to David, may bring them into conflict in the Sudan with the often still nomadic, cattle-herding Dinkas, a topic developed fully in my chapter on social capital.

My interview with David generally focused on the questions in Appendix A, but he put significant emphasis on 'tribal' relationships in Ottawa, the evolving needs of Sudanese Christians, in view of an increasing leadership vacuum, and the difficulties of parenting children in Canada.

### **c. Sudanese-born young adults focus group**

After and before worship at the Sudanese church and at various other events such as Christmas and the Christian revivals (see below), I had interacted with several young adults in the church. I met some of them while meeting with their parents in their homes. Alew Bwolo and Joseph Kiirya (see below) had agreed to support me in organizing a young adults' focus group. I therefore decided to seek ethical approval from the University of Ottawa's Research Ethics Board (REB) to undertake a focus group with "Christian young adults, born in Southern Sudan, Kenya and Uganda", approved on December 15, 2008 (File number: 09-08-13).

However by 2008, the Sudanese knew that I was gay, possibly through Gordon Luala and Riek Adwok\*, or other Sudanese at St. John's like Akic Ruati\* and his wife, but more likely through my being 'outed' at Jordan Community Church (following pages) in

June 2008. Consequently convincing Sudanese-born young adults to participate in the focus group with the support of their parents became a real challenge. Several parents even pulled their young adults out of the church because I was present.

However, four young adults still arrived for the focus group on May 21, 2009. All four were the eldest children of parents whom I had already interviewed: Gordon Luala and Zeinab Mokwaj's eldest daughter, Akon; Helena Lino Costa's eldest daughter Elizabeth; David Ochan\*'s oldest daughter (who was not able to stay for more than 20 minutes due to an evening course); and Alew Bwolo's oldest son, Deng. Both Deng and Akon had come to Canada at the age of 8. Elizabeth came at the age of 15, but had left Sudan at the age of 10. All three of them, Elizabeth, Akon and Deng were 20 years old in May 2009. I had interacted with Elizabeth often at the Sudanese church and in conversations with her mother. I had talked with Akon in her home in her mother's presence. I had never met Deng before, although Alew had talked with me often about him as his eldest son. Both Alew Bwolo and Joseph Kiirya came to the introductory part of the focus group discussion, but left when taping of the discussion started.

The focus group lasted two hours and used the attached questionnaire entitled "young adult Christian focus group topics" as the basis for our recorded discussion. (Appendix D) The transcription of the entire focus group discussion was sent to the three participants who provided me additional input.

## **7. Pastor Joseph Kiirya; Jordan Community Church**

The only regular preacher at the Sudanese church services in 2005-2007 was 'Pastor' Samuel Guli who moved to Regina for a paying job in October 2007. Due to my health reasons, I was never able to interview him. His departure left the Sudanese without a regular preacher. The person selected to replace Pastor Samuel regularly was Pastor Joseph Kiirya, a Ugandan-born charismatic trained pastor. I first met Kiirya on March 8, 2006 when he presided at the religious service organized by Gordon Luala to thank God that Gordon and his family had survived three fires in their home in one year. By early 2009, in the absence of a Sudanese-born pastor and a leadership vacuum in the Sudanese church, Kiirya was becoming the pastoral leader for the Sudanese and its most welcome preacher.

Joseph Kiirya's father had been the president of the Salvation Army in Uganda, a highly visible position. "Pastor Joseph" started his ministry in Uganda and came to Canada

in the 1990's as a student. He graduated with a Bachelor in Theology from St. Paul's University in Ottawa and was licensed as a pastor in Ontario by the Evangelical Association of Canada.<sup>18</sup> In Ottawa, he served for several years as assistant pastor at Christ's Chapel Bible Church led by the Nigerian-born charismatic, Pastor Jacob Afolabi. Pastor Afolabi, according to Kiirya, "exercises knowledgeable leadership and a pastoral role for much of the Yoruba-speaking (Nigerian) population in Ottawa." (March 10, 2008)

Kiirya started River Jordan Ministries in 2003, serving primarily the East African communities, encompassing refugees and immigrants and their families born in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Zambia and Southern Sudan. Kiirya was attractive to the Sudanese as the only trained pastor in Ottawa knowledgeable about Sudanese ethnicities, partly because he is, like Bwolo and Ochan a Luo, a people living in large numbers in Southern Sudan, Kenya and Uganda. Also as already pointed out, many of the Christian Sudanese in Ottawa lived much of their lives in areas within 150 kilometres of the Ugandan and Kenyan borders. Some of the Sudanese in Ottawa have spent varying amounts of time in Uganda and Kenya. Consequently, and because of his charisma and trusting relationships especially with Luala and Abraham, Kiirya became an important and trusted source of information and perspectives on the religious and cultural adaptation of the South Sudanese and other Eastern African migrants in Ottawa.

In 2008, Kiirya and I met officially four times, twice in my home, once in his home, and once in his office. With his permission, I began to worship and to formally participate in Bible studies in his congregation, Jordan Community Church in February 2008, building on several previous informal conversations in the previous years. By May 8, 2008, in an e-mail message, Joseph had agreed to work with me unofficially in the organizing of a focus group of Sudanese and Kenyan/Ugandan-born young people, as well as to let me formally interview adult members of his congregation, Sudanese-born and of other national backgrounds whom I had already met in the course of worshipping in his congregation.

However a few Sundays later on June 22, 2008, his assistant pastor John Waithaka discovered that I was gay. The significant effects of leading members of the congregation discovering this 'sinful condition' and yet Pastor's openness to my worshipping with them significantly brought into question Kiirya's leadership in the congregation. The process of

---

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.evangelicalassociation.ca/>

my 'coming out' are documented and discussed in the chapter on the church (Chapter 5N) However, Joseph Kiirya's trust in me was so great that in a formal letter to my supervisor, Dr. Peter Beyer, dated July 15, 2008 Kiirya still formally agreed to "co-operate and offer opportunity to Mr. Tony Lovink to conduct his research over the next year".

Nevertheless, this formal agreement did not materialize in significantly concrete ways. The consequences of his supporting me were too great. Many people left his congregation because Pastor did not reject me as an openly gay Christian. Kiirya did not again allow me to worship in his East African congregation, although he did provide some support in the organization of the Sudanese youth focus group on May 9, 2009. He attended the first 20 minutes of the focus group, bringing one Kenyan-born young adult. As well, he welcomed me warmly to the New Ambassador (Sudanese) church every time he was the preacher, usually the first Sunday of every month. An extensive discussion and analysis of my being openly gay in the context of this research among African-born Christian immigrants is included in my chapter on the Church for African migrants in Canada.

#### ***E. Gender, social class analysis, participant-observer process as gay***

During this research, I only formally interviewed 3 women by themselves: Emmy Ochan\*, Helena Lino and Margaret Chol; 2 wives with their husbands, Zeinab Mokwaj and Nyapen Riet\* and two female young adults, but 15 men. I would have preferred a greater gender balance in interviewing. However, men were most often in leadership positions with cultural power to effect change in their communities and in their interactions with dominant Canadian society. Since I was a man, it was easier to talk to other men than to access more women, although most of the women mentioned above knew that I was gay and welcomed me into their homes with no men present. However many women did not speak English as well as the men, but often knew enough English to understand me if I spoke slowly and distinctly, and listened carefully. There were some noticeable exceptions.

In my informal reactions at worship services or social events, I often talked with women. The following women had an effect on my perspective, in chronological order: Lucy Peters, who met me in her home in her role after Gordon Lualla as the chairperson of the South Sudanese Community Association, but whom I never interviewed officially; Catherine Hakim, David Abraham's wife, who informally provided me fascinating

perspectives at the end of a church service on her experience as nurse and mother in Canada, but whom I was also not able to interview; several other women of high social status and education with whom I interacted socially at Jordan Community Church, one of whom I invited me for long luncheon chat in her home, but she was not Sudanese.

Because of my requiring a relatively high level of analysis and good command of English for this research, I only interviewed men of high social class, defined as those who had completed at least high school and had had significant levels of autonomy over their life decisions. Such levels of autonomy are probably true of most first-wave political refugees who leave a particular country in strife because of their opposition to the political regime in power. I should also reemphasize that many of the Sudanese leaders described earlier had considerable agency in eventually finding their way to Canada through a variety of other countries including Jordan, Egypt, Italy, Kenya, India and England. All of them also had relatives across Canada and the United States as well as across Europe and in Australia. Although their economic means were limited, they were empowered to be active parts of the Sudanese diaspora.

My analysis of the Sudanese experience that follows is therefore somewhat limited, because I could not speak to those refugees who were marginalized by little education, little English and lack of autonomy or who came later as sponsored immigrants by their families. Such marginalization can probably only be combated by effective religious and community-based organizations intimately connected to the lived cultural realities of these new, second-wave migrants whose perspectives this research does not address.

In my earlier reference to insider outsider research aspects of this research, I have already mentioned the impact of my being perceived as a White, tall, aging, Christian, upper class and powerful male. Racial, class, gender, cultural and age dynamics were always present in all my interactions with East African migrants.

My being gay clearly had a negative impact in the latter stages of my research, despite support from community leaders. Leaders and members left one of the churches because of being gay. African-born young adults and adults were far less willing to talk or meet with me after June, 2008, three years after the beginning of my research. This unpredicted development is a significant focus of the chapter on the church and the South Sudanese.

### ***F. Participant observation – detailed information***

All events which I formally attended as a participant observer researcher at both the Sudanese New Ambassador Church and the Jordan Community East African church in 2008-2009 are detailed in appendix C providing the numbers of attendees broken down by gender and age, as well as identifying the nature of each worship service or event.

Worship with the New Ambassador (Sudanese) church were mostly held on Sunday afternoons from about 2 to 4 at the Bronson Centre in downtown Ottawa, occasionally followed by a time of socializing. I also attended several special events organized by the Church such a revival, Easter and Christmas events. Jordan community (East African) church worship services were on Sunday mornings from just after 10 to about one at the Alexander Community Centre on Silver Ave in Ottawa`s near west end. Special social events usually extended these hours significantly. In the statistics table there are references to “revivals” for both churches. These were held at the Talisman Inn (now called the Embassy West Hotel) on Carling Avenue in Ottawa. Other events were held at the Jack Purcell Community Center in downtown Ottawa. The chapter on the Church provides detailed analyses of these worship services and events.

### ***G. Anglican and Catholic denominational perspectives***

Finally, to confirm the Anglican responses to the Sudanese largely provided by Gordon Luala, and to supplement my own knowledge as a member of the parish of St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church, I reviewed files held by the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa provided to me by the chairperson of the Sudan Task Force in the Diocese, Peter Anderson. This information was supplemented by several impromptu discussions and e-mails between him, me and the rector of St. John`s from 1989 to 2007, Garth Bulmer. Vestry records in the parish were also reviewed to confirm dates and events.

To confirm Catholic perspectives on the Sudanese adaptation provided earlier by David Ochan and Alew Bwolo, Deacon Wayne Lee, who had been responsible for the Sudanese in the Catholic Archdiocese of Ottawa from 2002 to 2005, agreed to a long interview for which he approved the transcript with some modifications.

## *H. Chapter outlines*

The next chapter is a literature review of the most important and recent publications related to the following topics: the relevant history and current religious, cultural and ethnic context of the Sudan from which have come the refugees that are the focus of this study; summaries of the only ethnographic studies of the Sudanese in North America; summaries of some of the literature in the broad field of immigration and religion in the United States and Canada, particularly those with relevance to the migration of Black, Christian refugees; overviews of the theoretical immigration frameworks of social capital and segmented assimilation, with emphasis on ethnicity, gender, race and age as variables; finally, a relative brief analysis and description of some of the ways in which recognition of the human rights of gays and lesbians in Canada and its mainstream denominations are beginning to affect the diasporic, African church.

After an overview of social capital theory, very generally defined as “relationships matter”, chapter 3 analyses the ways in which group memberships influence Sudanese identities in Canada. The overall thesis in this chapter is that the Sudanese-born community in Ottawa is ethnically divided, but enough cultural capital and strong leadership may allow Dinkas to maintain ethnic identity as a major identifier in Canada. For religiously conservative individuals from smaller ethnic groups, Christian faith may be the major identity, but gendered and peer relationships may also be important. The extent to which racialized group identity is important is uncertain. Continued links with the Sudan and the Sudanese diaspora through travel and electronic communications, as well as the constant idea for many Sudanese of return to the Sudan, makes a politically defined space in the Sudan and extended family there and in Canada important sources of social capital.

In chapter 4, a segmented assimilation analysis argues that a gender role reversal for refugees coming from a patriarchal society is a significant influence in affecting the adaptation process to the more feminized, post modern dominant Canadian culture. Somewhat similarly, adaptation will be segmented by chronological age of arrival in Canada and possibly by race. From a race perspective, Ottawa as a second tier, non-gateway immigrant city may be significantly different from Toronto with its relatively negative history of racial tensions, primarily involving formerly Caribbean populations.

Finally, chapter 5 focuses on the Christian-related context and adaptation of the South Sudanese. The chapter begins with the denominational history of the Sudan, with the conclusion that the Sudanese religious context will influence the Christian adaptation process in Canada, but that denominational allegiances are very fluid. The chapter provides a detailed description and analysis of the ways Christian leadership, both African and Canadian, Black and White, responded to the sudden presence of hundreds of South Sudanese refugees in Ottawa. Catholic, Anglican and more evangelical perspectives are provided on the experience of the Sudanese partly framed as a response to the influence of Islam in the Sudan. The organizational evolution of two East African rooted organizational church initiatives are described and analyzed, from the perspectives of the church leaders. Finding and funding effective religious leadership will be primarily a function of a critical mass of believers willing to follow ethnically related Black leaders who are able to mediate theological and cultural tensions for believers coming to live in a new dominant culture

Other than a South Sudanese-related church leadership and a critical mass of members, the chapter concludes with several factors which will influence the future of the congregations ministering to the Sudanese in Ottawa. These factors include the ability to involve young adults, partly through music and the church being able to focus some of its fund raising and emotional, diasporic energy to support aid and development projects in countries and communities of origin.

Finally, the chapter looks at how the HIV/AIDS crisis in East Africa and its somewhat misplaced relationship to homosexuality which is negatively stigmatized in most of Africa will affect the Church's ministry, particularly in the context of the current debate within the Global Anglican communion on the role of gay leaders, including bishops and the Christian blessing of same-sex married couples.

The conclusion repeats the questions at the beginning of this introduction and summarizes some possible answers with particular foci on the roles and support of appropriately trained ethnic and religious leaders ending with a series of further questions for follow up research.

## **Chapter 2 – Literature review: Ethnic and religious history of Sudan; social capital; religion and immigration North America; segmented assimilation; sexual orientation**

### ***A. Introduction***

The intention of this brief literature overview is to summarize important publications and articles that have significantly influenced my thinking related to the adaptation of African-born Christians in North America, as well as to provide an overview of the theoretical frameworks, social capital, segmented assimilation and religious organizations, that I have used to analyze this adaptation. The purpose of this brief literature review is also to situate my thesis in the literature, to indicate some gaps in the literature that the thesis addresses or helps to address and thereby to make clearer, my thesis' contribution to scholarship

The first literature review topic focuses on the historical, religious and ethnic context of Southern Sudan, because my research presumes that first generation refugee will always reference the values, ethnic culture and religion in their region of origin while adapting their lives in a new culture and context. An understanding of immigrant backgrounds is essential to understand the adaptation process. I have also emphasized the writings by South Sudanese academics themselves to compensate for my being an *etic* researcher, standing outside the cultures whose adaptation is the focus of this research.

I then review the writings of the three American authors who have studied the Sudanese currently living in the United States. Two of them focused on the Nuers there. Their analysis of the South Sudanese response to changed gendered milieus, as well as the ethnic and religious aspects of their 'integration' is summarized.

Two sections of this literature review then summarize some of the studies on religion and immigration in the United States and Canada with some comparisons of the two countries. Religion and immigration is a speciality field which has experienced resurgence, most especially since the apparently religious-motivated attacks on the United States in September, 2001. The current literature builds the work of leading academics in the post second world war period when immigration flows were primarily from Europe and assimilationist approaches to immigrants were dominant.

My review of the recent growing field is mostly limited to publications in which authors have addressed the religious and ethnic aspects of Black Christian immigration to North America. Although I am aware of many studies of other visible minority migrants groups such as the Chinese, Sikhs and Vietnamese and especially of Muslim Somalis and of Native peoples migrating to urban areas in Canada for many historical, religious, racial and cultural reasons, I would suggest that the experience of Black Christian immigrants from Africa is not comparable to these other groups.

The review then summarizes relevant publications in the two theoretical fields of this dissertation: social capital and segmented assimilation. In the former, the review emphasizes the role in the immigrant settlement process of groupings on the basis of ethnicity, race, age, religion and gender. The segmented assimilation perspective of the adaptation process looks at intersectional, more individualistic factors in the adaptation process, including social class, race and gender.

Finally, I review two books related to the intersection between sexual orientation, Africa and the Anglican Church, building on some of the articles reviewed in previous sections. This topic is included in this literature review because of the importance of the topic sexual orientation and the church unpredictably took during the research documented by this dissertation.

### ***B. History, culture, religion and ethnic relations in South Sudan***

The most recent general publication on Sudan is entitled *Culture and Customs of Sudan* (2009) by Kwame Essien and Toyin Falola, both specialists in African history and culture. The book is part of a series put out by Greenwood Press on many countries in Africa, and as such cannot be totally classified as academic with perhaps too many generalizations and not enough references, but all of the references were published since 2000. With these reservations, the book is a valuable introduction to the cultures of the Sudan.

The introduction traces the politics and history of the Sudan with emphasis on its enormous ethnic diversity, economy and history. The summary chapter on “religion and worldview”, (p. 45-75) quotes Francis Deng that “religion is a pivotal factor in the conflict [in the Sudan]” (p. 45). Deng subsequently admirably shows how religion may be a key to the understanding of the Sudan with sections on religious dynamics in the Sudan including

the history and structures of Christianity, those of Islam and various forms of traditional religions.

Of particular use as background for this research was also Essien and Fayola's chapter on "Gender roles, marriage and family", again emphasizing the enormous diversity of marriage practice, but noting the similarity of ethnic traditions around the patriarchal process of marriage negotiations between extended families, including those processes around establishing the bride price. Interestingly, the authors maintain that traditional religions, the expression of traditional cultures, provide far more opportunities for "women's involvement" (p. 144) than either of the monotheistic religions. This comment reinforces part of my thesis that women in traditional Sudanese culture actually have a lot of power.

Finally, the book concludes with some valuable perceptions of how a large variety of religious norms influence daily behaviours, such as greeting, gender relations and music, while making useful distinctions between rural and urban environments, pointing out rightly that cities, nearly by definition, are "open to the knowledge of the outside world". Nearly all Sudanese refugees on which my research focused were urban dwellers in the Sudan.

Totally different from the above general book is the much more politicized analysis of the history of the Sudan, *White Nile, Black blood: War, leadership, and ethnicity from Khartoum to Kampala*, (2000) edited by Jay Spaulding and Stephanie Beswick. The writers are all specialists on the Sudan, focusing their attention on the themes of "economics, violence and identity as the most viable channels" (p. xix) for scholarly discussion about the Sudan. Of particular usefulness has been Stephanie Beswick's own article in this volume on "War, women and leadership in the Sudan" in which she convincingly argues that the long civil war and militarization of the Sudan has "encouraged changes in gender roles as well as a restructuring of the relations of dominance of the old over the young". (p. 105) Her examples of the powerful spiritual, military and political roles of some Dinka women as well as the decreasing pressure for women to have children is integrated into my chapter on segmented assimilation.

A brief article by Giovanni Vantini in this edited volume is entitled "The first missionary post in Southern Sudan in the twentieth century" shows how the missions to the

South were a “success” (p. 322) partly because they were able to combine the healing power of Western medicine with community outreach and were effectively able to maintain their alliances with the Shilluk royal family. Paradoxically building on missionary successes, one of the conclusions of my own research is that Canadian society has to build on the roles of traditional Sudanese leaders in supporting the adaptation process of the Sudanese to a new culture.

Finally, this edited volume by Spaulding and Beswick also includes an article again by Francis Mading Deng, possibly the world’s foremost authority on the Ngok Dinkas of the Abyei area. In 2009, Francis Deng was special adviser to the United Nations Secretary General for the prevention of genocide and mass atrocities and a widely published author.<sup>19</sup> Deng in this article and later in his book, *Militarization, gender and reproductive health in South Sudan* (2009)<sup>20</sup>, shows that the Ngok Dinka had a key role in being a bridge between the peoples of South Sudan and their northern Arab neighbours. Perhaps more relevant to this dissertation, Deng shows that a very powerful leader, the paramount chief of a people, “with his over two hundred wives with nearly a thousand sons and daughters” (p. 314) was able to combine traditional values with modern practices in maintaining his power and the influence of his people. His children are represented in all the professional categories in the country, emphasizing that “tradition and heredity are still the sources of leadership legitimacy” (p. 315), as they may also be in Canada.

Since the Dinkas live on the geographical divide and try to arbitrate between North and South Sudan, Deng argues that it is possible that the Dinkas will be sacrificed in the goal of having an independent Southern Sudan. This possibility is complicated by the discovery of large amounts of oil near Abyei in the Dinka area which the central government in Khartoum obviously wants to control.<sup>21</sup> Francis Deng pleads that the Sudan

---

<sup>19</sup> His full biography is on the United Nations web site for its senior staff at: [http://www.un.org/sg/senstaff\\_details.asp?smgID=137](http://www.un.org/sg/senstaff_details.asp?smgID=137) Accessed November 27, 2009. Please also consult my review of his 2010 book later in this review.

<sup>20</sup> In fact this book is a new edition of his 1986 book with an update at the end to reflect the period up to 2009.

<sup>21</sup> Sudan: Breaking the Abyei Deadlock, Africa Briefing N°47, 12 October 2007 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=5122> Accessed 2009.11.10 Always in the background of this dissertation is a consciousness that all civil wars are significantly the result of a power struggle to access major economic resources, and that this struggle too often gets framed in religious, racial and ethnic terms, affecting the emotional and real relationships between peoples.

follow the inspiration of his namesake, the most prominent paramount chief of the Dinkas for a united Sudan, irrespective of race and religion, a wish that is possibly also the weakness of the book.

Two months before submitting this dissertation, I became aware of a new book by Francis Deng (2010) entitled *Customary Law in the Modern World: the crossfire of Sudan's war of identities*. This book provides a detailed exposition of customary laws among the Dinkas and includes a series of interviews with Southern Sudan judges as to how customary law, or the normative world view of the peoples of the South, could be codified into law in opposition to *sharia* law which is now being imposed on the cultures of the South. Deng argues that codifying customary ethnic laws is the only way to confront the imperial threat of currently more dominant cultures and religions and to provide cultural capital for the peoples of the Southern Sudan.

Southerners take pride in their customary law as part of their identity and self-determination that should influence all levels of their life, informal and formal, private and public. It is seen almost as a mirror image of the Muslim view of Sharia as the correct path, which view the South has been violently resisting. (p. 49)

The book is useful for this dissertation because it shows how traditional cultures in the Sudan itself are questioning the values implicit in customary laws based on descent, gender and age, while at the same time recognizing that these 'laws' have worked for centuries and still rule the behaviour of the vast majority of Southern Sudanese peoples. Deng's gender analysis states that women are demanding reform of customary law themselves. (p. 42)

Finally in terms of a review of relevant, recent books on the history, cultures and religions of South Sudan, again written by a South Sudanese, the books by the Dinka, Jok Madut Jok, although politicized, provide important information and perspectives. His most recent publication distributed as an e-book in 2007, entitled *Race, religion and violence* states the following:

The state, largely controlled by groups that self-identify as Arabs, has sought to forge the Sudanese national identity as 'Arab' and 'Islamic' while the majority of the population increasingly prefer to identify themselves by their specific ethnic/tribal (sic) names or simply 'African' or 'Black.' (Jok, 2007, p. 2)

The book analyzes the way in which race is a construct honed by religious and political experience in the “cauldron of the struggle for power and identity in the Sudan”. In other words, being a Black is a symbol of economic and political exclusion as well as a reason for harassment and discrimination. Race for South Sudanese therefore affects daily life. Jok asks the major question which also underlies my dissertation: “whether ethnic, racial, and religious diversity [in the Sudan] is to be embraced as a source of strength or to be attacked and eliminated as a source of weakness and disunity”? (p. 275) His parallel between Sudan and *apartheid* South Africa is quite shocking, but underlines perhaps the racial consciousness that South Sudanese have that is not true for example for other East Africans to nearly the same extent.

Jok ends his book by suggesting that Sudan is not governable as a unitary state, given the separation tendencies and major cultural, economic and religious differences between the North and the South, Darfur and the Eastern regions. In light of the increasing evidence that the 2005 peace between Southern and Northern Sudan is breaking down, Jok may be right.

An earlier, anthropological book by Jok (1998) focused on the Dinkas of southwestern Sudan, explored “the relationship between reproductive health and war-related displacement, famine and the breakdown of socio-cultural institutions” (p. 3). The book addresses the question: how does the Dinka culture cope when their men have been killed by a long war “transforming cultural patterns” with a skewed gender ratio, leaving women in positions of responsibility and power. However as Beswick in her edited volume noted above also pointed out, women also no longer have the traditional coping mechanisms “to regulate power and gender relations”, (Beswick, 2000, p. 16) but suddenly have significantly increased responsibilities. Especially in the context of HIV/AIDS, presuming enough information, Jok suggests that Dinka culture will reconfigure to give new meaning to sexuality, ultimately giving more power to women, shedding new light on their “cultural duty to have children” (p. 226). Traditional South Sudanese society has several ways of controlling sexuality “including inflicting fear through religious beliefs” (p. 313), but young people may no longer adhere, especially in situations of rapid change from war and population displacement.

Although this brief survey of studies on the peoples of the South Sudan is by no means complete, all the studies of Sudanese migrants in North America summarized in the following section also include analyses of relevant aspects of Sudanese culture and religion.

### *C. The Sudanese in North America*

The only study by a Sudanese-born academic of the Sudanese population in North America is that by Rogaia Moustafa Abusharaf (2002). Unfortunately for my own work, his field work was primarily among northern Sudanese males in the United States. Only 8% of his migrants surveyed were from the South and not all of these were Christians. Yet, Abusharaf also asserts that 82% of Southerners reported war as the primary reason for coming to North America (p. 9). Relevant to my research, Abusharaf reports “restructuring of gender boundaries in the migratory context” (p. 124) referring to the increased numbers and levels of responsibilities of many Sudanese women in North America, but this is his only significant mention of a topic that is a major focus of my research.

In significant opposition to my research, Abusharaf reports on two phenomena among Sudanese migrants in North America: “a pronounced national homogenization as Sudanese”, a “de-ethnicization” (p. 164), but offers no significant proof for this statement. Abusharaf also identifies “a racialization [of the Sudanese] as Black people in a White-dominated society”, although a page later he admits that this process of racialization may have begun in the Sudan itself where “conceptions of skin colour” (p. 165) are very complex. The American experience of race is also unique meaning that his analysis may not apply to Canada, my coming to the conclusion that racialization is not a major factor for first wave Christian South Sudanese refugees.

Abusharaf’s book tends to be written from a Northern, if not a Muslim perspective. As well, its intentions are blatantly clear: that Sudanese migrants “can create a new, united Sudan upon their return” (p. 167). How radical religious, ethnic and racial tensions get resolved among the Sudanese in the diaspora is not significantly addressed by Abusharaf.

The first publication on the adaptation of Sudanese living in North America with a focus on southerners was that by Jon Holtzman (2000) on Nuer refugee community in Minnesota. His book is primarily the result of participant observation and involvement in this community, an approach similar to mine, but his study is primarily ethnographic capturing a detailed description of daily Nuer life in Minnesota. The book appears to be

written largely for settlement agencies and social workers interacting with Nuer refugees in the United States, although it clearly is useful for work for work with similar peoples like the Dinkas, a principal ethnic focus of this research.

Nearly all Holtzman's informants in Minnesota had "low English competence and low education ... and [were] mostly younger people" (p. 37-38), a socio-economic fact not true in Ottawa, Canada's capital city which appears to have generally attracted more highly politicized and educated refugees. However similar to Ottawa, there were few multi-generational families in the refugee community he studied. But also different from Ottawa was a Nuer community in Minnesota that did not compete with other Sudanese ethnicities and was therefore able to consolidate its status in the state, including the setting up of a state-supported self-help organization. However, this organization with American and Sudanese-born members collapsed on the shoals of personality and apparent clan conflicts. Organizations based on more traditional cultural bases, regional clans, seemed to have worked better, an aspect of ethnic-related organization only explored tangentially in my research.

Holtzman's analysis of changed gender relations supported by social workers in Minnesota might be duplicated in Ottawa, including the way in which husbands are practically forced to take responsibility for parenting and housekeeping, often to their dismay. Holtzman's descriptions and analyses of value differences between the Nuer and Americans were fascinating. (p. 112f) Differences included: attitudes to being on time; ways of "giving, receiving and expressing gratitude" (p. 117); the use of space, 'too many' people living in the same apartment; the role of family members in healing. The role of social workers and nurses in arbitrating these differences is described. Unfortunately from an academic point of view, none of these differences are documented with specific references to interviews with dates or to events.

I saw many of these value differences noted by Holtzman during visits to Sudanese homes, including a far larger number of people living in one home than would be culturally acceptable in mainstream Canada. However, the only values that I considered in some depth in my own work, in a similar way to Holtzman, were the different understandings of time and of gender roles.

Finally, of relevance to my research, Holtzman concludes with a short chapter on “Nuer refugees in American churches”, with the thesis that “the church provides perhaps the only continuity between life in Africa and Minnesota” (123). Most Nuers appear to attend a church service on a regular basis, but the depth of involvement varied greatly. The description of the relationship between Nuers and churches in Minnesota reflects similar ethnic patterns to those found in Ottawa. Nuer worship styles with extensive use of drumming, “a raucous lively affair” (p. 126) made their stay in White, Presbyterian churches untenable. In a competitive church environment, a more flexible, evangelical church provided better space and more support for the Nuers in Minnesota. In Ottawa, there are no examples of Sudanese sharing mainstream denominational church spaces. However, the pattern of a large underutilized church sharing space with a nascent migrant church is not unusual, especially in the United States where churches are more involved in refugee settlement than in Canada. (Ebaugh & Chafetz, 2000; Alba, Raboteau, De Wind, 2009)

The greatest authority on Nuer refugee populations in the United States is Dianna Shandy with several publications on this general topic. Her most recent book (2007) is an ethnography of the ways over a 10-year period from 1996-2006 that Nuers “used social networks, technology and information flows in their quest for better lives of themselves and their families” (p. 1). For this research, she interviewed mostly in English “approximately four hundred (mostly Nuer) refugees in the United States and in Africa” (p. 6). Her study focuses on the religion, politics and education of the Nuers nationally and internationally.

It could be argued that studies of the Nuers are not relevant to this dissertation with its somewhat unintended primary focus on the Dinkas as the largest group in Ottawa. But the Nuers are the neighbouring peoples to the Dinkas in the Sudan. More important, the Nuer and Dinka intermarry but are also pastorally competing with each other for land and water for their grazing cattle. A significant political difference between the Dinkas and the Nuers is that the latter have not been influenced as much as the Dinkas by the Islamic government in Khartoum and its imposition of Arabic, partly because a significant percentage of Nuers live in Western Ethiopia.

Shandy begins her analysis of the Nuers in the United States by noting the causes of their migration and the process by which they entered the United States as refugees. She notes rightly that the process of migration for most refugees is radically different from than

for most immigrant groups so that the study of other migrant groups in the United States will probably not apply. Under the topic of “flight patterns”, she notes that “flight and departure were gendered processes” (p. 79). Far more Sudanese men were resettled than women, at least in the first wave of Sudanese migration. Refugees who settle in North America are also seldom the poorest, but rather those able to access communication modes to get the information necessary to gain access to the networks that allowed for migration. I also emphasize that Sudanese refugees in Ottawa have significant agency.

Shandy’s treatment of “Nuer and U.S. churches” (p. 105f) is limited to a discussion of the inability of Presbyterian churches to integrate Sudanese Christians partly because of the competition for new members between all churches. There is only a passing reference to “interdenominational services around the holidays”. (p. 107)

However, in line with my thesis, she writes a whole chapter on “Gender relations: the transnational sandwich generation” (p. 109-126), highlighting many of the tensions in Nuer families. These tensions include: the role of elders and male authority; gender role expectations in the home and at work; women having to support two families - their family of origin in the Sudan, and their family of procreation in the United States. The latter tension is her reference to refugee women being part of a ‘sandwich generation’, the requirement to send monies ‘home’, also called remittances in other contexts, while also supporting a family in North America. Although conscious of this financial element in my interviewees’ lives, the individual remittance focus was generally beyond the scope of my work, although I do include a section on organizational church links back to communities of origin.

In the chapter on gender, Shandy and I both found that continued bride price payments are contested when women acquire more power in North America, although for researchers like us, working outside the informants’ world view, being outside the culture, but dependent on trusted informants, such information remains anecdotal, limited to a few examples. During many interviews with Nuer men, Shandy like me listened to “lashing out by men to compensate for their diminished capacity to control women” (p. 121) in North America, and their concomitant lack of power to get back the bride price paid to their wives’ family by the male’s family at the time of marriage. The working out of Nuer women having far more opportunities to be educated and to be financially independent

surfaced a lot in both Shandy and my research. However, as Shandy notes, it is far easier to speak to men with their generally better English, but both of us recognize that the “the process of resettlement is gendered” (p. 126).

Finally, because Shandy was able to study the mobility of the Nuer across the United States, she provides extensive examples of Nuer secondary migration to different states and cities, either to where there were larger concentrations of Nuer, or to take advantage of better public housing and higher welfare payments. This mobility is also documented by Holtzman. I certainly noted the diasporic connectedness of Sudanese across the world, and the movement of my informants in search for jobs in Canada and back to the Sudan, but my research was consciously limited to one city and the religious/ethnic institutions set up to meet the needs of the Sudanese in Ottawa. Such an organizational focus is not part of Shandy’s work which is solely anthropological, but multi-sited. As well, the study is limited to one ethnic group making generalization about all Sudanese difficult,

#### ***D. Religion and immigration in the United States***

During the post second world war period with very large scale immigration to North America from Europe, it is possible that the most influential book on religion and immigration was that by Will Herberg (1955; 1960) entitled *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An essay in American religious sociology*. In the context of this post-war wave of immigration from Europe, Will Herberg (1955) influentially argued that the perpetuation of ethnic or national differences was out of line with the American reality. All immigrants would eventually assimilate or experience ever greater belonging to American society. The only kind of separateness or diversity that America recognized as permanent and yet involving no status or inferiority, according to Herberg, was the distinctiveness of Jewish, Protestant and Catholic religious communities defined initially by language and culture.

Herberg’s book was then and is now unreadable for ‘non-Europeans’, non-Whites inducing what Takaki (1993) calls a “psychic disequilibrium” for Americans (and Canadians). The immigrant experience in the United States and Canada is now far more racially, religiously and culturally varied than in Herberg’s day when he and others (Gordon, 1964) could argue for assimilation or the absorbing of all immigrants into a cultural resemblance. An assimilation approach was even easier when some cities like

Ottawa had practically no Blacks, and women were barely recognized as economic participants in the society. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, we understand that all lives are gendered, racialized as well as differentiated by age and that all individuals have an intrinsic equality. A male and female generally, a White and a Black potentially, a gay and straight, can have the same life outcomes, depending mostly on social class and access to power.

Following a somewhat similar assimilationist approach to Herbert, the most recent general publication on the topic of religion and immigration, restoring religion as an important topic in the discourse on immigration in North America, is that edited by Richard Alba, Albert Raboteau and Josh De Wind (2009) *Immigration and religion in America: comparative and historical perspectives*. The book is somewhat typical of much assimilationist American writing presuming that the goal of religious migrants to the United States is “to gain acceptance and influence”, that immigrants will eventually succeed in “intermixing” using the example of Catholic Italians and Jews to make this point. (p. 12-17) In their introduction, the editors also suggest that many non-white immigrants (Japanese and Korean) recognized “the constraints that race might impose on their opportunities [and] sought to minimize other differences from the American mainstream” by becoming Christians.

The articles in this edited volume most directly relevant to my research were that by Elizabeth McAlister and Karen Richman (2009) entitled “Catholic, Vodou, and Protestant: Being Haitian, becoming American-Religious pluralism, immigrant incorporation and transnationalism” (p. 319-352) and that by James Grossman and Albert Raboteau on “Black migration, religion and civic life” (p. 304-318). Both are historical and comparative. Grossman and Raboteau discuss the major differences between the South and the North in the United States as Blacks moved from an area where their churches were dominant, where “southern Black preachers exercised secular power” (p. 315) to a northern environment where the church competed with other Black secular organizations. The Exodus vision of the Bible continues to influence the American Black experience. It is possible that the movement of the Sudanese in the Sudan, where religion is central to life, moving to Ottawa from the Sudan, is parallel to migration within the United States from South to North, from a religious cultural environment to a more individualized world.

The second article by McAlister *et al* points out how Haitians did not want to be identified with African Americans as the ‘bottom rung’ of society, but used their own religion and languages (Creole, Haitian French) as “performative markers” (p. 327) for Haitians successfully creating ethnic spaces through their own churches and other religious expressions. Haitians tended to go to churches which offered in their own languages and occasions to socialize and be together several times a week, a similar goal for the Sudanese. McAlister and Richman emphasize the diasporic quality of many Haitian churches, with the centre of religion still found in Haiti. Sudanese adults also clearly do not want to be seen as American Blacks or as Somalis and also continually refer back to the Sudan as the centre of their identity.

Given my research focus, it is unfortunate that the only reference to the unique role of women in Haitian communities is that “the Haitian home altar is a religious space controlled by women” (p. 332). Using the index and skimming the whole book, in 11 of the 12 major articles, , the above reference to female home altars for the Haitians and to Muslim Arab women appear to be the only significant reference, to the gendered nature of all religious and immigrant experiences. I find it astonishing that such a major publication on religion and immigration in 2007 provides so little perspective on gender role tensions in the immigrant adaptation process. I have tried to make a small contribution to the understanding that gendered identity is crucial to any analysis of religious migrant community adaptations.

Other books on religion and immigration that are important from an American perspective are those by Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) and by Warner and Wittner (1998), both published before the twin World Trade towers destruction on September 11, 2001 in New York City and the resulting great increase in public interest in the general topic of religion and immigration. However, both these books reflect the interest in the increased religious diversity in the United States following significant changes in immigration rules after 1965. The Ebaugh *et al* edited volume builds on the Warner *et al* study by focusing on the culturally diverse area of the greater Houston area in Texas, an area with significant religious and cultural diversity.

The theme of the Ebaugh series of studies is that religious groups will tend to form separate, more homogenous congregations. “Maintaining cohesiveness and harmony within

religious institutions marked by ethnic and linguistic differences appears to be sufficiently difficult that only a few have been able to so as a stable, long-term practice” (p. 448). The studies are relatively uniform in affirming that the second “bicultural” generation will not be interested in ethnically “homogenous congregations”. There is also a “hint of cleavage or conflict based on differences in socio-economic status among members” (p. 449). Both of these latter statements are probably supported by my own research as reflected in my conclusion.

The edited volume by Warner and Wittmer was focused “to discover the specific details of daily life that make the religious communities what they are” (p. 367). This micro focus removed most thematic analysis in the volume, although considerable attention is paid to the functional organization of several congregations, including descriptions of gendered roles. There are also several articles in this volume referring to generational conflict, but only one with significant racial dynamics.

The field of religion and immigration in the United States has been exploding recently. However, none of them to my knowledge focus specifically on the immigration of East African Christians. The above three volumes published from 1998 to 2009 represent what appear to be the most readily available and cited books on this general topic.

### ***E. Religion and immigration in Canada***

The two edited volumes by Bramadat and Seljak (2005; 2008) analyze the religious and ethnic diversity in Canada’s population resulting from the changes in recent government immigration policy with a multitude of lenses including gender and intergenerational relations, particularly after the apparently religiously motivated attacks of September 11, 2001 in New York City.

The 2005 volume *Religion and ethnicity in Canada* provides a series of articles comparing and analysing the expressions of non-Christian religions in Canada through various consistent themes: history; worldview; identity; gender and intergenerational relations with some focusing on “racism and discrimination” and a few on “contemporary issues and controversies”. Their analysis of the gendered nature of all religious expression in Canada is one that inspired me in my own research. In the nature of what is more of an introductory college text, the articles in general analyse well the world religions which have found root in Canada. Unfortunately within the articles, there is little reference to the

specific ethnic expression, linguistic and cultural of nearly all religious communities, as well as their necessary social class bondedness. My research specifically suggests that a strong ethnic or religious organization, at least for first generation African-born refugees, may be essential for survival in a new cultural environment. .

Similarly to the Ebaugh and Chafetz text, Bramadat and Seljak in 2005 provided insights on the public policy, educational and health related aspects of the increasing religious and ethnic diversity in Canada. It was important to be reminded that under the original multicultural policy in Canada (1971) “religion was subsumed under the label of race” but that the subsequent Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) provides protection of the freedom of religion which guarantees “individuals and communities equality before the law in regards to religion and immunity from interference” (p. 163).

The second volume by Bramadat and Seljak (2008) *Christianity and ethnicity in Canada* focuses on the “role of ethnicity in shaping Canada’s Christian churches” (p. 4), part of the topic of this dissertation. The great strength of the book academically is that it recognizes the “artificial separation” (p. 19) between religion and ethnic identities and therefore the difficulty most migrants to Canada face in negotiating “these two strands of [their] identity.” (p. 21)

However, the book presumes that most Christian immigrants to Canada will still integrate into some form of the 10 Christian denominational structures documented in the book whereas “Latin American and African societies have experienced the phenomenal growth of Pentecostal [non-denominational] movements” (Corten and Marshall-Fratani, 2001, p. 1). Perhaps as I have discovered the reason for not exploring the non-denominational experience is that such religious communities are so much more difficult to penetrate for academic researchers than mainstream churches.

In this context, Bruce Guenther’s article in this edited volume entitled “Ethnicity and evangelical Protestants in Canada (p. 365-414) focuses on the ethnic diversity within the Church and the “transcultural identity” (p. 399) that so often faces Christian migrants from non-European cultures. Guenther also notes “several Black congregational networks” (p. 384) and the organization by the Haitian community of some of the “largest Protestant churches” in Montreal. My chapter on the church and the Sudanese in Ottawa with its appendix somewhat speaks to this topic of racially and ethnically defined churches.

Given my own partial focus on Sudanese Anglicans, Wendy Fletcher's article in Bramadat and Seljak (2008) entitled "Canadian Anglicanism and ethnicity" (p. 138-167) provided several general insights. At the beginning of my research, I presumed that Sudanese-born Anglicans, members of a denomination "imbued with historic privilege" (p. 139) would be able to access this 'privilege' to access networks of influence, or bridging and linking capital as discussed in my chapter on social capital. That the Sudanese in Ottawa were not able to access this capital may be due to the inherent "political conservatism . . . and observably small r racist" (p. 139) attitudes of many Anglicans, although Fletcher only applies this description to her own family "when it came to First Nations persons".

In early 2008 before the election of a new Anglican primate and several bishops, Fletcher wrote:

As an increasing number of Anglicans from other parts of the world immigrate to Canada, Anglican attitudes here are likely to shift. Given that Anglicans in most of the rest of the world hold considerably more conservative views . . . it seems likely that Canadian Anglican opinion will probably shift in that direction as well. (p. 155)

The results from my research would indicate that although African Anglicans will want to maintain a link to their "putatively universal heritage" (p. 164), the denomination as a whole is becoming more liberal in its continued ordaining of female priests and bishops as well as of gay and lesbian clergy, at least in most urban dioceses. By May, 2010, there were 3 openly gay and one lesbian priest employed by the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa. Most African Anglicans will probably not feel comfortable in such a denomination, but it is hardly true that the denomination is becoming more conservative. Rather the denomination knows that it needs to attract the young post-Christians of Canadian society with a more inclusive message if the denomination is to survive. Options for morally and theologically conservative Anglicans are limited. For example, Fletcher reports that "all the Chinese Anglican congregations in the Vancouver Anglican Diocese of New Westminster left [the denomination] and sought affiliation with African Anglican churches [in the Diocese of Rwanda (!)]" (p. 159) who share their opposition to the denomination supporting the blessing of couples in married same-sex relationships and the ordaining of gay and lesbian clergy. Global Christianity is moving towards other post-colonial global forms, partly

stimulated by this major cultural divide on values and sexuality-related issues, the latter woefully neglected by the teachings of the missionary church. Fletcher also suggests that this cultural divide is gendered.

A comment is needed on most research in North America on religion and immigration: there is a very limited focus on the absolutely influential role of specific pastors, priests and bishops. In none of the volumes reviewed above is there a detailed biography and analysis of particular individual leaders who demanded or initiated ethnic or cultural or differing theological expressions of their Christian faith and who had significant effects on their community.

One of the exceptions to a lack of focus on leaders, but also with a significant focus on Black women in the church is the ethnography by Carol B. Duncan (2008) entitled *This Spot of Ground*, an account of the history and purpose of the “Spiritual Baptists in Toronto”.

[This book] represents the first detailed exploration of an African-Canadian religion in the context of contemporary migration to Canada. Toronto is home to Canada’s largest Black population, a significant portion of which comprises Caribbean migrants and their descendants. This book shows how the development of the Spiritual Baptist religion in Canada has been shaped by the immigration experiences of church members, the large majority of whom are women, and it examines the ways in which religious experiences have influenced the members’ experiences of migration and everyday life in Canada. (Back cover of the book, Wilfrid Laurier University Press)

Unfortunately this first book on “African-Canadian religion” was published after I had completed my research for this thesis. As a groundbreaking study and the first one on the recent Black migrant Christian experience in Canada, it could have influenced my work. As somewhat similar to my research, she interviewed many (17) leaders in the congregation, including several leading women and its male archbishop as well as participating in many prayer meetings, worship services and “bus trips” organized by the congregation. Duncan writes from a largely “insider” (p. 5) perspective “as a member of the Caribbean community in Toronto” (p. ix) and as a Black woman as well as a friend and family member of people who identify as Spiritual Baptists. In some contrast, I write largely from an *outsider* perspective, culturally and racially, making it perhaps more difficult for me to gain the confidence and trust of my informants than for Duncan. On the other hand, I

shared my informants' faith and much of their theology and as an older male community leader I appeared to gain the trust of both males and females.

Duncan vividly describes and analyses a "homogeneous" ethnic church environment connecting "experiences of worship in Trinidad, Toronto, and U.S. cities" (p. 2) that has evolved over a "thirty year period in Toronto from 1975" (p. 3) and allows for "community and identity forms that transcend national boundaries" (p. 4, quoting James Clifford). The Sudanese could perhaps have the same kind of church if they are able to maintain a connection back to the Sudan, a more costly effort than to Trinidad, and if there are eventually enough South Sudanese of one ethnicity to set up their own church with skilled leaders. Duncan has no references, other than travel, to the importance of current electronic communications technology for people in transnational diasporic relationships to support each other.

Duncan's study is a study primarily of one church through which its members, mostly female "domestic workers", were able to maintain religious and cultural connection to enable them "to counter the race and racism in their daily lives" (p.3). A major purpose of the church was "for working class Caribbean people . . . to overcome the hardships of everyday life" (p. 39). Although many of the women in the two East African churches in which I researched had low-paying jobs in Canada, their males and some of the women themselves were middle/upper class people in the Sudan with considerable agency and experience to counter the racism which is undoubtedly part of lower class life in Toronto. However, my thesis suggests that such racism is less in evidence in a second-tier immigrant city such as Ottawa where the Black population is in majority from Africa rather than from the Caribbean as in Toronto, and probably of a higher social class than the Trinidadian Black population on which Duncan focused.

Duncan's study as an ethnography is made easier because she understood the Creole that her mostly female informants spoke. Much of the book then provides human insights into the lived experience of her informants, but the result is that the reader has to traverse dozens of pages of interview transcripts which "transgress barriers between the past and present; black and white; listener and speaker" (p. 20), a challenge that makes the book hard to access for a complete outsider, but does well illustrate that most migrants constantly "reconnect and remember through time and space". (p. 29) I know that such a

“discontinuous” process exists for my Sudanese informants, but was not able to capture it, other than in an academic analysis.

The Toronto Spiritual Baptist Church is a continuation of religious and cultural forms that have their basis in an over-four-hundred-year-long tradition of resistance to slavery and colonialism by Africans and their descendants. (p. 248).

According to Duncan’s analysis, such a church has a political and social purpose which would not generally be true for most recent East African migrants who have little experience of the same kind of racism as in the Caribbean and Toronto, although these churches have other social capital and political goals. Duncan also notes that the Trinidadian church is challenged to remain the same, with values and clothes that “invoke the past”, to continue “conservative definitions of gender” while at the same time “these are being challenged” (p. 250). These constant tensions, past, present and future, were continually part of my own experience working with the Sudanese. Churches and peoples in diasporic relationships who “look to the past and the future” (p. 252) and at the same time carry with them a “liminality and hybridity” (p. 254) which can be very uncomfortable and perhaps even dysfunctional, especially for first generation migrants on which both Duncan and I have focused.

*Between Babel and Pentecost*, sub-titled *transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*, edited by André Corten and Ruth Marshall-Fratani (2001) also presumes a continued balance between the local and the transnational. . The authors point to an “increasingly complex web of transnational Pentecostal networks, where flows of people, money, ideas and images circulate ... defying all attempts to tie them down to any particular source or destination” (p.1). The book is a series of case studies in Brazil, Nigeria, Ghana and Malawi among others recognizing a transnational Pentecostal identity with local “unique historical and cultural particularities” (p. 2). In the context of my research working with a diasporic connected Sudanese, the following comment is accurate:

The challenge for research is to recognize the precariousness of locality, both as the central basis for constructing the object of research, and a new and often troubling experience for the people being studied. (p. 3)

The Sudanese physically lived in Ottawa, but only in a limited way emotionally and mentally, with no real commitment to staying in Canada, except for economic reasons and

for the education of their children. One wonders whether the members of Duncan's Spiritual Baptists in Toronto had the same challenge.

The volume by Corten and Marshall-Fratani expanded my understanding of Pentecostalism from its older definitional link as implying 'speaking in tongues' to the term now referring to: "Miracles of prosperity and 'divine healing' (understood in the broadest sense of alleviating the causes of suffering, be they physical, financial, spiritual and social) and 'global spiritual warfare'." (p. 5) Using this definition, the churches in which I participated during this research may have been Pentecostal, although I have avoided using this term since the term was never used by any of my informants. However, in the many sermons in the churches I attended, I heard a gospel of prosperity and witnessed frequent 'laying on' of hands for healing and blessing, both a global and personal message. Pentecostalism has no overarching structures, giving it great freedom to innovate doctrinally, but continues to emphasize "moral rigour and strict personal ethics", a tension in the message of the churches in which I participated.

The Corten et al volume has a number of useful articles on African Pentecostalism which is different from the historically older forms of Pentecostalism in Latin America. Several articles point out that in Africa, Pentecostalism has been enormously successful recently and in Africa tends to be found principally among the educated in urban areas (p. 17), the origin of most of the refugees whom I interviewed. In Latin America by contrast, Pentecostalism is found principally among the poor. The African specialists in this publication of particular note are André Droogers, Harri England, Paul Gifford, and Rijk van Dijk. Van Dijk (p. 216- 234) focuses on the link between "Pentecostalism as the most popular form of Christianity" (p. 219) and the "approximately twenty-five Ghanaian Pentecostal in the Netherlands" (p. 223). His understanding is that "born again ... often means a complete break with the [non-Pentecostal] family and this subsequently means rejecting the rituals such as initiation ceremonies and funerals that emphasize the [traditional] connection with the family's bounded past" (p. 226). Also helpful in supporting the theme of my own study was his understanding of the tensions between the role of a religious leader and the diasporic link.

The attachment to the Pentecostal leader as a mode of interacting with the host Dutch society is just one side of the coin. As the foundation for identity

reconstruction, this attachment also cements the maintenance of social relations with Ghana. (p. 231)

The role of the Ugandan Kiirya analyzed in my research fits this model as a religious leader. The Sudanese never had someone like this. They needed a local and transnational leader.

Harri England has an analysis of the Malawian Pentecostal church (p. 235-255) with its missionary mediated transnationalism, but argues that its nature is different partly because in the late 1990's Malawi had poorer links to the electronic means of communication than the Ghana of van Dijk's studies (p. 238). Electronic communications in Africa are now evolving very quickly.

As already pointed out earlier, the lack of African-born and rooted authors writing on African Christianity and its diasporic implantations is disturbing, especially given that believers in the relevant churches express themselves in a regional or ethnic-specific language and using cultural forms and references. 'European' writers are limited in their perspectives to a significant extent.

#### ***F. Social capital literature***

The political interest in social capital, "relationships matter", the theme of the next chapter in this dissertation, became global with the publication in 2000 by Robert Putman of his book *Bowling Alone; the collapse and revival of American community*. Putman documented the way in which Americans were increasingly politically isolated from one another, disengaged from society, but suggested some ways to reactivate their political involvement through accessing the millions of people who are members in a whole range of associations such as churches where Americans meet one another and engage each other civically in social and 'political' action. Three years later, Field (2003) provided an overview of how social capital had by then become a popular policy tool for political and social analysis and refined the concept more clearly.

The intense focus on social capital led to other studies which show that most people engage with others not necessarily politically but with civic engagement potential. Thus in the last few years there have been a plethora of books and articles, some noted in my bibliography, focused on the political, economic, social utility of groupings on the basis of

gender, age, race and religion, the four topics covered in my chapter on social capital and later on segmented assimilation.

The 2006 compendium edited by O'Neill and Gidengil, *Gender and social capital* (Routledge) brings together 15 female authors to counter the initial perception that "women's entry into the paid work force was responsible for the decline of social capital", although at the same time acknowledging that "women spend more time on associational involvements than men" (p. 2). "Women . . . are more likely than men to undertake voluntary work related to health, social services, and education. They also typically devote much more time than men to visiting friends." (p. 3) The thesis of this volume is that women implicitly trust each other more than men, and are more likely to have consistent norms of reciprocity, rightly expecting return on investments in social capital.

Of particular interest to my dissertation were the chapters in this edited volume by four authors. Caizza and Gault (p. 99-126) build on women's "greater devotion [than men] to religion and their involvement in congregations" (p. 110) as well as their work in social justice to suggest that the resulting links they make with one another may give women "room to challenge, or at least to avoid patriarchal restrictions on their leadership and authority" (p. 120). My statistical table on the greater female participation in East African churches (appendix C) and the existence of gendered networks among the Sudanese support their conclusion.

Secondly, Virginia Morrow (p. 127-150) focuses on social capital among children and young people, tentatively suggesting that girls are very different from boys, although Morrow recognizes that ethnicity and social class may be intersecting factors that make general conclusions very difficult. For example, the continuity of peer young adult groupings for social capital development is legendarily ephemeral.

Finally, the chapter by Brenda O'Neill (p. 185-212) on "Women's religious volunteerism" in Canada proved seminal in some of my own thinking. Based on data from the 2000 Statistics Canada survey of giving, volunteering and participating, she finds that:

"Religious volunteers . . . more often engage in activities of a caring nature than other women volunteers and that "women's religious volunteering is linked to high levels of volunteering generally and to greater political participation. As such, the public benefits from the social capital it creates cannot be ignored." (p. 206)

Inasmuch as women from patriarchal cultures such as the Sudan often do not associate with men publicly, my research suggests that women's networking tends to not be visible and needs much more study. O'Neill however, cautions that we must always make social class distinctions in studying the involvement of women based on income and education levels, numbers of children and age. I was not able to collect the data to make these kinds of distinctions except anecdotally.

Another volume of articles on the immigrant experience but focused on youths is that edited by Anisef and Kilbride (2003) on "the experiences and concerns of immigrant youth in Ontario". The publication reports on "ways to integrate cultural diversity and to help individuals retain and express their own uniqueness . . . exploring issues that include their personal adaptation to a new culture . . . to changed family dynamics" (p. 2-3). The entire focus of this publication is on the individual immigrant youth, mostly ignoring their necessary ethnic and probable religious group membership. There are only three paragraphs on "religious and ethnic affiliation" in the whole book (p. 247-248). The book provided some insights for my chapter on segmented assimilation which recognizes that generalizations about any large group have significant limitations. However, it is regrettable that such a potentially important publication did not analyze the benefits and disadvantages of immigrant youth group memberships, including their access to social capital through peer groups, ethnic and/or religious organizations.

On my third topic of race as the basis of social capital, the book edited by Hier and Bolaria (2007) entitled *Race and racism in 21<sup>st</sup> century Canada* presumes that race is an organizing principle of human organizational behaviour and that immigrants congregate on both the basis of race and of ethnicity in churches. Since I am influenced by my training in Black liberation theology and the interpretation of Canada's multiculturalism policy as anti-racist as the dominant thrust of the policy at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, I do agree with Hier et al that racial identity is sociologically realistic, but they have little analysis of what racializing groups might mean for their social capital and therefore political power.

The term church and religion do not appear in this antiracism 2007 publication by Hier and Bolaria, perhaps a reflection of our perceived secular age, although I find these omissions astonishing if the dominant religiosity of African immigrant groups had been recognized.

As always, I find George Dei's writing challenging. His article in this edited volume by Hier et al (p. 53-65) is entitled "Speaking race; silence, salience and the politics of anti-racist scholarship". I extensively quote his warning from this chapter that all of us have a racial identity with salience for the lives of all individuals and for the interpretation of all social science research.

Hier and Bolaria relate their organization of this volume to John Porter's *Vertical Mosaic* (1965) in which Porter argued that "the economic and political mobility of subordinated ethno-racial groups entering Canada develops in relation to "charter group" power and privilege." (p. 85) I must admit that as an undergraduate student I was very much influenced by Porter and hypothesized for this research that the Sudanese as Anglicans would be able to acquire power and influence through the Anglican Church, a racially and social class relatively homogenous denomination. The series of articles in this 2007 volume clearly show that "incorporation" into mainstream institutions remains very difficult for Blacks (and Aboriginals), although not for all visible minorities.

The section of the Hier and Bolaria book on "articulations of race and gender" (p. 171-235) is a conceptual breakthrough, underlining the "complexity of relations involved in the production of inequality today." Several authors "warn against prioritizing particular forms of oppression" (p. 152), emphasizing that it is not easy to be a Black and a woman from a patriarchal culture living in a relatively racialized society. Both racialized and gendered identities may be equally important in analyzing adaptation as migrants.

Finally, on my fourth topic, the role of religious organizations in generating social capital, I summarize part of the book edited by Stepick et al (2009) entitled: *Churches and charity in the immigrant city: religion, immigration and civic engagement in Miami*. This book was published well into the writing of my dissertation, but I had heard of it a few years earlier since the ethnographic work for it was done from June 2000 to March, 2004. There are some references to it my dissertation because my own work also looked at two congregations and their functions, although the Stepick book is American in accepting "that religion influences the broader civic agenda, even at the highest level of American politics". (p. 2)

This edited volume incorporates the work of dozens of people, the result of ethnographic field work and interviews with church leaders and congregants in 20

congregations in Miami-Dade county in southern Florida. These selected congregations represent theoretically the primary immigrant groups in the area and their denominational variation, based on an analysis of a physical block by block inventory in the county of all religious institutions.

Of particular value to this dissertation is the volume's study of African American congregations (what I have called Black churches in Canada) both in terms of their civic engagement (bridging and linking, status-building social capital) but also by putting them in historical and political context, so rarely done in immigrant and religion research. Referring to a large, established Black Protestant church in West Perrine, "the Black church had long functioned as an alternative social system for its people" (p. 95) but in time, the Church's struggle has now become "less one against racism and more one against the harmful secular values promoted and endorsed by the dominant society"(p.106). Mentioned as "secular values" are "teen pregnancies, shooting in schools, juvenile delinquency", all challenges related to young adults lack of involvement in the Church.

On the other hand, the independent West Indian congregation studied by Stepick et al is more typical and parallel to the two East African congregations I studied.

Typical of West Indian immigrants, the congregants possess relatively large amounts of human and cultural capital with above-average education for immigrants and a native fluency in English, resources frequently associated with civic social capital. Yet their churches are more likely to focus on advancing individuals' morality and economic well-being or social relationships with co-ethnics, rather than engaging in civic or charitable affairs beyond the congregation. (p. 208)

Factors identified by Stepick that I recognized in my own work in the life of a congregation included: the role of male leaders, but the majority of members being female; youth preference for the "high drama and "cool| (*sic*) music"; continuing reference to the countries of origin.

### ***G. Segmented assimilation***

Segmented assimilation theory allows for more individualized understandings that all immigrants adapt in their own way, the result of a unique intersecting combination of identities based on self perceived gender and gender orientation, ethnicity, religion, age,

race, social class, sexual orientation, as well as neighbourhood and other factors, but not necessarily through formal membership in any group.

Most writers interested in segmented assimilation have usually only tackled 2-3 of these factors at the most and I have not done much better! Zhou and Bankston (2001) studied the educational experience of Vietnamese refugee girls in a low-income ethnic community showing changes in gender roles so that girls ironically do better academically than boys, pushed by the former's desire to achieve upward mobility.

Hirschman (2001) documents a downward spiral in education for Black adolescents from Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Dominican Republic in the United States, consistent with segmented assimilation theory. Boyd (2002) documents that the visible minority youth in Toronto will experience divergence or impoverishment in North America, because "of low levels of parental and community resources" (p. 1038) and assuming "a highly racialized population here" (p. 1042). I have found no longitudinal studies of Black African adolescent refugees; except that the American literature assumes that they will come to be associated with the African-American underclass. Canadians tend to conflate Black with a composite 'visible minority', although Boyd quotes studies that show "African youth[s]' declining educational attainment with each generation" (p. 1056). However in the next sentence, she recognizes the need for a "focus on specific [immigrant African] groups" in order for her to make such a generalized statement. I hope that I have made such a contribution. Each African culture is different. As well, a first wave refugee in North America tends to come from an African mobile and perhaps middle/upper social class, an essential background factor in assessing the future of Black immigrants in Canada.

#### ***H. Sexual orientation, the African church and its diaspora***

Finally given the extent of the sexual orientation debate in the Anglican Communion and in Canadian society, especially around marriage, and the extent my being gay affected my research, it is relevant to briefly review two recent books on homosexuality in Africa, one academic published by the McGill-Queen's University Press and the other published by the Anglican/Episcopal Church publishing house in New York. The bibliography references several other books. Marc Epprecht (2004) in his book *Hungochani: the history of dissident sexuality in Southern Africa* argues that homophobia was introduced to Africa by Christian missionaries and that homosexuality has always had

a key role in civil society in southern Africa. He brings together a wealth of historic evidence that homosexuality has always existed in all the countries of Southern Africa. Epprecht argues that studying homosexuality in Black Africa is essential to understanding gender relationships on the continent. Sexual orientation is influenced by “genetic predisposition, culture, family socialization, geographic space, physical proximity, gender imbalance . . . and innumerable idiosyncratic factors”. (p. 11) He also argues that homophobia “resonated . . . among those people most threatened by the rapid changes in gender relations, by economic collapse and the demoralizing breakdown in health and extended family obligations, . . . but that African traditions of discretion and tolerance remain strong” (p. 183). Epprecht concludes however that “many men’s sense of entitlement to sex . . . [is] also deeply worrisome in health and economic terms as well as in political ones in the present context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.” (p. 228)

The gay *leitmotiv* is present in all the chapters of this dissertation, but especially in the chapter on the Church and the South Sudanese, partly because the discourse around the intersections between gender relations, sexual orientation, and sexuality, HIV/AIDS, religious and cultural values is so central to the increasing cultural divide between the significantly different cultures of dominant urban Canada and Eastern Africa societies. This divide may be significantly embodied in religious and culturally rooted African-born migrants in Canada.

The second book on this topic I want to review briefly is edited by [former Anglican Bishop] Terry Brown (2006) who documents “the controversy on homosexuality [which] continues to rage in the Anglican Communion” (p. 1). This book is included in this literature review partly because it was through South Sudanese Anglicans and my own leadership in an Anglican church sponsoring Sudanese refugee families that I first came into contact with the Sudanese population in Ottawa. In December 2006, Brown wrote the following which also resonates with my own years of experience in Africa:

I am a North American bishop in a global South diocese, in a culture where same-sex friendships (usually without but occasionally with sexual intimacy) are developed beyond anything imaginable in contemporary western culture. I have had my own narrow boundaries, fear of touch, suspicion of intimacy, love of privacy, indeed, my deep individualism challenged” (p. 3).

Brown's description of the very different nature of human relationships in Africa deeply resonates with my own lived and research experience. I would add that it is possible that the fear of being "homosexual" or gay as an identity in some cultures increases where same-sex friendships are so common.

In the context of my research among Ugandans and their leader Pastor Kiirya and his ministry to the South Sudanese, the long history of homosexuality in Uganda documented by Kevin Ward in Brown's volume of articles was particularly relevant. Ward's chapter entitled, "Marching or stumbling towards a Christian ethic? Homosexuality and African Anglicanism" (p. 129-141), points to two factors that influenced my research but were not the subject of it. The first factor is the competitive relationship between the traditional denominational church, independent churches and traditional religions in all of Africa, necessitating Anglican churches to clearly set value boundaries with the surrounding society, supported by the evangelical and charismatic forms of Christianity in the Global North. This charismatic form of Christianity much more than traditional Protestant churches "engages ... with African beliefs in the power of the spirit world, but uncompromisingly denounces these spirits as demonic and negated by the power of the Holy Spirit" (p. 132).

Secondly, Ward points to "the intense traditional African emphasis on children as central to human worth and the continuity of society, an emphasis which is prominent in the Bible too" (p. 139). This value, the central importance of children for identity construction, frequently surfaced during my interviews, but becomes attenuated in a migratory environment like Ottawa where the instrumentalist view of human sexuality, and for life *raison d'être*s, for the expensive production of children may not remain a dominant cultural value. The challenge for the South Sudanese then becomes to determine their most important value, a difficult struggle. Part of the purpose of this dissertation is to try to understand how South Sudanese migrants redefine their cultural and spiritual moorings in an increasingly individualistic North American culture.

### Chapter 3 - Social capital among the South Sudanese in Ottawa

#### A. Introduction

Treating refugees as a homogenous group tends to erase the different histories, politics and experiences of the refugee population. ... Similarly, such a conceptualization tends to obscure the significant differences between women, men and children refugees. It also renders invisible the differences in class, race, ethnicity, age, (dis)ability, and other forms of difference. (Edward, 2007, p.1)

The above analysis of South Sudanese refugees was written by Jane Kani Edward, herself a female South Sudanese refugee who came to Canada as a young adult and completed her Ph.D. in the sociology of education at the University of Toronto in 2004. Because Edward's focus was on the adaptation experience of Sudanese refugees in Cairo, Egypt, her research is not directly applicable to the Canadian context. She also has practically no focus on the religious experience. However, Edward summarizes the reason for the following two chapters of this dissertation; the enormous complexity of the adaptation process for any group of refugees, both as a member of a group and as individuals with many different identities. It is a hypothesis of this dissertation that individual identity surrounded by a new dominant culture is determined both by continued membership in a particular ethnic or religious group in Canada and in the Sudan, but also especially in Canada by a unique individual combination of social class, race, ethnicity, age, religion and "other factors of difference" including personality.

South Sudanese refugees in Canada build on their "different histories, politics and experiences" (Edwards, p. 2) as members of various groups or sets of relationships. Especially as refugees coming to Canada somewhat unwillingly, in an interconnected global world, these relationships are in the Sudan, among the diaspora and in Canada. The resources that flow from these relationships with others are called social capital, the topic of this chapter. The next chapter looks more particularly at the differing experiences of more individualized adaptations influenced by gender, age and race, with segmented assimilation as the theoretical framework. Social capital tends to have an instrumental, resource or goal oriented focus. Segmented assimilation recognizes the power of the affective in influencing adaptation. By adaptation, I mean the adjustments in individual values and behaviours over time in response to living in a new culture. As I wrote in

chapter one, adaptation is a survival mechanism eventually necessary for new migrants like the South Sudanese to interact significantly with Canadian dominant society, but at the same time allows them to continue in their relationships with extended family members and community in the diaspora and back ‘home’ in the Sudan.

### ***B. Social capital - theoretical framework***

Social capital is “usually defined as the capacity of individuals to gain access to resources by virtue of their membership ... [in] social networks or institutions” (Pieterse, 2003, p. 31). Its central idea can be summed up in two words: “Relationships matter”.

By making connections with one another, and keeping them going over time, people are able to work together to achieve things that they either could not achieve by themselves, or could only achieve with great difficulty”. (Field, 2003, p.1)

This understanding of social capital presumes three observations: that most individuals have relationships with those others who can be helpful; that some individuals will achieve their goals without such a network but only with difficulty, and third that time is required to get and keep people’s trust. Trust, a firm belief in the truth or strength of others, and intimacy, are “close to the heart of social capital” (Field, p. 8).

Trusting relationships which tend to be strong and exclusive and ‘bind’ people to one another over time are called bonding social capital. (Field, 2003; O’Neil, 2006; Pieterse, 2003; Putman, 1995) In more prosaic Canadian cultural terms, a deep friendship between any two individuals presumes trust, a presumption that one can always depend on an intimate friend for support and help when needed. In Sudanese terms, the cultural word ‘friend’ may be first defined by that person being kin, a member of my extended family, a person who is implicitly trusted. ‘Blood’ ties establish the first base of trusting bonded relationships.

Adding to the understanding of trust as the base of social capital, others (Putnam, 2000; Bourdieu, 1998) have added the key concept of reciprocity, meaning that those who use their social capital to help another member of a group or a close friend eventually expect some undefined form of mutual action in return. “The core idea of social capital is that networks of formal and informal sociability foster relations of trust and reciprocity”. (O’Neill and Gidengil, 2006, p. 2, building on the work of Pierre Bourdieu)

Sociability is “the ability and disposition to sustain and use one’s networks” (O’Neill and Gidengil, p. 146), in order to find resources for others. Most people are members of several formally structured groups with similar goals and often with common interests. Continued membership in an extended family, ethnic group, church, peer group presumes their personal usefulness, but also a disposition to eventually be useful to another or others in the group.

Especially feminist writers<sup>22</sup> have suggested that social capital has both an instrumental and affective aspect. Instrumental means that social capital provides quantifiable resources measured in time, money or the achievement of a specific goal. The instrumental aspects of social capital have tended perhaps to be male focused on achieving material or political goals, at least in the study of patriarchal cultures. Affective social capital means emotional support, for example the ability to listen empathetically, skills which “research ....has suggested that women are more likely to hold”. (Caizza and Gault, 2006, p. 100) According to all theorists, there are three kinds of social capital, bonding, bridging and linking. Bonding social capital presumes close emotional bonds, strong ties of affection to other people which cannot be easily broken. Family members, long-standing neighbours and close friends speaking the same language and of the same culture are the first sources. Bridging social capital is weaker, enabling the members of a bonded group, individually or corporately to work with individual members of other groups or to be members of two different groups simultaneously, bridging differences. Both groups must have similar value systems and interests. Different extended families speaking the same first language, members of different churches or possibly groups from the same area could bridge together to share resources. Linking social capital, the weakest form of social relationships between diverse groups, presumes at least one common goal and compatible values between the groups. Very different ethnic groups or different denominations could link to share resources.

These three types of social capital provide the terms for the following analysis of the South Sudanese community in Ottawa: that bonding social capital for South Sudanese refugees needs to be catalyzed and mobilized by an experienced leader in the community’s

---

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the collection of authors brought together in the volume edited by O’Neill and Gidengil.

first years in Canada. This leader first has the political support of a bonded ethnic group to be able to bridge to other ethnic and immigrant groups and eventually link to mainstream organizations. The Dinkas, the dominant ethnic group in Southern Sudan politically, socially and economically, are interpreted in this research to have a stronger culture than other ethnic groups in the Sudan and in the diaspora. I would argue that for the first generation of refugee populations in a globalized world, both the global and the Canadian context are sources of social capital. The extended family, spatially located globally throughout the diaspora including Canada and in the Sudan, continues to have enormous influence.

### **C. Bonding social capital - definitions**

Sources of bonding social capital are the common norms and values, “habits of the heart” (Pieterse, 2003, p. 30), with resulting networks of like-minded people. For many, such networks are the major source of friends with whom to bond, people who can be counted on emotionally and physically for many needs. For the Sudanese, initial bonding social capital is based on extended family relationships, the base of most social activities and ceremonies. These ceremonies, for example birthing, wedding, funerals and other central ‘rites of passage’ bind family members to each other, creating “dense, localized networks” (Pieterse, 2003, p. 31) or “strong ties among social relations” or “warm” or “thick” (Field, p.78) relationships. These are all images or metaphors which get at the nature of bonding social capital. Sources of bonding social capital are global in an electronic ‘global village’.

### **D. Bonding social capital from extended family relationships**

In Africa, the networks of extended family members, grandparents, uncles and aunts, cousins and nephews on both the male and female sides of the family, may include hundreds of people. Extended family relationships in Africa are generally the base of all social capital (Braithwaite, 1996; Dei, 2004; Deng, 1978; Gilroy, 1993). The family network provides emotional and physical services essential to life. In the Sudan the extended family is the basic source of all social security and benefits. The local village or geographically-defined ethnic group provides the social benefits in times of significant economic or political adversity for all. The importance of family members for the Sudanese carries over into the adaptation process in Canada. All informants often referred

to their staying in touch with family members throughout the world on a very regular basis. The methods used to stay in touch varied, but all informants for this research worked hard and spent a lot of money maintaining family relationships across space. Some telephoned family members every week, whether in the Sudan, Australia, the States, Sweden or in Canada. Cell phones are relatively easily available now in major Sudanese towns. Other Sudanese informants frequently travelled to or were visited by family members in holiday periods, despite very significant costs. Others even used Skype video conferencing, although not to the Sudan. During discussions, it became clear that considerable amounts of money were spent at staying in touch with family members via communication, travel and hospitality.

Bwolo, Luala and Riet all described expensive visits to ill relatives and to family events in distant cities. Many parents emphasized the importance of children staying in touch with their grandparents calling them regularly. Several informants emphasized this practice, linking it to the continued use of a first language. Gordon and David\*<sup>23</sup> now back in the Sudan, felt it so important that their oldest child link back to their parents that they paid for them to spend two weeks in the Sudan visiting their grandparents.<sup>24</sup>

Relationships that matter, bonded social capital sources are found in Canada but also globally, although this international resourcing may only have become possible in the last ten years or less as cell phone technology, low cost long distance calling cards and the Internet has become easily available at ever lower costs. Nearly all my informants had cell phones and access to the Internet at home. Even more surprisingly, many of my informants called 'home' to the Sudan regularly connecting to increasingly available cell phones in larger towns there.<sup>25</sup> Bonded social capital can now be maintained across space relatively easily.

Perhaps the most telling indicator of the importance of the extended family in accessing social capital was in the requirement to consult other family members in the approval process for daughters marrying. Bonding social capital always presumes a

---

<sup>23</sup> **Note:** Asterisks next to informants name in this paper are pseudonyms for individuals who want to protect their privacy.

<sup>24</sup> For further discussion of this action, please read my chapter on age-related segmented assimilation

<sup>25</sup> Cindy Shiner. Interview with Jeffrey Sachs, Columbia University, September 18, 2008. *Africa: Cell phones transform continent's development*. <http://allafrica.com/stories/200809180986.html> Accessed January 7, 2010

common value system. Several fathers, Gordon, George, David, Lam and Makueng in interviews all emphasized the requirement for their respective oldest brothers, often still living in the Sudan, to be consulted in all ways possible, and to approve the marriage of their daughters or sisters, including organizing the required payment of the dowry to a future wife's extended family. "Your uncle is responsible for the welfare of the bride. Our kids understand all this. We follow this in our culture for a proper marriage" (June 13, 2005, Lam Riet). After making this comment, Lam described in detail how he was responsible for organizing the marriage of his cousin's daughter in Chicago. The cousin's father and Lam's mother are brother and sister.

Many other males described similar examples of diasporic close involvement with the marriages of various female relatives. All maintained that irrespective of who married the daughter, Sudanese or not, a significant dowry payment would have to be made by the groom's family to the future wife's family. For example, one informant protested publicly, even to a white priest, Reverend Garth Bulmer at not having been consulted as the oldest brother when his sister married in another city without his consent. Similarly, Gordon and George's oldest daughters are aware of the requirement from their parents for the marriage process, and for the payment of the dowry.<sup>26</sup> The continued influence of the relationships in the Sudan was evident.

The cultural marriage requirements and the continued importance of extended family relationships are also the perspective of wives and mothers. Talking to Zeinab and Gordon as wife and husband about the process for one of their 4 daughters marrying a white man, both of them insisted repeatedly that they (the parents) would continue the traditional Sudanese approach to marriage, including the payment of cattle as a dowry. Zeinab (Gordon's wife) said the following verbatim in response to my question:

If my daughter meets a white man, there is no problem. First to know if he is a good man. Good relationship with the father. Some Sudanese girl (here) marry a white man. Expectations of dowry? Expectations to marry in a Dinka way. I would go home to Sudan to buy a cow. Marriage is not just for the family. Cow go to Gordon's relatives. (April 25, 2005)

---

<sup>26</sup> The young adult focus group transcript will be more fully discussed in the chapter on segmented assimilation.

Trust, the basis for bonding social capital, presumes that the fruit of a relationship is predictable. The individual members of the family, including children, are expected to live up to their expectations to produce the capital, whether in Canada or in the Sudan. These expectations include gendered roles so that girls continue to help with looking after younger siblings and in general housekeeping. A subsequent discussion and in the following chapter will discuss how the more individualized dominant Canadian society may negatively affect the return on social capital from networks of trust within the family. When individuals within a family no longer share common values, its cohesion and ability to provide social capital may diminish.

Probably the universally most important purpose of all migrant family members is to ensure a brighter future for their children. There are innumerable examples of sacrifices made by South Sudanese parents to provide for their children. Parents live vicariously through their children. Margaret Chol perhaps best summarized this value in the following way.

To have children is not easy. You have to work for your kids. If you have a thing in your hand, you drop it, you will hurt it. I have to take care of my kids. I give my kids a better life. Talk to your kids. [They are] something good for the future. My son, if he does good in school, one day he may be president. [I] work for my kids, not for me. (October 8, 2005)

For nearly all refugees and immigrants there is no-one more important than their children for whom the whole extended family is responsible. It is to be noted that Margaret was clearly referring to the hope that her son would one day be president of Southern Sudan.

When a close relative of a Sudanese informant died, David Ochan\*, family members pooled funds to send a representative to the funeral in the Sudan. With different understandings of privacy from dominant Canadian society, examples abound of South Sudanese families who shared accommodation with other relatives. Several 3-bedroom homes visited had more than 2 adult family members and several children living in them. Sometimes however, such as the funeral in Ottawa and the subsequent burial in the Sudan of Charles Tuban analyzed in the chapter 5 on the church, the extended family providing bonded social capital was not large enough, and bridging capital to a larger number of Sudanese in different ethnic groups and in fact the broader Christian community had to be tapped for financial resources. It should be noted that the family insisted that Charles'

body be flown back to the Sudan to be buried by his mother's family there, again reiterating a theme of this part of the chapter that family-based social capital is found in the Sudan as well as in Canada.

### *E. South Sudanese ethnic social bonding in Ottawa*

A 2004 government of Ontario study on Sudanese settlement needs pointed out that the Sudanese in Ottawa (and other Ontario cities) are the same as other ethnic groups in finding the most meaningful social capital from their immediate family members and ethnic community. However, the Sudanese communities are somewhat unique, according to the report in that ethnic "community fragmentation" is a major feature of the South Sudanese community, especially in Ottawa. To quote the report:

All immigrants and refugees cope with the challenges of settlement and adaptation by drawing on available resources for support. A crucial source of psychological support is normally ethnic identity, and the most important social support is usually obtained from family and one's own ethnic community. In this respect, the Sudanese are no different from many other newcomer groups. *One defining feature of the Sudanese population that is critical for settlement services, however, is the internal complexity of its ethnic composition.* (Culture, community and health studies program, University of Toronto, p. 5, *my italics*)

By "internal complexity" the report repeatedly referred to Sudanese "community fragmentation". Rivalry between different Sudanese ethnic groups wanting access to resources and allegiances was reported by 27% of the Sudanese informants in Ottawa as their most important adaptation "concern" (p. 50). The rivalry between 'tribes' was seen by Sudanese in Ottawa as a more important concern than employment or housing or employment. In the other 5 cities surveyed, Greater Toronto area, Hamilton, Kitchener, St. Catharines, Windsor and London, community fragmentation ranked second in importance in two other cities including Toronto and of no importance in 3 other cities.<sup>27</sup> The interview transcripts in the 2004 settlement report referred to "tribalism" as the basis for community fragmentation; that is the practice that a person's ethnicity is more important than their belonging to a grouping of people coming from a loosely, politically defined area called the South Sudan.

---

<sup>27</sup> See my postscript for further incipient analysis of differences between the South Sudanese community in Ottawa and other second tier Canadian cities.

The information that the Sudanese community was significantly divided and “fragmented” by ethnicity was known by the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa sources as early as 2004.<sup>28</sup> In fact the diocese in 2005 refused to provide church space to the association led by Gordon Luala, largely because he was perceived as representing only the Dinkas, despite the fact that there were no other organized South Sudanese groups in Ottawa.

Difficult ethnic relationships have been central to the political dynamics of nearly all African nations. The geographic borders of these nations were drawn by the colonial powers without respect for boundaries between ethnic groupings. The Dinkas have been the dominant ethnicity in Southern Sudan for centuries. This dominance carried over into Canada, particularly as it was channelled through an effective leader, primarily Gordon Kur Luala. Since ethnic segregation among the Sudanese appeared to be reality, then why should mainstream organizations not collaborate with this organized grouping, rather than impose a construct of “South Sudanese”?<sup>29</sup> To quote again from the 2004 Ontario settlement report:

Research has found that like-ethnic communities are essential and advantageous to newcomers in providing mutual aid, advice and information, and employment opportunities, especially in the early years of settlement when linguistic and cultural competence in the ways of the host society is still limited. (Culture, community and health studies program report, 2004, p. 8)

Astonishingly, the Ontario report makes no reference to the crucial role of a key leader or leaders in initiating and coalescing group formation to provide the required ethnic community’s social capital.

Under the leadership of Gordon Luala, the Dinkas formed the “South Sudanese Community Association”. As early as 2002, the association already had a constitution and working executive, demonstrating the middle/upper social class and political experience of its members. It would not have happened without Gordon. He used the association as a political base that would encourage other Dinkas to move to Ottawa. His ethnicity was an identity as well as an “instrument” to enhance his influence and obtain services for his community. Building up his ethnic group strategically enabled him to successfully enhance

---

<sup>28</sup> Please see chapter 5 on the church and the Sudanese for further discussion of the Anglican perspective.

<sup>29</sup> Beyond the scope of this research is a larger post-colonial discussion about attitudes to Africa. Africa had tribes, which were strongly criticized as primitive and undesirable by the colonizer and in the school literature prior to the revisions of the 1970’s. Europe never had tribes but ethnic groups which killed each other ... I have personally not used the word tribe in this dissertation.

his own status and his community's influence. Building on ethnic identity is normally "the most important social support" for most refugee and immigrants, as cited previously. Or to quote William Durham (in Shandy, 2007):

Ethnicity is both an identity and an instrument; it is at once a statement of cultural membership and a tool or a weapon by which members attempt to negotiate improved standing with a social system. (p. 132)

Under Gordon's leadership, his (Dinka) association spearheaded a number of activities, some of a political nature to enhance the "improved standing" of the Sudanese in Ottawa. Among these activities, he organized the commemorative funeral at St. John's Anglican Church in Ottawa for the President of the (new) Government of the Southern Sudan, John Garang, a Dinka suspiciously killed in a helicopter crash in northern Uganda in 2005.<sup>30</sup> Gordon and other Dinkas were the major presence at a street demonstration in front of the Egyptian embassy to protest the killing and repatriation of South Sudanese refugees in Cairo in 2007. For both events, hundreds of Dinka-speaking and other Sudanese came together, those living in Ottawa and many who travelled long distances from cities in Southern/South-western Ontario and from New York State. It is to be noted again that developments focused on the Sudan itself rather than on life in Canada brought the community together from across Ontario and across ethnic boundaries.

South Sudanese hopes for a better future in the Sudan were severely diminished when Dr. John Garang de Mabior, a Dinka Anglican, was suddenly killed in the helicopter accident on July 30, 2005. He had been the leader of the Sudan people's liberation movement and army (SPLM/A) and had been sworn in as first vice-president of the Sudan and President of/ the new Government of South Sudan created on July 9, 2005, just three weeks before his accidental, suspicious death. Presuming foul play, 36 South Sudanese were killed in rioting in Khartoum (*New York Times*, August 2, 2005; Edward 2007, p. 199). Needless to say, the entire South Sudanese refugee community in Ottawa was emotionally wrought by this event because the death clearly set back the peace process in their communities of origin.<sup>31</sup> As the most recognized South Sudanese leader in Ottawa

---

<sup>30</sup> The funeral and its religious context are analyzed in more detail in the chapter on the church and the South Sudanese.

<sup>31</sup> "Garang's Death: Implications for Peace in Sudan", Africa Briefing N°30, 9 August 2005 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?!=1&id=3611> Accessed 2008.06.24

and president of the most active community association, Gordon organized the funeral at St. John the Evangelist Church on August 10, 2005. At least 126 people attended the Garang commemoration service<sup>32</sup> and many more came to a reception at the community centre near the church after the service.<sup>33</sup>

Because Garang was a Dinka and Anglican as is Gordon, the majority of people at the funeral were probably Dinka. However, many Sudanese-born from other ethnicities came to the reception after the funeral in the community centre. The hope for the future represented by Garang and his leadership roles in the country bonded Sudanese together across ethnicities. Speeches at the community centre came from several non-Dinkas. There is no doubt that the South Sudanese share enough historical experience and political goals to work together when needed and emotionally possible. The unusual level of Sudanese refugee participation across ethnicities in Ottawa also illustrated the importance of events in the Sudan in the regular consciousness of refugees in Canada.

A recent example of the whole Sudanese community coming together was the sudden death on July 21, 2009 of a very promising and popular young adult, Charles Tuban. Charles, 22 years old, was killed by a car while driving his bicycle in the east end of Ottawa (*Ottawa Citizen*, September 1, 2009, p. C-1). So many migrants come to Canada to provide a better future for their young. Charles' sudden death hit a central community nerve. The extended family was very small. Large numbers of Sudanese and others came to support the family. Enough money was raised in the community to pay for the funeral, send the body back to Sudan accompanied by a member of the family whose return travel was also paid. As one individual named Idi said to me at the funeral, the "community really came together" around this tragedy.

---

<sup>32</sup> Vestry record for 2005, St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church, Ottawa

<sup>33</sup> I was the only White at the reception at the community centre.

### *F. The Dinkas in Ottawa*

In 2008, the apparent majority of the South Sudanese refugees in Ottawa were Dinkas.<sup>34</sup> The Dinkas are “pastoral population with an established history of migrating to optimize resources. “[They] have used migration as a source of survival for their entire documented history”<sup>35</sup> (Shandy, 2007, p.159). Historically as Dinkas have moved around large areas of the Sudan with their cattle, they have adapted to their differing situations and have probably developed significant adaptation skills to new environments, possibly greater than neighbouring sedentary peoples. In social capital terms, nomadic peoples may have enormous bonding social capital to be able to mobilize all their resources for the historically frequent migration settlement and resettlement process. Can part of the success of the Dinkas in Ottawa, the more precise ethnic focus of this research, be attributable to their nomadic roots? There appears to be no academic literature analyzing the capacities of former nomadic cultures to more successfully adapt than sedentary cultures to living in post-industrialized, individualist, urban societies.

David Abraham characterized the nomadic-related Dinka skills differently, referring to the “arrogant” way the Dinkas as an agro-pastoral culture, often in search for the best grazing land for their cattle, can be quite aggressive in their relationships to sedentary cultures. As mentioned in the introduction, David is a Kakwa, a sedentary, farming culture.

They [the Dinkas] come and bring their cows, and eat our crops that we grow. That’s where differences grow. When we tell them to go away, to take their cows away, they get angry. ... We are farmers. We came to the land to produce food, for our families and to sell, in order to buy what we don’t have, like milk since we don’t raise animals. ... Today, you go to my home town where there are a lot of Dinkas. ... If you come to stay with us, you have to obey our rules. You do not violate our rules, to observe them. They do not listen. (June 19, 2006)

Other informants during interviews (Lam Riet, David Ochan), even a wife married to a Dinka (Emmy Ochan), referred to the arrogance of the Dinkas both in the Sudan and in Canada.

---

<sup>34</sup> There are no available Statistics Canada figures precisely on the number of Dinkas in Ottawa. There is a discussion in the introduction and in the segmented assimilation chapter providing substantiation for the estimate that the Dinkas are at least 50% of the refugee Sudanese population in Ottawa.

<sup>35</sup> She is writing about the Nuers in the United States, neighbouring and culturally similar peoples to the Dinkas, also pastoral and still nomadic. Shandy does not elaborate on this analysis quoted above

Historic conflicts in the Sudan over land and property between nomadic and sedentary cultures as well as differing value systems are deeply cultural tensions rooted in Sudanese history and current ethnic tensions which cannot be erased by appealing to the Dinkas to unite as South Sudanese in the diaspora including in Ottawa. One of my highly educated informants, Dr. Dominic Funda, a member of a sedentary and animal husbandry culture in the Nuba Mountains of central Sudan, phrased the Dinka skill in this way:

Dinkas are pastoralists. They have a more independent way of living than some of us who are sedentary farmers. A Dinka boy at the age of 15 is able to leave his family and go far. ... Pastoralists have aggression, [an] attitude to life. They can do more things alone; ... children looking after cattle running into lions, hyenas and wild animals that they have to challenge. [The Dinkas] are better able to adjust than we who are sedentary.<sup>36</sup> (May 9, 2005)

Dr. Funda asked a question at the end of the above cited interview. “Because the Dinkas know how to take risks, are they better able to adjust to Canada [than we sedentary peoples]?” The answer may be affirmative, but not a comfortable one for smaller, culturally less risk-taking ethnic, sedentary groups who may not compete for land and power as successfully as the Dinkas (and the Nuers). Again, for first wave refugees, the politics and cultural perceptions of the Sudan significantly influence all relationships in Canada.

As exemplified by the above, some of my informants clearly resented the Dinka more influential political presence in Ottawa. Part of the reason as discussed in reference to the Garang funeral is that the Dinkas are already the largest and most political ethnic group in the Sudan. David Ochan\* from a large but sedentary ethnic group near the Ugandan border was discussing with me during an interview why he felt it right that government and church authorities in Ottawa had refused to only work with the Dinkas. A culture with a small economy and less presence politically nearly always feels threatened by a much more powerful and numerous cultures.

As soon as you come down to a tribe, you are escalating the problem. If you look at ethnic conflict, as soon as you enter a certain level of tribe, the smallest tribe will be suspicious of them always. Whatever good thing they do, the Dinka for example

---

<sup>36</sup> Dr. Funda is a Moro Nuba, a sedentary and animal husbandry culture in the Nuba Mountains of central Sudan.

will be accused of bad things... If my tribe was 5 million, my tribe would also be accused. (June 25, 2005)

Whether in the Sudan or in Canada, ethnic-based social capital may seem to have negative consequences because it may pit one group against another for access to power and resources. As Fukuyama wrote:

Perhaps the reason that social capital seems less obviously a social good than physical or human capital [knowledge and skills] is because ... group solidarity in human communities is often purchased as the price of hostility towards out-group members. There appears to be a natural human proclivity for dividing the world into friends and enemies that is the basis of all politics. (Fukuyama, 2001, p. 8)

There is nothing unusual about competition between Sudanese Dinkas and other ethnicities, in Canada or the Sudan. It is a “natural proclivity”. The key to resolving these differences is effective, trusted leadership to bring different groups to recognize their common goals which cannot be achieved by one ethnic group or individual, especially in mid-size second tier cities like Ottawa with relatively small migrant populations of any particular ethnicity. Support of such individuals with bridging capital may be the only key to effective adaptation for the Sudanese across ethnic boundaries.

During my interviews, both David Ochan\* and David Abraham (both non-Dinkas) recognized the unique leadership and consensus building skills of Gordon Luala, and his ability to lead outside a Dinka cultural framework.

Gordon when he started will tell you that I worked hard with him. That’s how we started the Nuba Mountain Association. He is a good person and I can work with him. I helped Gordon and I raised money and he went with me to Switzerland, to a peace building conference. (David Ochan\*; June 25, 2005)

Gordon Kur [Luala] looked for us – he is a good man. ... I organized this office with Gordon Kur.<sup>37</sup> (David Abraham, June 11, 2009)

Both men also recognized the “cohesiveness” (Fukuyama, p. 13) or the ability to act together of the Dinka group, partly because many of the Dinkas in Ottawa were also related by blood. Church leaders called on Gordon to lead community Christmas and Easter celebrations. On the other hand, the Nuer leader, Lam Riek, did not trust

---

<sup>37</sup> The reference to office was to that of the Ottawa chapter of the SPLM (Sudan Political Liberation Movement) of which Gordon and David were co-chairs.

Gordon, never having worked with him. His opinion was perhaps a reflection of historically competitive relationships in the Sudan between these two nomadic, culturally very similar neighbouring peoples searching for grazing land for their cattle in the same regions of the Sudan, particularly in droughts. The Nuers were also few in numbers in Ottawa. The overwhelming opinion of most people was respect for Gordon's leadership.

Gordon was clearly the dominant South Sudanese leader with enough Canadian-related skills to get the help needed to set up a legitimate organization. For example, under his leadership, the South Sudanese community association, not formally identified as Dinka, was able to use its organizational cohesion to link to other community organizations<sup>38</sup> to get a \$7,000 grant in July, 2005 from the City of Ottawa's community project funding program for a Saturday afternoon basketball program at a local community centre. However, all the coaches and nearly all the youths were Dinkas.

### *G. The Dinka language as source of bonding social capital: cultural capital*

Gordon was also able to use his leadership skills to mobilize the bonding capital of his community association, bridging to Catholic Immigrant Services through Alew Bwolo and his supervisors at Catholic Family Services to get funding for Saturday language classes for his community's children to learn Dinka starting in September 2001. This date was barely two years after Gordon Luaala's arrival in Ottawa, a testament to Gordon's comfort level, his contacts and the trust he had garnered with immigrant settlement organizations. The funding paid for a van to pick up the children and to pay the Dinka language teacher, Ring Malou, a part-time income. The application was motivated by significant amounts of cultural capital, pride in the Dinka language, its music and poetry, its culture, epitomized by phrases from two interviews with Gordon Luaala and Ring Malou, the teacher of Dinka in the government funded language school for elementary aged children:

“If you do not have your own language, you are lost.” (Luaala, April 25, 2005)

---

<sup>38</sup> See my later discussion of bridging and linking social capital for the ways in which Gordon especially was able to parlay his political skills to link with immigrant settlement organization and with city of Ottawa counsellors,

Speaking Dinka is part of my culture, part of identity. If they do not speak Dinka, the children do not have their identity. (Ring Malou, May 4, 2005)

Gordon and Ring in the above cited interviews both further explained the importance of learning their first language in the following terms: 1) Dinka is part of our culture and of our identity; 2) Dinka is essential for communicating with grandparents and other relatives “back home”; 3) Dinka is the language of the home. Margaret Chol, Gordon’s cousin quite forcefully said the following:

We speak Dinka at home, whether they [the children] like or not. ... I do not want them to forget who they are. One day I will go back home. My mom does not speak English. I have to let them know that they are Dinka. It is very important that they know they are from Bor, that they are Dinka. (October 8, 2005)

However, some of the challenges in imposing Dinka on her children also surfaced when the children spoke only English in the home when I visited, and when Margaret admitted her frustration in not being able to read or write Dinka. The motivation would be hard to communicate to children since the emphasis on learning the language had more to do with an eventual return to the Sudan, and the need to retain relationships with distant grandparents than with the utility of speaking Dinka in Canada.

Language retention by an ethnic group for continued cultural cohesion and bonding social capital is extremely important for that ethnicity. As Peter Li (2001) writes:

It is clear that the retention of a minority language as mother tongue or home language constitutes an added component in the construction of an ethnic identity, and that people who retain such a mother tongue or home language have a stronger linguistic capacity to link themselves with their ethnic community than others who do not retain such language. (p. 137)

The Dinkas are proud of their language partly because they have an extensive collection of oral and instrumental music in their culture. (Akwuei, 2005) Refugees in particular probably never leave behind the idea of returning ‘home’ to the Sudan, attaching enormous importance to the continued use of the language, especially for their children to communicate with their grandparents. All the Dinka-speaking families interviewed, even those in which the mother was not Dinka referred to the importance of learning Dinka. For example, although Aurelia Justin is a Luo, her husband is a Dinka, and all the children arrived in Canada under 6 years old, the children all now:

“Speak and write Dinka well so that when they go back home to Sudan, after peace, they can talk to their grandparents, and they are proud of themselves and their origin”. (October 7, 2005)

From my home visits, the children now in their 20s still appear to use Dinka to communicate with each other and with their mother, even though their father is no longer in the home.

However, although the importance of learning Dinka is rationalized by informants by referring to the importance of being able to communicate with grandparents and other family members ‘back home’, references to Dinkas in Ottawa as “arrogant” by non-Dinkas were heard quite often. Even Aurelia, a Luo with a Dinka husband, referred to the Dinkas as being “racist towards other tribes”. (October 7, 2005) Gordon himself recognized that people in the Sudan see the Dinka as “dominating”. His explanation is that such a perception is primarily the result of the “educated class which create these conflicts ... [as part] of a competition for resources”.

Exclusive bonded communities such as the Dinkas, with good cultural capital, are not uncommon for social capital accumulation. A lot of social capital “presumes a territorial culture”. (Pieterse, 2004, p. 79) People not part of the ethnic group, racially and linguistically, will probably not feel welcome. Bonded communities may even see others as “enemies or outsiders” (Field, p. 80). The community is often able to generate significant resources (capital) to meet members’ needs, but defined in an exclusionary way. Hence, first generation Sudanese Dinka immigrants may only socialize with others speaking Dinka, duplicating the tribal differences in the country of origin, partly with the goal of focusing their social, human, and cultural capital on the needs of their immediate, precisely defined ethnocultural community. Their critical mass of over 200 people made a structured ethnocultural community more possible. In Ottawa, prior to the return of many male leaders to the Sudan, such a community was possible. Apparently in other cities like Calgary, Winnipeg and Toronto, there are enough Dinkas to have their own community centres and their own worship spaces.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> Gordon/Zeinab interview 2005; David Abrahams lived in Winnipeg when he first arrived in Canada. During a Sudan conference at York University in 2005, I was told that the Dinkas have their own community centre and worship space with a Dinka-speaking pastor in Toronto.

If a large enough numbers of speakers had made it possible, other first language focused South-Sudanese refugee groupings and associations might have perhaps also developed effective organizations. David Abraham said that “being a Kakwa<sup>40</sup> is important to maintain my heritage” (June 19, 2009), his referring to the “importance of blood relations”, but none of his children speaks Kakwa. Alew Bwolo similarly attaches a lot of importance to being a Luo, but his children also do not speak the language. Dinkas may have a larger amount of cultural capital, pride in their language, history and culture than other Sudanese ethnic groups so that they are better able to maintain an ethnic identity. As suggested earlier, some of this cultural capital may also be related to the Dinkas being a nomadic culture, with some resulting adaptation skills to new environments not available to more sedentary cultures.<sup>41</sup> The Nuers, also culturally nomadic peoples, may have similar skills to the Dinkas, as shown by their success in other cities (Shandy; Holtzman). However, they did not have a critical mass in Ottawa.

#### ***H. The lack of a common language for South Sudanese as a base of social capital***

Part of the challenge in realizing religiously-based or South Sudanese-focused social capital, a result of trusting social and community relationships, is the lack of a common language. Without a well-understood common language, communication to develop trust among different language groups, and different ethnicities from the same region, becomes difficult. The only spoken language, readily available to nearly all Sudanese-born migrants in Ottawa, irrespective of education and social class, is Sudanese Arabic.<sup>42</sup> However, it is a language imposed by the government of Sudan on the whole country in 1985, when English use in schools, in the media and in government was banned

---

<sup>40</sup> The challenge in much of Africa is that an ethnic group like the Kakwas are found in several countries; in smaller numbers in Sudan, but more importantly in Uganda. Kakwa was for example the language of Idi Amin, the former president of Uganda

<sup>41</sup> This argument may also apply to the Nuers of a similar cultural mould, but more dispersed between two nations, Ethiopia and Sudan. The Nuer success stories in North America have been well documented by Holtzman and Shandy

<sup>42</sup> This form of Arabic, both in its word forms and pronunciation is a particular dialect of Arabic, a ‘non-standard’ form of the language. Informants such as David Ochan\* point out that serious communication problems with the Sudanese occur when interpreters speaking other national forms of Arabic are asked to be interpreters, especially in school or medical care contexts. 2005.11.01 interview

(Essein and Falola, 2009; Spaulding and Beswick, 2000; Jok, 2007). Arabic has become the *lingua franca* of the whole country, including the South, but as part of the imposition of Islamic culture. As discussed in chapter 5 on the church and the South Sudanese, many Southern Sudanese Christians clearly resent the imposition of the Arabic language on them, partly because of its religious bias.

Prior to independence, the British had imposed English as the dominant language to unify the region. As a result, for nearly a century English was the only language used in schools and by the government in the Southern Sudan and therefore the common inter-ethnic language spoken by the educated population. Only men educated in the South up to the end of secondary school prior to 1985 speak fluent English. All these men are now over 35 years old. They are the current leaders of Southern Sudan and were the ones in Ottawa who most easily agreed to contribute to this research. English is not generally available to most Sudanese-born women<sup>43</sup>, since nearly all women are less educated than most men. Others who do not generally speak English are those not educated, including older people, those from small villages, and those who started to go to school after 1985 in Arabic.

The result of this Arabization of the South Sudanese therefore is that the local form of Arabic has become the only language available to nearly all South Sudanese adults in Ottawa. The exception are those who have never gone to school or have only lived in small villages, like some elderly, as well as the Eastern Nuer who do not speak Arabic because they were educated outside the Sudan in the border regions of Ethiopia (Lam Riek, June 13, 2005). The Eastern Nuer lack of Arabic appears to exclude many Nuers from some South Sudanese events. Young adults who left Africa as children appear not to speak Arabic, if there is another ethnic language like Dinka in the home.<sup>44</sup>

Since a common language is essential to community bonding and accessing social capital, the Sudanese are faced with a dilemma. Helena Lino Costa felt strongly that “all

---

<sup>43</sup> There are some very notable exceptions of highly educated, well-connected South Sudanese women who were related to political and military leaders in the Sudan who recognize the eventual importance of women as leaders. The only example in my interview sample was Margaret Chol whose father was an SPLA commander.

<sup>44</sup> South Sudanese refugees who came through refugee camps in Egypt like Helena Lino’s children learnt fluent Arabic, but Gordon’s younger children did not, since he came to Canada nearly directly from Khartoum.

Sudanese should just speak Arabic together in public” (August 17, 2005). However, the only leaders in Ottawa that can help the South Sudanese to bond and operate as a unified community are those who speak Arabic and English well. If a leader does not speak Arabic well, s/he cannot reach many of the older and younger recently arrived from the Sudan or from refugee camps. If s/he does not speak English well, s/he cannot reach the well educated of some ethnicities and many of the young who have been in Canada several years. As well, the leader has to speak English to be able to communicate in the broader societal context. Trilingual leaders who fully master two very different and difficult languages such as Arabic and English as well as their first language were not easy to find. Gordon Luala was one of the few.

Any leader must also have an ethnic political base from which to operate. Often in African politics, such a leader has come from a small tribe speaking a minority language. Many examples of African presidents come to mind who could not have been leaders of multi-ethnic nations if they were already a member of the politically dominant ‘tribe’.<sup>45</sup> If a leader has a prominent ethnic political base, he will be perceived through ethnic lenses by other ethnic groups. Gordon was and is clearly perceived as a Dinka, the dominant Southern Sudanese tribe, but nearly everyone respected his leadership and commitment to the welfare of all Sudanese in Ottawa. A “dynamic leader regardless of the tribe” (David Abraham, June 19, 2009) was essential to the future of a South Sudanese community. However, Gordon had to leave Canada for a paying job in the Sudan.

The conclusion one draws from the discussion on a common language for South Sudanese cultural cohesion is that the first generation community in Ottawa will probably remain divided along age of arrival and social class lines. Most may continue to use a first ethnic language at home, and English may impose itself as the dominant common language. But that process of dominant English use may alienate many younger and older migrants only fluent in Arabic. The younger ones were born after 1985 and therefore only went to school in Arabic. The older ones, nearly all women, may have learnt oral local forms of Arabic. English becomes the language of the elites, not of the whole community.

---

<sup>45</sup> Ghana’s Nkrumah, Cote d’Ivoire’s Houphuet-Boigny come to mind

### *I. Trust and common values as the base of social capital*

The basis of social capital is trust, the presumption that the people with whom you bond have similar values, and that they will reciprocate any relationships equally. However, after some time in Canada, South Sudanese-born families and individuals may no longer have the same values. Many interviewees referred to changed relationships within families. Wives relatively suddenly in Canada have more power, sometimes more than their husbands, a gender role reversal analyzed in some depth in the next chapter. Children may no longer be willing to obey their parents who have lost access to their traditional way of disciplining. Coming out of patriarchal societies, fathers are used to having absolute authority in their families, including physical disciplining. Legally enforced by Children's Aid Societies, parents no longer have that authority. Again, these topics will be discussed in the chapter on segmented assimilation. But changes in value systems obviously undermine the trust and cohesion of families, and therefore their ability to be sources of bonding social capital.

Many of my informants in Ottawa spoke of the importance of respecting ethnic marriage traditions focused on the Sudan, including continued dowry payments and respect for the authority of the oldest uncle in marriage-related decisions. However, parents and young adults all recognized the challenge of following traditional engagement and wedding cultural practices in a new culture, so far from the Sudan. The chapter on segmented assimilation looks at this topic from a wife, husband and young adult perspective. Those able to maintain these practices were those with continued and cultivated family connections back to the Sudan, presuming a stable family environment. Referring to his perceived lack of common values after only a few months in Canada, Dominic Funda, somewhat in desperation after his wife left him, said:

There are too many "open windows that bring in dust [for Sudanese lives in Canada] ... We lack [the] means to keep the family together (June 7, 2005).

A focus on adaptation to Canadian culture segmented by gender and age is the major focus of the next chapter. However, social capital as a source of human resources presumes maintenance of common values, a base of trust. If the Sudanese do not follow the major cultural practice of dowry payments as the base of wealth accumulation and

relationships between families, then cultural cohesion and social capital accumulation become doubtful. The rub for Sudanese migrants in Canada is that maintenance of these values is rooted in the Sudan, and not in Canada.

### **J. Religious community as a source of social capital**

Nearly all informants, especially those with no extended family in Ottawa, spoke of the importance of finding a church, a religious home, when they first arrived in the city. The church for them was the only available source of social capital, of meaningful, trusted relationships to support adaptation to a new culture, a new space. Christian churches are a fundamental part of life in much of the Southern Sudan. The church in Christianized Africa is often the centre of much community life, as well as the focus of worship and rites of passage, baptisms, marriages and funerals. Some non-Dinka informants, Abrahams, Funda, and Riek\* have even paralleled their ethnic (tribal) and their Christian identities as potentially equally important, certainly in the Sudan itself, but all three of them come from sedentary, relatively smaller ethnic groups whose cultural capital can perhaps not be transferred outside a particular geographic context.

Both in Canada and in the Sudan, denominational structures enable the building of bridging social capital. Churches in different villages and towns across significant distances work together. This is particularly true of Episcopal denominations, like the Catholic and Anglicans with overarching governing authorities such as archbishops who impose common liturgies, working conditions for clergy and region-wide practices to unify different parishes.

Christian faith and community in the Sudan, as well as for many Sudanese in Canada are important as the result of Muslim oppression of and discrimination against Christians by the central Muslim-dominated Sudan government. Several informants privately and publicly in church settings, spoke of specific examples of oppression, inter-religious family conflict, forced family name changes (Abraham to Ibrahim), and even killings. The memory of such oppression has an important role in Sudanese bonding social capital to their particular Christian faith community in Canada.<sup>46</sup> Their memories of Muslim persecution in the Sudan bond them together, but the longevity of such bonding may weaken in a secular Canada. The topic of Islamic Christian relationships in the Sudan

---

<sup>46</sup> For further analysis of this topic, please refer to the chapter on 'the Church and the South Sudanese'.

and the effects of Muslim persecution on Christian faith by the Sudanese in Canada are further discussed in chapter 5H.

Part of the reaction to sharia law in the Sudan has been an enormous increase in the growth of Christian churches.<sup>47</sup> Since many Dinkas in Southern Sudan are Anglican, their effective leaders in Ottawa, mainly Gordon Luaala, used his organizational skills and political acumen to convince the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa in May, 2004 to host a meeting of all South Sudanese with their hope that the Diocese would agree to provide space for community meetings and regular worship. The meeting deteriorated into tribal bickering and gender conflicts. More on the latter topic, gender role conflicts, will be included in the chapter on segmented assimilation. The Diocese refused to provide space to the South Sudanese, fearing that doing so would increase tribal conflict in Ottawa. However, in Toronto, because numbers warrant, a Dinka-speaking Anglican church has been created, with a fully-trained Dinka-speaking priest.<sup>48</sup>

Evangelical Christian Sudanese in Ottawa began their own church in Ottawa but it has had great difficulty finding a sufficiently educated and trained pastor as well as a trusted leader able to speak both Arabic and English as well as understand the South Sudanese refugee and cultural context. The ability to mobilize social capital in any community absolutely requires effective community leadership, as discussed above in reference to the Dinkas. Without an effective leader, the Sudanese Arabic-speaking church does not have much bonding social capital, except possibly in response to personal crises in individual lives, and as part of the organization of community-wide Christian calendar special events, particularly Christmas and Easter.

Leadership alternatives are appearing through other non-Sudanese African-led Black migrant churches. But participation in these churches requires total fluency in English (and some in Swahili<sup>49</sup>), a relatively high level of education and a significant level of individuation for people to move outside the South Sudanese and/or ethnic context. The South Sudan-born individuals involved, who now regularly worship in non-Sudanese contexts, appear to be exclusively educated men, occasionally with their wives and children, as well as young adults, who have come to Canada at a younger age, and who

---

<sup>47</sup> Further analyzed in the chapter on the church and the South Sudanese

<sup>48</sup> Please consult postscript.

<sup>49</sup> Swahili is the major trading language of much of the Great Lakes basin, centered especially on Tanzania.

consequently do not speak fluent English. There will be more on this topic in the chapter on the role of churches in the South Sudanese adaptation process. Suffice it to say, that, without sufficient leadership, and without a unifying language, the Sudanese church appears to offer little social capital for its members. Falling church attendance statistics, provided in Appendix C and further analyzed in chapter 5 will document this fact. From this appendix, readers will also notice the overwhelming preponderance of women and young female adults in attendance at nearly all services.

### **K. Bonding social capital among gendered groups**

It is very common especially in Islamic-influenced and traditional Africa to see very little public social interaction between men and women. The genders have different spheres of activity and responsibilities with very little overlap. Refugees from these parts of Africa transfer such learned cultural gender roles to Canada, depending somewhat on their length of time living outside the African continent and exposure to Westernized education and culture. This separation of roles tends to continue in Canada for a period of time, although the chapter on segmented assimilation will underline the extent to which gender role conflicts occur in many South Sudanese family. Such conflicts have become a major preoccupation for the religious and ethnic leadership in Ottawa.

Although the ostensible leadership of the Sudanese church is male, the statistics in Appendix C show that the vast majority of attendees in church are women. Women are the Sunday school teachers and dominate the choir. They are the cooks for all social occasions and even the spiritual leaders, with shamanic skills. The immediate past presidents of the South Sudanese (Dinka) is a woman, Lucy Peters. Such productive roles in the church and in ethnic groups, plus the inevitable responsibilities of doing most of the parenting in the home, results in South Sudanese refugee and immigrant women having a common focus to interact with and support one another, in person and by telephone. South Sudanese women learn to trust and be dependent on each other, operationalizing enormous amounts of bonding social capital.

“The gender dimensions of social capital are very marked” (Field, p.85). This gendered nature of social capital is obviously not unique to the Sudanese, but probably more noticeable, as demonstrated in the next chapter on segmented assimilation. Results from the U.S. Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey in August 2000 “confirmed

that American groups concerned with religion, charity and school support were disproportionately female.” (Norris, 2005, p. 86) Research shows that a women’s sense of empathy is stronger than men.<sup>50</sup> Women generally have a more homogenous social network than men, and in particular rely more than men on kin as network members (Field, p. 66).

The above paragraphs do not mean to imply that men do not have bonding social capital, but only that theirs tends to be of a more political nature, outside the home. Males are probably more privileged to listen to male comments and to observe males being active to influence the formation of politicized networks of South Sudanese in Canada. It is logical that Sudanese refugee men in the first wave focus on Sudanese politics for their daily interactions. Most left the Sudan for political reasons. Nearly all the South Sudanese males interviewed were members of the political liberation movement in Southern Sudan, the SPLM. Of my 8 significant South Sudanese-born male informants, the 3 most important have gone back to Sudan, partly because their greatest source of all forms of social capital was there and not in Canada. Two others went back but have returned to Canada, one to become a full-time father. Networks of relationships were not helpful for these educated males to find satisfactory employment in Canada.

#### **L. Bridging capital**

Ultimately to find employment and/or further opportunities for leadership development and experience as possible objectives, South Sudanese men, depending on numbers, may have to move outside their immediate ethnic and religious communities. The ability of particular communities to reach beyond themselves, to network with other like-minded groups with similar objectives is called bridging capital. “Bridging social capital tends to bring together people across diverse social divisions.” (Field, p. 32) It extends the “radius of trust” (Fukuyama, p. 13) to a larger number of groups with similar values and objectives. A bonded religious or ethnic community, with needs articulated by accepted leaders, will be empowered to bridge over language or ethnic or racial differences to groups

---

<sup>50</sup> The Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey in the United States, August 2000, showed in comparing the gender ratio in civic associations in the United States that the gender gap in favour of women was +3 for work in “organizations affiliated with religion” and a whopping +10 for “Church activities other than service”. Norris and Inglehart (2006) 84

with whom they may feel less comfortable. Such bridging or associational, heterogeneous bonds may be weaker than bonding relationships, since the individuals that are members of bridging networks may not be as intimate, or share all the values of the bonded community. People must have agency, or the abilities to seek out bridging ties with others with whom they are not necessarily affectively comfortable.

Wuthnow (2002) distinguishing between identity-bridging and status-bridging social capital is helpful here. Identity-bridging social capital refers to the kinds of networks that span “such culturally defined differences as race, ethnicity, religious tradition, sexual preference and national origin.”(p. 670). These networks could include all the South Sudanese in Ottawa, all the Christian Sudanese, South-Sudanese-born women, peer groups defined by age and possibly the Sudanese preference for being with other Black persons. Identity bridging social capital could be that they went to the same kind of church in the Sudan, or had common experiences going to the same kind of school or growing up as a young woman in Juba, the major city in Southern Sudan. Examples of all these sources of relationships were found among the Sudanese in Ottawa.

Status-bridging social capital includes “networks that span vertical arrangements of power, influence, wealth and prestige. It focuses on the potential for linkages between rank and file members of society and elites” (Wuthnow, 685). For example, being part of a different or a networked denominational church enables a Sudanese to have friends of higher social standing than would usually be possible in a church now whose members were only Sudanese. Being Black may enable relationships of identity-bridging and status bridging depending on the social class, the education and income levels of the other Black groups to whom the South Sudanese bridge.

Specifically, when this research began in 2004 with fewer South Sudanese in Ottawa, several informants, Gordon, Zeinab and Makueng, Alew, George and Aurelia, Lam and Nyangdong believed that they could build on their historic Christian religious identities as Anglicans, Catholics and Presbyterians.<sup>51</sup> Enabled by their upper/middle social class background in the Sudan and their mastery of English, they became active members of religious groups that historically had had few Black members and had never adjusted their

---

<sup>51</sup> There is a much more substantive discussion of religious dimensions of the Sudanese adaptation in the chapter on the Church and the South Sudanese

worship styles to include, for example, music with good rhythm. They were also conscious of joining networks that might be useful to them. Gordon and his wife Zeinab, as the only Sudanese, became active members of the Anglican parish of St. James (Hull). Gordon represented the parish as delegate at two annual diocesan or regional meetings. Akic\* and his then wife came to St. John the Evangelist Anglican church regularly for several years. Their son was baptized there in 2006. Akic expressed the desire not to worship in a Sudanese environment. He felt that that Sudanese refugees and immigrants “should not worship separately”, but as part of mainstream churches in order learn “how the culture functions here” (March 6, 2008). Alew became very active in the Knights of Columbus and in his Catholic parish, Resurrection of our Lord. Again, like the Anglican parishes visited, during my visit to this parish, he was apparently the only Black person in the parish. David Ochan\*, and his Emmy\*, reflecting their commitment to the Catholic Church in the Sudan, were very much involved in goading the Catholic archdiocese of Ottawa to set up an office for South Sudanese refugees in 2004. They became leaders in the local parish of St. Ignatius the Martyr Catholic church. Lam and his wife, although Presbyterians as are most Nuer, could not find a supportive Presbyterian church in Ottawa (E-mail correspondence with Andrew Johnston, moderator of the Presbytery of Ottawa, 2009.06.03), and now are in the leadership of a monthly service for Africans from many countries worshipping in a Lutheran church in west-end Ottawa.

These Sudanese-born individuals all had considerable human capital or education and leadership skills, an upper class background accustomed to access power in order to effectively become members of mainstream churches, supplementing their traditional sources of bonding social capital within their own ethnic group or families. Partly because of their influence, both Catholic and Anglican dioceses sponsored several Sudanese refugees helping them and others access geared to income or public housing, settlement support and language training among other services.

However, practically none of the individuals mentioned above were really able to fully become members of the White congregations mentioned. Language difficulties were always present. The refugees sponsored by St. John’s and even Akic who was qualified as a teacher in Canada could not understand the fast spoken English there. Active physical and verbally participative worship was absent. They were often the only Blacks in the

congregations. There was no values consensus, especially around gender roles and understandings of the importance of time. All these obstacles would have had to have been overcome for bridging capital between the South Sudanese and mainstream church congregations to succeed.

Part of the reason why recent South Sudanese cannot really activate bridging social capital may also be their prior commitment to their ethnic or regionally-defined grouping. Putman argued that close, bonding ties may inhibit the formation of bridging social capital (Field, p. 87). Identifying strongly ethnically as a Dinka made, meaningful by a large enough number of people, may prevent bridging capital to other ethnic groups. Pieterse suggests that bridging social capital presumes the existence of “translocal culture” (Pieterse, 2003, p.31) by which he means the willingness of immigrants to go beyond boundaries, beyond the concerns of a territorial-defined or language-defined culture. Wuthnow shows quite conclusively that:

Membership in a religious congregation is generally associated quite strongly and positively with status-bridging social capital, as measured by questions about having friends who represent various kinds of elite power or influence. (Wuthnow, 2002, p. 675)

However, Wuthnow recognizes that religious congregations with status-bridging social capital potential are often not welcoming of “the socially marginalized” (Wuthnow, p. 681), which often would include new immigrants. The exception might be the Sudanese who were already somewhat Westernized, shared some common values, like many of my first wave Sudanese refugees and who had had some level of power in the Sudan. They tried to find friendships in mainstream congregations but in my opinion did not succeed for the reasons mentioned above.

Gordon Luaala’s personal contacts and credibility, his trustworthiness, allowed him to personally bridge his community’s social capital with Christians in other like-minded, mainstream organizations such as the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa and the immigrant settlement organizations in the city. Many of their representatives attended Vice-President Garang’s commemorative funeral in Ottawa mentioned earlier. Bridging social capital to elicit mainstream cultural organizational participation at this funeral was built on common values such as: the importance of supporting others in their grieving; the need for

community solidarity in the face of loss, but are these common values sufficient for sustained bridging social capital?

Bridging capital assumes the sharing of common values. The importance of time is one of the most important values in Canadian society. The Western capitalist saying goes: 'time is money'. At no event, no church, social or political happening in the Sudanese community ever began or ended at the agreed on time. Some Sudanese were often not on time even for formal meetings. Differences between mainstream Canadian cultural expectations and Sudanese reality, especially those dealing with time, were sometimes extreme.

As one significant example of many, the commemorative funeral service for Sudanese Vice President Garang suddenly killed in 2005 was supposed to start at 2 p.m. in Ottawa, when Bishop Peter Coffin, Anglican Bishop of Ottawa arrived. He had been invited by Gordon Luaala, to preside at the funeral. Gordon built on his personal and that of his organization's bridging social capital to invite the Bishop and many other mainstream community leaders. The funeral service did not start until 4:30, after most Sudanese-born had arrived, 2.5 hours late. The bishop's quiet anger at having to wait 2.5 hours for the funeral to start was palpable and privately voiced.<sup>52</sup> A lack of common values around the importance of time undermines the possibility of linking social with non-ethnic associations.

Travel and life in much of Africa clearly demonstrate that quality human relationships and business considerations can be more important than time. From my repeated personal experience on the street in non-urban Africa, if you meet someone on the street, sharing information about the pathways of life is important for interpersonal and community bonding, often irrespective of personal time commitments. Privately run busses cannot leave until they are full, if the owners want to make money. However, the importance of time is a central tenant of Canadian society. Migrants to Canada who do not accept this tenant cannot develop the trust necessary to enable the long-term bridging of social capital. The efficient use of time is a fundamental value in Canadian society which

---

<sup>52</sup> Further discussion of this funeral is found in the chapter on the church and the South Sudanese.

migrants must accept if they or their organizations want to elicit the reciprocal trust of other organizations and individuals, a requirement of bridging social capital.

### **M. Bridging to the Kenyan/Ugandan community**

Another social capital bridging example of the Sudanese community is their reaching out or bridging to another African-based and Black community of similar values and needs, the Jordan community church. This church is led by a charismatic pastor, Joseph Kiirya, born in Uganda, educated in Kenya, but who received his seminary training at St. Paul's (Catholic) University in Ottawa. The Jordan community church was nearly exclusively composed of those born in one of the Great Lakes nations, Kenya, Uganda, Zambia and Tanzania, but ministry to and with the South Sudanese is clearly an option, especially for those well-educated and good English fluency. The theological, pastoral and service relationship between the Sudanese New Ambassador church and Jordan Community Church will be analyzed in the chapter on the church, religious faith and the Sudanese.

The two related congregations clearly meet the criteria for bridging social capital, the topic of this chapter. Both congregations were exclusively composed of Black migrants from neighbouring countries and cultures in Eastern Africa and both minister to the needs of new immigrants and refugees. Both operate within a broadly defined evangelical framework, with similar social challenges, but the Jordan Community church had a far higher number of educated professionals. It ministered primarily to independent immigrants to Canada, not refugees, to international students and to civil servants, working for embassies, and international organizations, but born in one of the many countries of the Great Lakes region of East Africa.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, the Sudanese church was composed of refugee and increasingly their sponsored family members from Southern Sudan, some of whose men have now gone back to the Sudan for good jobs, partly because they did not have the training and qualifications to get jobs commensurate with qualifications in Canada. The South Sudanese on the average are less educated, especially the women, and less wealthy than the members of the Jordan Community Church.

---

<sup>53</sup> Examples of members in Jordan Community Church included: 2 deputy high commissioners; a former, female executive director of UNICEF in Nairobi; a trade officer at External Affairs; an accountant; a successful businessman; many wealthy international students, but also some recent, and poor immigrants and refugees.

Recognizing a lack of trained pastoral and other leadership among the Sudanese, David Abrahams and Gordon Luaala, committed Christians, but also the co-chairs of the SPLM<sup>54</sup> in Ottawa and of the Dinka and Kakwa ethnic groups nationally respectively, invited Pastor Kiirya to begin regularly begin preaching at the South Sudanese services on Sunday afternoons, the Jordan community church services being on Sunday mornings. The Sudanese community did not have a trained leader for communion services, baptisms and funerals, as well as other pastoral needs. However, Kiirya's ministry to the Sudanese is limited because he does not speak Arabic, and has little understanding of Sudanese politics, a preoccupation of the South Sudanese refugee men.

Nevertheless, Pastor Kiirya's church over the last year (2008-09) has attracted several English fluent South Sudan-born families, including some men. Some Sudanese-born young adult leaders (14-19) began to regularly participating in Jordan community services in the morning, and other activities organized by Kiirya's team, including music lessons, bowling and youth nights. This bridging by some Sudanese to the Ugandan/Kenyan Christians may be a survival requirement, but the Sudanese church leadership was reluctant to admit as such.<sup>55</sup>

Several future options are discussed in the chapter on the church and the South Sudanese. But in terms of bridging social capital, the fluently English speaking Sudanese can continue to worship and participate in activities with other East Africans through Jordan Community church. The most recent example includes the Sudanese staffing an international development fund raising event for projects in Uganda and Kenya selected by Kiirya and his church. In an informal discussion during the dinner, one of the Sudanese, Kwongo Bongo, expressed the hope that similar events could be organized to send funds to projects in the Sudan. Other bridging options for the Sudanese Christians are discussed in chapter 5 on the Church for the South Sudanese. These include participation in the activities of the Church of God ministering to the needs of other Black populations in Ottawa.

---

<sup>54</sup> The political movement in the diaspora for the complete independence of Southern Sudan

<sup>55</sup> Informal discussions with Helena, Kwongo and Michael at Jordan Community church dinner in May, 2009.

*N. Linking social capital to mainstream organizations: the need for a council of elders*

Government sponsored refugees have immediate access upon arrival to government welfare for at least one year as well as public housing if needed. With young children and few employment possibilities in a new culture, access to welfare monies may continue to be a necessity beyond the one year. In this context, many Sudanese get to work closely with social workers and other settlement integration workers whom they have to learn to trust. Social workers have enormous authority to come into the home and make financial decisions that affect the whole family.

Somewhat unfortunately for the South Sudanese men and male young adults, the vast majority of social workers and teachers, the most common Canadian authority figures for refugees, are women. Sudanese men have little experience responding to women as authority figures. Even an increasing number of police officers dealing with family issues in Canada are women. In social capital terms, the difficulty of female authorities for Sudanese men was enunciated by Dominic Funda as follows:

Why should I tell these social workers about my life? She earns her money by talking to me. I do not know what she is going to do with the information. I have no reason to trust her. What is she going to do with that information? (Dominic Funda, 2005)

Funda, a highly educated, older man was rooted in a patriarchal culture. He just could not adjust to the gendered reality of Canadian society. He could not learn to trust female authority figures.

Trust is the basis of all successful relationships in the long run, the basis of all social capital. Unfortunately, that trust presumes a value system rooted elsewhere. As discussed in the next chapter, several Sudanese-born men and even some women referred to Canada as a “911 society”. They complained and commented on the fact that women rapidly obtained a lot more power in Canadian culture than was ever possible in the Sudan. There were reports of several cases where social workers and police summarily pulled husbands and fathers out of their homes. As a consequence, one father apparently tried to commit suicide after his losing contact with his children. Gordon Luaala also personally referred to a situation where he was suspected of possible child abuse. He felt very threatened by the

possibility that a Children's Aid Society worker would come in to his home to interview him about the way he disciplined one of his 4 daughters (, April 4, 2005).

The response of the Sudanese community to these often negative interactions with civil authorities was to try to set up council of male elders to link to the police, the schools, social workers who interacted on a daily basis with South Sudanese-born families. These men two of my interviewees, Gordon Luaala and David Ochan\*, and several others gave me examples where both of them and others were involved in arbitrating situations of conflict with the welfare system or the police. These incidents are referred to in the chapter on segmented assimilation as well as in the chapter on the church and the South Sudanese. Suffice it to say that elders are essential to the smooth organization of a Sudanese community. As a major informant, Akic Ruati\* said:

These [Sudanese] values include respect for elders. When an elder tells you to do something correct, you have to do it. When an elder tells you he disapproves of something you have done, you have to listen to him. Someone who is not your father, but he is an elder, he actually can punish you. (March 6, 2008).

According to Akic, a non-Dinka, without a functioning group of elders, the Sudanese community faced enormous values conflicts and could not function. In some refugees' experience, "the teaching of the church and [its] elders took the place of [community] elders" (March 6, 2008). Akic would also argue that a religious leader of the South Sudanese should also be a member of a council of elders, trusted by the authorities to arbitrate differences between an immigrant community and the civil authorities.<sup>56</sup>

Mediation efforts are built on a track record of success. Possible mediators, Gordon Luaala and David Ochan\*, unwilling refugee migrants, went back to the Sudan for better jobs. Other leaders have had to leave Ottawa for better paying jobs elsewhere in Canada, particular in an economic downturn. There may no longer be any trusted, male cultural leaders in the Sudanese community until new younger ones rise to the surface. Another option is that female leaders take over as cultural mediators to develop the ability of the Sudanese to link in trust to the civil authorities. As Sudanese-born women get more education, a greater social status, more income and flexible use of time, such female leadership may soon be possible.

---

<sup>56</sup> Cf. my later discussion of Pastor Kiirya's roles

## O. Conclusion of chapter

Social capital in its simplest form, relationships with others, is a resource that all South Sudanese refugees potentially have to support their adaptation to Canada. The extended family is probably the first source of social capital, presuming a common set of values essential for all trust and reciprocity. However, these values are rooted in an ethnic culture in the Sudan itself, especially for the Dinkas. Is it really tenable to continue to follow the required steps to marriage and the settlement of the dowry focused on the Sudan? Can social capital bonding through the extended family be maintained across space? Our global technologies and frequent travel may allow such maintenance, but what are the consequences for families and individuals adapting to a new culture? Under what conditions does the bonding of a Sudanese-born family continue?

Bonding to others speaking the same language and with a similar culture and history is the second level of bonding capital. A good leader meant that the Dinkas in Ottawa were able to mobilize their cultural and social capital to set up a functioning organization, but to the perceived exclusion of other ethnic groups who were perhaps transferring their experience with Dinka dominance in the Sudan and were consequently not willing to work together. This lack of inter-ethnic trust and a common language made the creation of a 'Sudanese' community very difficult.

Ethnic-based social capital, such as the Dinkas, with language and history as bonding mechanisms, tends to elicit hostility to out groups, other similarly-cast groups as 'Sudanese' who may want to compete for the same government, non-governmental and church resources.

Alternatively bonding to others on the basis of a common faith and values was explored along with the possibility of gendered groupings. All these groups can be sources of social capital, or resources to support the adaptation process to Canada, without focusing outside the country.

Part of the problem in having functioning Sudanese groups may be that there are just not enough South Sudanese in a second-tier city like Ottawa for the Sudanese to operate autonomously, particularly in the absence of credible leaders. Eventually, a Sudanese community bonded future may lie in identifying alternative leaders, perhaps

largely women. Bonding to others based on non-Sudan focused common experiences may be possible, but more as individuals than as a member of bonded group. The following two chapters explore more individualized identities or combinations of these in the adaptation process

## Chapter 4: Segmented assimilation: gender, age and race lenses

### A. *Identity, rights and lenses*

Social capital, the topic of the previous chapter, analyzed immigrant adaptation at the level of group membership. Segmented assimilation theory allows for more individualized understandings that all immigrants adapt in their own way through evolving self perceived and perceived identities, segmented or differentiated by unique combinations of gender, ethnicity, religion, age, race, social class, sexual orientation, as well as the result of neighbourhood environments and other factors. All these identities are always evolving in the post-modern world. In other words, what we are is never static using adjectives like male/female; Dinka or Dutch; Christian or Muslim; old or young; black or white; poor or rich; educated or unschooled; gay or straight recognizing that the boundaries around these identities are fluid and dependent on each individual's preferences and realities.

“Our identities, however intimate and cherished they may be, do not exist independently of the times, the place and the circumstances in which we live.

. . . The multi-faceted ways in which we come to see, know, and define ourselves is formed socially and historically . . . the life long process of becoming ourselves.”  
(Hier and Bolaria, 2006, p. 2, *summarizing Michel Foucault's thinking*)

Canada has gradually moved to an individual rights-based society in which the rights of the individual often take precedence over obligations to the group. Rights for any individual cannot easily be taken away by the government or by the family. Under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, such rights include the right not be subjected to any “cruel or unusual treatment”, as well as the right to “life, liberty and security of the person”. Both these human rights in law reduce much of the traditional authority that fathers in some cultures have over their children and over their wives or that Whites had over Blacks.

Yet, as a nation, Canada also promotes an understanding of multiculturalism, a “system of rights and obligations which protects the integrity of the individual while recognizing that individuality is formed in a variety of social and cultural contexts”

(Castles, 2000, p. 134). The Charter of Rights and Freedoms guarantees social and cultural rights for every individual, rather than as members of groups. In Canada, the government guarantees both individual rights and cultural rights as distinguished from the United States where the government tends to put the emphasis more on individual rights, although the distinction between the two countries is becoming less evident.

This chapter recognizes the individualized and segmented nature of the immigrant experience in this dominant culture, building on the work of researchers, (Boyd, 2002; Portes, 1996; Rumbaut, 2005; Zhou, 1997), who have begun to develop segmented ‘assimilation’ theory. The theory suggests that understanding the adaptation processes for most immigrants requires a variety of lenses or avenues of perception, including those of gender, race and age. In 2009, the lens might also include sexual orientation, given the very significant changes in dominant Canadian culture, influenced by its Charter of Rights and Freedoms and subsequent national legislation.

The term assimilation as in ‘segmented assimilation’ has a connotation of absorbing immigrants into an indistinguishable oneness. I therefore prefer to use the term adaptation which implies that immigrants or refugees choose aspects of their culture and identity that will change to fit in with a particular environment like a school, or work place, where being different culturally or in values may impede collaboration with others. Most immigrants and arguably increasingly most individuals operate in a “Windows environment” (Vertovec, 1999) switching as it were between various public identities depending on the environment in which they find themselves. In this sense, few Sudanese will ever assimilate to having only one identity, but acknowledge multiple ways of describing themselves depending on their circumstances. I recognize however, that having choice in identities often requires access to power, the ability to make decisions without necessary reference to others. In other words, the ability to have different identities is the result of having considerable agency.

### ***B. Segmented assimilation theory***

The segmented ‘assimilation’ theory argues that adaptation to dominant North American society will depend on each individual’s levels of three different kinds of capital; social, human and cultural. In the previous chapter, I have already written about social capital, the results of different contacts and networks of trusted relationships with

reciprocity available to individuals as members in ethnic, church, peer, race and gender-based groups. The second kind of capital important to understand the segmented adaptation of immigrants is human capital; the educational, soft and hard skill and/or family-based assets of any individual - a form of capital closely linked to social class. Finally, crucial to the potential for adaptation is cultural capital, the traditions and implied value system for individuals in any ethnic group enabling them to interact successfully or unsuccessfully with the dominant culture.

For example, referring to the importance of the Dinka language in the previous chapter on social capital and in my introduction to the Dinka's historic political domination of Southern Sudan geographically situated as they are on the boundary with the Arab north and as a pastoral people, but also rooted in their music and cultural traditions, I have suggested that the Dinkas in Ottawa had a lot of cultural capital, pride in what their culture represented.

Success for new immigrants in dominant Canadian society depends significantly on their cultural capital, also defined as their symbolic or integrated knowledge of the *doxa* (Bourdieu, 1998), the practical understanding of how to live in dominant Canadian society whether in male-female or in parent-child relationships, although these relationships are sometimes paradoxical or self-contradictory, especially in a new culture.

The segmented assimilation theory then suggests that depending on each individual's levels of different kinds of capital, three general outcomes of the immigrant experience in North America are possible; convergence, divergence and selective acculturation.

### **1. Convergence**

With lots of social and human capital and no major barriers in the host society such as racism or religious discrimination, immigrants will converge with mainstream society, like European immigrants and refugee of the past. These immigrants, a lot of the three forms of capital, social, human and cultural very rapidly adapted to North American society and perhaps even in the first generation become upwardly mobile and economically successful. Such immigrants may become indistinguishable from the dominant society. Some refugees and immigrants from East Africa, with high levels of (Westernized) education and successful experiences in public service, education or business may

eventually have the same experience as European immigrants and individually converge with dominant Canadian society, especially as empowered Christians if they join mainstream churches and do not encounter racism.

In the next chapter, I track the efforts of several Sudanese to join mainstream churches as part of their convergence and their difficulties in doing so for cultural, historic and perhaps racial reasons. From a social capital perspective, referring to the previous chapter, such individuals as members of group have potential access to significant amounts of bridging and linking capital, and not just bonding capital. However, their group membership may no longer be a necessary part of their success, their also having access to significant amounts of other capital, human and cultural.

## **2. Divergence; race**

A second group of immigrants, possibly nearly all Black or Hispanic, and relatively poor and uneducated, perhaps mostly in the United States, will probably experience divergence, or impoverishment, because “of low levels of parental and community resources” and assuming “a highly racialized population [t]here”. (Boyd, 2002, p. 1042) Divergence means a downward economic and social spiral, so that the third generation of immigrant family members may even be worse off than the first generation, depending in part on its levels of capital and the favourable or unfavourable reception they receive in their new community (Hirshman, 2001). Hirschman documents this downward spiral in education for adolescents in the United States from Puerto Rico, Cuba and the Dominican Republic consistent with the second option of the segmented assimilation theory. I have found no longitudinal studies of Black adolescent migrants in Canada, except that the American literature assumes that they will come to be associated with the African-American underclass. In Canada, Blacks tend to be seen as part of composite ‘visible minority’ category which also includes native peoples and Asians.

Boyd (2002) at the University of Toronto argues that the divergent or downward spiral for Black migrants is “less likely to be observed in Canada for two reasons” (p. 1045). Canada’s history with slavery is radically different from that of the United States. Canada’s Black population is relatively small when compared to the number of American Blacks. I spent six years living on the West Side of Manhattan within 5 blocks of Harlem in the 1970’s. Harlem then was poor, Black and dangerous, at least for affluent Whites.

No such area exists in Ottawa or even in Toronto. The theory of divergence was developed in the American context and may not make sense in Canada.

Boyd at the University of Toronto is also right in stating that “the Canadian [B]lack population is internally diverse in history, origin, and arrival dates” (p. 1044). Later in this chapter, in the section on racism, referring to an interview with a Jamaican leader, I point to the relations between the oldest significant Black population in Ottawa, with origins in the Caribbean, and their difficulties in accommodating the new Blacks from Somalia who arrived in their thousands in the late 1990s, transforming the face of Ottawa.

Included in this ‘divergent’ group are individuals who may join an ‘underclass’ in urban Canada might be unschooled immigrants from the Sudan (and Somalia) with no exposure to ‘European’ cultures. I have worked with some Sudanese sponsored young adults for example that at age 16 did not know how to write their own name. Usually these immigrants would be the sponsored relatives of the first wave of refugees on whom this research is focused. These sponsored family members, if uneducated and with greater cultural distance from Canadian dominant culture than their sponsors may experience divergence. However, my research for this dissertation was focused on first wave refugees, from a probably middle/upper class background in the Sudan.

### **3. Selective acculturation or adaptation**

A third group of immigrants, with significant social and human resources including a well-developed ethnic community in North America, might experience “selective acculturation”. (Zhou, 1997) Some immigrants will integrate economically and socially, but continue to successfully maintain their social and cultural ‘boundaries’ with the dominant North American society. Such successful immigrants and their adolescent children may be those with a particularly strong historically validated culture, significant cultural capital, and possibly a well-defined religious base. However, the ability to maintain such a cultural and religious base in Canada may primarily be a result of a critical mass, enough members of a particular ethnic or religious group in a particular city. Some Chinese cultures would be a good example of the former, a strong historically validated culture. (Li, 1998) Sikhs and some Caribbean Christians would be examples of groups of immigrants with a well-defined cultural and religious base. (Duncan, 2008; Hirschman,

2001) It is possible that Somalis, Dinkas and Nuers with significant social and human capital will also be shown to selectively converge, probably mostly depending on numbers of any particular ethnic group in particular cities in Canada and their leaders' access to power. This dissertation is focused on the adaptation of leading individuals primarily from the Dinka culture, but with references to some Nuers and to the literature on the Nuers in the United States. I also have a lot of experience working with Somalis, but this dissertation does not focus on them since they are nearly all Muslims.

#### 4. Chapter thesis and organization

The thesis of this chapter is that some first wave South Sudanese refugees may succeed in achieving 'selective acculturation', or perhaps full convergence with the values of dominant Canadian society, depending on gender, race, social class and age of arrival. Increased autonomy and power for some Sudanese-born women and for young adults, begun in the Sudan, will mean that they may tend to converge with dominant Canadian society, disrupting patriarchal family cohesion, threatening the authority of fathers and husbands. Racism may not be a major barrier for the Sudanese as Blacks, partly because first wave refugee families and individuals are well educated and politically attuned.

The chapter will first discuss increased access to power and influence by Sudanese women, their potential convergence to Canadian society, including higher levels of family tension, but also the potential for negotiated role changes. I will then reflect on the Sudanese young adults' experience, both from the perspectives of the parents, and somewhat from the young adults themselves as the result of a focus group with three 20 year olds.<sup>57</sup> The discussion is from a gendered perspective. Finally, a discussion is begun

---

<sup>57</sup> Readers are reminded from the introduction that the young adult focus group on May 21, 2009 was formally composed of three young adults, two females and one male who were all the oldest children in their families and whose parent or parents I had also extensively interviewed. The young adults had all come to Canada after the age of 8 and were all now 20 years old. A fourth female young adult, also the oldest daughter of a principal informant, joined us for the first 20 minutes of the focus group, but was not able to stay because of a university course that evening. I should also note as I have done in the introduction that all four young adults knew that I was gay before the focus group meeting.

on the possible role of race in the segmented adaptation of Sudanese born males and young adults.

In all comments and analyses that follow, it should be remembered that reference is made to the same individuals as in the previous chapter on social capital and their group memberships and in the subsequent one on the working out of their Christian identity largely through the Church. Segmented ‘assimilation’ allows for a more nuanced understanding of the adaptation process, more recognizing the individualized nature of that process buffeted by more than group dynamics, although ‘no (wo)man is an island’.

### **C. Gender issues; increased power for women**

#### ***1. Sudanese customary law and its evolution***

The statement that nearly all migrants from Africa come from patriarchal cultures means, in very broad anthropological terms, that the father is the ‘owner’ of the family, with near total authority or supremacy over his wife and children. Patriarchy also means that descent and inheritance comes through the male line. Francis Deng (2010), probably the principal current authority on the cultures of Southern Sudan, writes about customary law in Southern Sudan as follows:

The [customary] role of women is seen as one of wealth generation and distribution as well as cementing family ties through “bride wealth” (*sic*) and producing children. . . . The status of women in this system is viewed as approximating that of property. (p. 42)

Although the roles for women from a male perspective in the Sudan were clearly defined as “approximating that of property”, the importance of bride price transferred from the groom’s family to that of the bride and the role of the wife in “wealth generation”, Deng (2010) also recognizes that:

gender roles are being seriously scrutinized [in Southern Sudan], especially as women under the destabilising circumstances of war have proven to be more resilient and productive than men and have assumed greater responsibilities than they had under the traditional system, destabilizing circumstances of war. (p. 34)

Deng goes on to say that there is now a demand for law reform in the Sudan, “championed by women themselves” (p. 42) and influenced by the world’s changing individual human

rights climate. I want to emphasize that gender role changes among the Sudanese that developed in Canada quite quickly, probably began in the Sudan itself under civil war conditions.

Role changes are ultimately negotiated by individuals in every family, but as pointed out in the previous chapter, social capital is also gendered. Most women are part of gender homogenous social networks to provide each other support in initiating change within their personal environments.

Jane Kani Edward (2007) based on her research among Sudanese women in Cairo refugee camps found the following:

As breadwinners and economically independent, [Sudanese] women begin to assert greater involvement in decision making, particularly on financial issues, an area that had been the sole domain of men in the past. ... Their work has also rendered irrelevant the culturally rooted claim that men are the providers and decision makers, whereas women are dependent on men. (p. 190)

Sudanese women in the Sudan under war conditions and in refugee camps in Cairo already experienced a great increase in power through increased financial independence, but also as the result of the physical absence of men. Focusing on the pastoral Dinka people, Beswick (2000) argues convincingly that “war [in the Sudan] has revolutionized gender and generational relations” (p. 93). The process of role changes begun in the Sudan and in refugee camps for some South Sudanese is quickly accelerated in Canada.

## ***2. Gender role changes; wives convergence***

Building on this movement to gender equality in the Sudan and influenced by an increasingly egalitarian and individualist Canadian society, my research shows that many South Sudanese families, very soon after arrival in Canada, experience significant gender role changes, women converging with dominant society more than men, although efforts are made to balance change with traditional roles through the involvement of elders and other cultural mediators.<sup>58</sup> Sudanese women are empowered by dominant Canadian society. Women and wives build on the strengths and independent experience they have acquired in the Sudan under civil war conditions, to access greater rights in Canada than

---

<sup>58</sup> For further discussion of values mediation techniques, please read both the previous chapter on elders council (chapter 3N) and the potential role of pastors as family arbiters in chapter 5N.

they could have obtained in the Sudan. Husband/fathers' traditional authoritarian role is undermined, although there may be exceptions for husbands like Gordon Luaala and David Abraham who been significantly exposed to Western cultural values and/or education prior to arriving in Canada and have a relatively equal power relationship with their wives. But the dominant thinking of the Sudanese, as expressed by the community's male settlement officer employed by the Catholic Immigrant Centre in Ottawa, Alew Bwolo, is that "the greatest *disadvantage* (my italics) [for Sudanese refugees coming to Canada] is Canadian laws that regulate husband, wife and parents children relationships". (April 29, 2005, *my italics*) Male dominance of the Sudanese-born family is quickly threatened in urban Canada.

A more feminist interpretation of family changes "by research scholars and professional staff" working with refugee women emphasizes the capacity of refugee women to adapt by themselves.

[D]espite the breakdown of family supports, the strength of women refugees was evident to all those who worked closely with them. In addition, refugee women were learning and taking decision making responsibilities beyond sex-defined roles. (Maroussa Hajdukowski-Ahmed, 2008, p. 6)

Both these perceptions, the academic and the professional leads to the general conclusion that the South Sudanese wife and mother upon arriving here experiences a significant increase in power destabilizing many Sudanese-born families with Global North dominant understandings of relative gender equality.

Although the primary ethnic focus in this dissertation is on the Dinkas, the dominant pastoral and political culture in Southern Sudan, the Nuers are the most competitive peoples with and the most culturally similar to the Dinkas in the Sudan as well as presumably in their adaptation patterns to migratory environments. With reference to changed gender relationships among the Nuer in the United States, Shandy (2007), the most prominent authority on the Nuers in the United States, wrote:

A fundamental shift in [South Sudanese] gender relations in the United States is women's increased access to education and income-generating opportunities on par with their husbands. . . . Even Nuer women with little or no formal schooling before arrival in the United States find themselves equipped to contribute to the maintenance of the family. (p. 110)

Although Shandy misses the fact that the process of gender role change did not start in North America, what she meant is that the welfare cheque is nearly always written in the name of the mother in a family. Women are also given equal opportunity for men to get an education. From my research, in line with Shandy's, immigrant Sudanese women often find it easier than men to get paid employment, although admittedly often in relatively low paying service jobs by North American standards. The mother is also seen in North America as the primary care giver for the children, and the parent whom social workers and teachers consult when challenges happen in the family. During 17 years of high school teaching, much of this teaching English second language to adolescent immigrants, most from Africa, it was very rare that I or my colleagues ever interacted with a father about any student. There is considerable evidence that parenting is seen in Africa as the primary responsibility of the mother, except perhaps that the father has a particular relationship with the oldest son. (Deng, 2010, Jok, 2007) Under these circumstances, what does it mean anymore for the South Sudanese man to be the head of the family? Some Sudanese fathers and husbands may feel that they no longer have any meaningful roles in Canada.

Nyongdong, Lam Riek's wife, said:

Here everybody thinks that I have my own money. If the man [is] gone, I have my own money. If the man goes, he knows that the government will look after the children. The men know that I can go my own way.

I interviewed this Nuer couple in 2005 and again in 2009 when they reaffirmed the same opinions. She knew her power. Both female and male South Sudanese informants spoke to me about "gender role reversals". (Aurelia Justin - female and Lam Riek - male) "911 is used by wives to kick out husbands." (Ring Malou - male) Canada is a "911 society encouraging divorce". (Dominic Funda - male) Funda continued that social workers who are called to try to solve spousal disputes are nearly always women and are never supportive of husbands.

911 is the emergency phone line in Ontario, Canada. Once the number is dialled, irrespective of actual verbal contact, for example if the caller hangs up the telephone, police and/or other civil authorities are obligated by law to respond, sometimes by home visits. The perception was clearly that civil authorities would prevent the male from imposing his authority by force or without negotiation. Canadian dominant culture in 2010 requires verbal

negotiation for problem solving in a family, a difficult skill many Sudanese-born fathers, like many men, irrespective of culture, do not apparently and regrettably acquire until forced.

Dianna Shandy (2007, p. 117) in her book on the Nuer in the United States refers to the “feminist fervour of many social workers [that] actually works to weaken or reconstitute the . . . family”. Shandy goes on to write:

The push of the state and the civil institutions works at times in tandem to create pressure that encourages refugees to adopt normative roles with regard to behaviour, particularly gender roles. Pressure is exerted through legal, social service, and other channels to promote assimilation to U.S. values. (p. 117-118)

One could ask that mainstream social workers and other agents of the state are trained to develop better skills to understand traditional patriarchal constructs and to use mediation methods to arbitrate gender role conflicts. Personal contacts with social workers inform me that such training is beginning to take place.

Many South Sudanese women appear to experience quite a high level of convergence with dominant Canadian society. “I have rights here”, says Margaret. She often talked to other women and was part of a female network that appeared to meet at her hairdressing salon where she is the owner and in each others’ homes. I personally witnessed these meetings of women in homes, supporting a particular woman going through difficulties. “Women have a more powerful network than men” (Alew Bwolo). Bwolo and several other male and female informants talked about women finding many reasons to get together, including shopping, preparing food for community activities, welcoming and supporting each other’s children or even co-parenting or just visiting each other’s homes. Shandy (2007) writes about the gender “levelling effects of migration” quoting one of her informants who said that “in this society, women feel that they have reached heaven. In our society, women and children are subordinate.” (p. 120)

As a result of women empowerment, South Sudanese-born men in Canada clearly feel threatened by the increased potential power of their wives. Men do the “shopping here to prevent their wives from interacting with each other”. (Michael Soro). Men are clearly aware of “losing power” (Bwolo) as a result of the influence of more equal relationships. Alew Bwolo continued:

. In addition sometimes the wife becomes the breadwinner and the husband remains at home, taking care of the kids and/or cooking and doing the dishes. For some men, it is impossible to adjust to this new role. (April 29, 2005)

Paradoxically, this convergence of Sudanese-born women with the female empowerment of Canadian society appears to be helped by the reality that most African-born men and women have not culturally learned to interact with each other publicly. In many years of travel in Black and Arab Africa, it was rare, except in large cities, to see women and men socialize together. At all the public gatherings of Sudanese that I attended in Ottawa over 5 years, church, social or political events, men sat on one side of the room, women on the other side, with rare exceptions where the husband and wife had an equal relationship or had been in Canada a very long time. Examples of couples with perceived relationships of equality included David Abraham and his wife Catherine, Margaret and her husband Maker when he was in town and sometimes Gordon and Zeinab.

The near universal model was that only women cooked and served the meals. During numerous events in the Sudanese and East African communities in which I participated, I never saw a male in the kitchen. Men always served themselves or were served their meals first, and the women always served themselves afterwards. Men sat together and talked politics. Women sat and appeared to talk about parenting and their men. Women did nearly all of the clean up at events. Role separations were generally very clear. Women are also the mothers, with often exclusive responsibility for their children, without having to worry about interference from their men. In the next chapter focused on what happens in the churches with African-born members, I further explore the increased role of women.

I want to introduce a caveat here to the above statements about women doing all the cleaning work. The frequent exception to this fact were the three single, unmarried men in their 30s who led the South Sudanese church, Michael, Richard and Kwongo whose interviews I analyse in the next chapter. This research does not explore the status and perceptions of these men, who in Sudan would probably have had to be married. They often did not fit the gender role divisions, but were often the organizing presences at public church events.

### *3. Consequences for men of changed gender roles*

Significant consequences flow from the increased autonomy and public role of Sudanese-born women in Canada. During several interviews with both Sudanese males and females, I heard of terrible stories of Sudanese men being summarily evicted from their homes because their wives ‘pushed’ physical abuse charges in response to the intervention of police or social workers. As a result, fathers were prevented from further seeing their children, a traumatic experience especially when one realizes that “children are considered a projection of their father’s personality [in customary Dinka law] and the wife is a means to that end”. (Deng, 2010, p.111) A father’s identity is wrapped up with that of his children, most especially the oldest son. I heard of one man who was so desperate to get back his identity that he tried to commit suicide. Quoting David Abraham, then probably the most important leader in the South Sudanese community:

As Southern Sudanese, we [men] do not have a spirit of acceptance. It is hard for us to accept new ideas, challenges. Some of them [men] have left this world, because of the decisions that they have made, simply because they were challenged. Some have committed suicide. Some have killed their wives. (June 11, 2009)

Men in such situations are marginalized and have few choices. Some apparently returned to the Sudan because in Canada their roles as fathers and husbands were undermined and they had no prospects of significant employment. The departure of the husband and father would have severe results for the rest of the family.

As one of the standard questions during interviews (see Appendix A), I asked the question (#13): ‘How do you think dominant Canadian society and culture will change your family?’ I referred to the future anticipated roles of the wife, husband and adolescent children in Canada. Lam Riek, Nyapen’s husband, listening to the tone of my question, said: “Equality is good. We like that women and men are equal.” But then he went on to say:

The problem is that we have gone through a lot of divorce. 90% of Sudanese families have gone through problems with wives. Some are separated. Some divorced. Some stay together because of the children, because of the future of the kids. It looks like we perceive equality in different ways. (June 13, 2005)

Somewhat later he stated:

The government should also know that we come from a different culture. If we fight, it doesn't mean that I am going to kill my wife. We have a quarrel. A neighbour calls and the police come in and they say that one of us has to go somewhere. We have differences. And all this does not mean that we cannot come together as family. The government is encouraging divorce, the disadaptation (*sic*) of the family. Because as soon as the family link is broken, the woman and the man get so much from the welfare and then as long as everybody gets what they get, they are separated.

Nyapen, Lam Riek's wife then added:

It depends on how you were brought up. The Canadian government does not help. Why divorce (*sic*) so high? ... Here it looks like the culture is encouraging divorce. Too many rights ... The ladies are also kicking out. There is too much enjoyment here. They can bring in any one they want. (April 13, 2005)

Both Lam and Nyapen blame the 'government', police, social workers, welfare, for encouraging separation and divorce, but both also recognize two realities: the woman has a lot of power here; culture influences behaviour verbally, emotionally and physically. What Lam and Nyapen are pleading for, in order to avoid "family disadaptation", is a more culturally sensitive approach by public authorities, with the recognition that South Sudanese cultures are patriarchal, the husband and father is the boss. Their mental/cultural reality does not change in one generation. But men/husbands know that they "lose their leadership roles here" (Riek Adwok) and "a lot of women change when they come here". (Margaret Chol)

Although the dominant discourse during interviews and even in discussions with Pastor Joseph Kiirya<sup>59</sup> was that many South Sudanese couples are challenged by the increased power and independence offered to Sudanese women in Canadian culture, it is important that an alternative view from the leadership of the Sudanese community in Ottawa also be recognized. David Ochan\* denied that there was a significant problem.

How many Sudanese are divorced? You will discover that those who are not divorced are very high. The problem is that the small number of women who are having problems with their husbands are given attention more than those are stable. That is my problem. There are no more than 5 families in Ottawa that have

---

<sup>59</sup> An important pastor ministering to the Sudanese and other East African migrant families

problems, and 800 families that are OK. And we say that there is a huge problem with divorce!! You get my point? (August 8, 2005)

David is probably right that the “the divorce rate” is very low among the Sudanese. Divorce in Canada is a very complicated process, generally requiring the consent of both the husband and wife and involving negotiation, if possible to divide up property rights and assigning child custodial responsibilities. The challenge of initiating such negotiations transnationally, including dowry rights seems daunting. Marriage for the South Sudanese is “between families, not between individuals” (Alew Bwolo). If the marriage falls apart, the wife’s family in Sudan is culturally forced to “return the dowry payment to the husband’s family” (Akic Ruati\*). The role of the extended families on both sides, as also discussed in the previous chapter (3D), is a constant factor in life, especially in a wired, global village.

After more discussion, Akic Ruati went on to provide an example of how, in the absence of extended family member but as a Sudanese elder in Ottawa, he tried to defuse and work towards resolution of marital disputes.

Sometimes I will take the man with me for the night. Ok? And then I can work it out tomorrow. Sometimes there are very simple solutions. I stay on the phone for ½ an hour. Sometimes, some men get nervous, and they get very aggressive towards women. . . . They hear from me and my wife that this is not the right way of living. (December 13, 2005)

Gordon Luaala also told me that he “spends a lot of time counselling” traditionally married couples.

Recognizing the independence and financial autonomy of their wives in Canada, and the lack of job opportunities for men commensurate with their qualifications, experience and previous responsibility levels, several men interviewed for this research, Gordon Luaala, David Ochan, Ring Malou, Dominic Funda, went back to the Sudan in 2007-08, leaving their families in Ottawa, although Ring returned after some months in order to stay at home and look after his 4 young children. Some of the men I interviewed now have jobs, sometimes internationally funded in the capital of the new Southern Sudan, probably better paid relatively than any job they could have found in Canada. It should also be noted that these men who returned to the Sudan were all in their early 50`s with no employment future in Canada, but lots of experience in the Sudan.

Their family members remaining in Canada seem relatively well supported by welfare payments, the wife with a job here, and presumed cash transfers from their husbands in the Sudan. The children can continue to get generally much better schooling in Canada than they would have found in Southern Sudan, with their having significant better career potentials than they probably would have had returning to the Sudan. In fact, the husbands of some of the women I interviewed (Margaret, Lucya, Aurelia) had already gone back, when the peace agreement was first signed in 2005, the formal beginning of my research. This character of globally mobile, male refugee populations, returning to their country of origin, once situations in their countries of origin stabilize is not unique. The potential for such return to the Sudan requires maintained links with people and institutions in the Sudan across space, and therefore forms part of male social capital. But in terms of a segmented gender analysis, the departure of their husbands clearly increases the power, influence and independence of their wives and the mothers of their children, and even of the children themselves. On the other hand, younger men or those with less marketable Sudan experience do not have the required qualifications to return to the Sudan and must find jobs in Canada, often without the support of older male mentors.

The following analysis of the segmented assimilation of young adults, both boys and girls, presumes that they like, some of their mothers, will also experience an increase in their power and independence after moving to Canada. However, the situation for boys compared to girls will often be radically different.

#### ***D. Young adult experiences and perspectives***

The term `young adults` is defined in this research as those who came from the Sudan after about age 10 and are now between 18 and 26 years old. The rationale for this age range is that by age 11, a child is culturally and sociologically formed and at 18, young adults are fully autonomous legally in Canada, theoretically able to choose their actions and behaviours beyond parent control. As well, by 18, personal values are established, but generally in Canada in 2010, one is not yet married. Most young adults at this age are still completing their education, and may not have any financial autonomy.

Controls in patriarchal cultures on the lives of girls are greater than controls on the lives of boys. Girls have clearly demarcated cultural roles in the home to help in housekeeping and looking after younger siblings. For several reasons, including the future

value of the dowry, they are protected and sheltered by their responsibilities in the home from life outside the immediate family.

On the other hand, young male adults, who even in Sudan would have had near total freedom to explore their interests and identities as well as develop their applied skills outside the home, may abuse that freedom in Canada, drop out of school, and generally experience problems. Absent fathers may exacerbate male young adult alienation since boys will have no role models and/or effective authority figure in the home. Exceptions may be oldest sons who will continue to live responsible lives, partly to act as models for their younger siblings. Based on parental interviews and the young adults focus group summarized in the introduction as well as listed by date in Appendix A, this chapter will try to present both the parental and young adult point of view of the adaptation process to life in Ottawa, in keeping with the overall thesis that parents will want to maintain their ethnic identity and traditional values and young adults will converge with dominant Canadian society, but always recognizing gendered differences.

As a former high school teacher working primarily with adolescent immigrant youth, I am fundamentally interested in the ways in which immigrant boys and girls often have different outcomes. The reasons for these differences are many, gendered, religious, neighbourhood and other factors

“Gender issues are primary” in shaping identity boundaries. Gender is a critical factor in understanding the “identity choices and accompanying consequences that confront [adolescent] immigrants.” (Ajrouch 2004, p. 375) All adolescents are in some way though ‘caught’ between two cultures, the culture of their family of origin and that of the dominant culture in the country of migration. Religious and ethnic boundary definitions become the ultimate form of attempted control by parents. Girls may be more willing to accept these boundaries than boys. (Warikoo, 2005, p. 825) Warikoo concludes that girls are less influenced by the media and music in the dominant culture than boys and tend to live their choices between the surrounding culture and their own culture more readily. Zhou and Bankston (2001) agree adding that *because* families “exercise greater controls over their daughters, young women are pushed even more than young men toward scholastic performance” (p.133)

The secondary academic literature on the great difference between male and female young adult immigrants from Global South, largely patriarchal cultures is quite uniform. Asian Pacific immigrant boys in the United States appear to show high levels of delinquent behaviour, “violat[ing] consensual norms and values of society” (Nagasawa, Qian and Wong, 2001, p. 351) depending on where they live, and the social, human and cultural capital available to them and their families. Such anti-social behaviour may be an “adaptive function by eliciting support and acceptance from peers” when the dominant society does not accept these boys because they are not successful in school, have not learned English well but have no family or ethnic and religious community resources to bolster self-esteem. Interestingly, these same researchers also show quite conclusively that immigrant Pacific youth who want to integrate culturally also adopt the behaviour of the nearly normative use of marijuana in urban high schools. Those not adopting behaviour, delinquency or marijuana use, were mostly Chinese, largely because they have significant access to cultural capital, pride in their language and traditions. Those who gave in to either behaviour, depending on where they lived, were those youths from the Pacific Islands with perhaps somewhat weaker cultural backgrounds. Unlike the classical assimilation models, “the segmented assimilation model looks to the immigrant culture and social solidarity as critical factors in the assimilation process,” (p. 353) much of which happens in neighbourhoods. Segmented assimilation theory “implies that the type of behaviour [male] youth are likely to adopt depends on the sector of society [neighbourhood] in which their families are settled.” (p. 358)

### **1. Daughters**

One of my first research interviews was with Gordon Luala, who on the day of that first interview had been contacted by Children’s Aid Society after a report from the school teacher of one of his daughters being possibly abused. She apparently had a large welt on her arm. Worried, he asked my advice what to do. According to Gordon, the greatest problem in Canada is “a lack of discipline” (April 4, 2005). He seemed to be referring to the reality that his only cultural parenting technique then was physical punishment when his children did not obey him. In an interview with Dominic Funda, he ranted that “Canada has removed authority from parents”. Referring especially to daughters and their dating habits in Canada, he twice repeated how frustrated he was as a father that “nobody was in charge”.

Fathers referring to their having “no power here” (Lam Riek), in order to prevent their daughters from having sex or dating for example, was repeated in different words by all fathers. “I cannot accept that my daughter lives with a guy. I just have to accept it.” (Ring Malou) Mothers referred to the importance of their daughters “being a virgin” (Margaret Chol), “no sex before marriage” (Zeinab Mokwaj). Both specifically linked their comments to the eventual value of the dowry to be paid by their future husbands to their families. It was very clear that parents wanted especially their daughters to maintain traditional values.

During the focus group on May 21, 2009, Akon Luala, Gordon and Zeinab’s daughter and Elizabeth Rihan, Helena’s daughter, both recognized this cultural dynamic, although it should also be noted that they were both the first child and oldest daughters with significant responsibilities for their younger siblings “to always do the right thing”. During the focus group, in response to a question about the role of parents, Akon Luala, the oldest daughter, aged 20, said:

Sometimes parents forget that we are not living in the past anymore. We live in Canada, and not in the Sudan. We can’t do everything the way they used to do everything. We can’t always agree with everything they say. They forget that we are not living there anymore. They have to know what’s going on here and the way people live here.

Later, referring to her marriage plans, she reiterated the tensions that exist between an ethnic cultural model and the more individualistic approach in Canada.

I do not necessarily think I am going to marry a Sudanese guy. Whatever comes ... I know my family expects me to marry a Sudanese guy. My mom wants me to be happy. If I come home with a white guy<sup>60</sup>, that’s OK, but I know that my extended family will not be happy.

As the oldest daughter, I was not surprised that Akon would reflect her parents’ viewpoint. She in fact expressed the same opinions as her mother 4 years earlier. Sudanese parents have to try to please both their daughter and the extended family culturally and religiously

---

<sup>60</sup> I am not commenting on the racial preference in Akon’s and her mother’s subsequent comment because the reference to White may have just been a recognition that I was a White man interviewing them, rather than a real possibility that Akon or any other daughter would marry a white man.

to maintain relationships with the ancestors. During the interview with Gordon and Zeinab together (April 4, 2005), Zeinab, Akon's mother said:

If my daughter meets a white man, there is no problem. First to know if he is a good man. Good relationship with the father. Some Sudanese girl (here) marry a white man. . . I think to marry in a Dinka way. I would go home to Sudan to buy a cow. Marriage is not just for the family. Cow would go to Gordon's relatives.

Although this interview quotation has already been cited in social capital context, it is worth reemphasizing that refugee families especially continue to hold onto traditional values, especially those with significant economic and long-term relational implications for future life back in the Sudan.

Daughters are traditionally a valuable asset as a source of extended family wealth, theoretically from the Sudanese groom's family. But Zeinab is suggesting that as a perceived wealthy refugee living in the Global North, she would buy the cow(s) on behalf of her daughter to give to her husband's family. The anthropological analysis of this cultural dynamic is beyond the scope of this dissertation. Zeinab's husband, Gordon, would have an even greater concern to try to satisfy the extended family and follow traditional paths of approval. In response to Zeinab's comments above, Gordon then said:

Man for my daughter would contact my oldest brother who is responsible for my daughter. If he tells me that he has talked and is impressed with this guy, we have settled the accounting, and the older brother tells me to go ahead. Sometimes the brother is far away and gives me the authority to give my daughter in marriage. I will give my brother information on the man and they get in contact. There must be a link with our family.

Again, an anthropological analysis of this statement in terms of the authority in Dinka culture of oldest sons (uncles) to approve marriages is beyond the scope of this work. Suffice it to say that the desire to maintain a strong ethnic cultural identity and authoritative links to the extended family in a culturally and geographically distant environment is a priority especially for refugee parents, but will result in significant family tensions as young adults adapt far more quickly to the new culture than their parents. Young adults, and even more adolescents, want to fit in with their school peer group environments. As Elisabeth also said during the focus group:

We can make friends from other cultures. But you also want friends from your own people. You can't forget your own culture. We do not meet each other from the same culture very often, only once a year. I want to bring my new friends and old friends together, make a new kind of stew. (focus group, May 21, 2009)

However, in a globalized world in which telephone and air travel are easy and relatively inexpensive, parents have increasing options to enable their children to maintain a cultural identity. In my earlier chapter on social capital, reference was made to telephoning regularly to the Sudan for children to speak Dinka to grandparents, uncles, aunts and cousins as a common practice. Both Akon and Elizabeth in the focus group spoke about doing this regularly, especially talking to cousins in the Sudan, comparing notes about their lives and schools.

For a refugee population, cultural maintenance is perhaps even more common, as leading male members of the population return to the Sudan for senior, responsible positions. Both Gordon's daughter Akon and David Ochan's daughter<sup>61</sup> spoke independently of going "home" to the Sudan with their fathers. In 2008-09 during school holidays, they both went for up to 3 weeks to visit their father's families in the Sudan. She had left Sudan at the age of 8 from living in Khartoum, the capital city of the Sudan. Akon Lualla spoke glowingly of spending a week in her grandparents' village where she has never been and meeting extended family members she had never met. As a result of that trip, her identity as a "Sudanese" is much clearer. Affectively, after her travel back to the Sudan, Akon now had a meaningful Sudanese and Dinka cultural identity.

My parents talked a lot to me about the past. I did not connect with the Sudan. I did not understand it because I had never been there. . . . Now, I know where I am from and I can explain where I am from. . . . Now, I know my roots and my grandparents and everything. So it was really important for me to go back . . . Being from the Sudan also gives you a sense of belonging, kind of. Cause, I didn't know, didn't want to call myself a Canadian but at the same time I did not necessarily know how to introduce myself, what to call myself. I did not grow up in the Sudan. I did not know most of the stuff about Sudan. I call myself Sudanese. Why should I call myself Sudanese? Now, [after my trip to the Sudan], I can call myself Sudanese. Now I am clearer about it. Now I know where I am from. Now I can talk

---

<sup>61</sup> Not part of the focus group but came for the first few minutes

to people about Sudan. I do know stuff about Sudan. I have roots, and I can explain where I am from. (Akon Luala, focus group, May 21, 2009)

Akon now has an identity which she can label as ‘Sudanese’. The geographical reference rather than an ethnic reference needs more reflection. Is it possible for a young adult immigrant to talk publicly about having an ethnic identity separate from a globally recognized national, geographically and politically understood identity? Perhaps, in the long run, it is not possible to publicly have an [obscure] ethnic identity, part of a ‘tribe’ which has not been legitimized and given visibility as a nation. Being Sudanese for her is probably not consciously a national feeling but connotes knowing the importance of her grandparents, the Dinka language (which she already spoke), the geography and politics of the country, its food and music, as well as a sense of rootedness which she did not have before.

Admittedly as a refugee and proud Dinka family, her parents would have constantly extolled the beauty and culture of Southern Sudan and instilled a desire to go back. Akon, in particular, went to Dinka Saturday school in Ottawa, and spoke Dinka at home with her parents, thus acquiring a cultural pride which would have motivated her to go back, especially because some of the motivation to learn the language was to speak to her grandparents in the Sudan.

Segmented assimilation literature would argue, as I have done above, that the results of the immigrant and refugee experience must be analyzed from a gendered perspective. Several researchers (Zhou and Bankston, 2001; Feliciano and Rumbaut 2005; Boyd, 2002) have shown that girls from patriarchal cultural backgrounds, such as those in South Sudan actually paradoxically do better academically at school than boys. The reasons appear to be that girls in patriarchal families are socialized successfully by their families to assume some of the responsibilities for their younger brothers and sisters in the home as well as taking on clearly defined domestic roles, including inculcating cultural values in their children. .

Paradoxically, it is often the maintenance of traditional gender roles in the home that pushes girls to succeed academically, and thus to pursue educational and occupational goals that are non-traditionally gendered. (Feliciano and Rumbaut, 2005, p. 1092)

In other words, it appears to be the maintenance of ethnic boundaries by some girls that encourages them to do so well academically. My focus group also supported these conclusions, although perhaps more so for the oldest girls only. Within certain ethnic groups, such as the Vietnamese, gender disparities are very pronounced, “women far out-surpassing men in educational attainment” (Zhou and Bankston, 2001, p.1112). Recent research in Canada has also shown that the educational aspirations for visible minority girls, their desire to go to university, are on the average 19% higher than for boys (Krahn and Taylor, 2005, p. 416),<sup>62</sup> although this research is applied to Sikhs and other Asian post-1960 immigrants with high levels of cultural capital. There are no studies of gender achievement differences among Christian African migrants to North America.

With respect to religious differences, Beyer (2005) argues that:

Religious differences with respect to educational attainment, along with sex differences, are severely attenuated among the younger members of the second generation and disappear entirely in the second. Purely in terms of educational attainment, it appears that religion is no longer a factor among the Canadian born. (p. 197)

There is no literature, as far as I am aware, on the differentiated role of Christian faith in the achievement of Black female or male immigrant youths.

## 2. Sons

Immigrant parents exercise “greater social control over their daughters” than over their sons. (Feliciano and Rumbaut, 2005, p.1092) Sons, especially the oldest one in a patriarchal family, are given very special attention and a great deal of autonomy when older. Some have even suggested that in patriarchal societies, “masculinity is resisting authority”. (p. 1090) “Parents enforce discipline more strongly among girls than among boys”. (Zhou and Bankston, 2001, p. 143) The interviews and focus group all reiterated that boys always have more freedom than their sisters. Boys have few demands put on them.

---

<sup>62</sup> I am totally *un*comfortable with the visible minority statistics in Canada, as derived data, since Statscan apparently suppressed the data for individual categories (Asian, Hispanic, Black) in this study reported by Krahn and Taylor (2005).

During the young adult focus group, Alew Bwolo's oldest son, Deng, made the following comment about his being able to be more individualistic than his sisters:

I have more freedom than my sister. My parents have to know exactly where she is going and who she is hanging out with. My parents never ask me those questions. They trust me. (May 21, 2009)

During an informal discussion, an informant gave me a startling example of how sons are viewed as 'little gods' in many patriarchal families. After the first few days in school at age 6, a first-born son was labelled as physically challenged because he did not know how to tie his shoe laces and do up the zipper on his jacket. There are no expectations for boys to do anything in the home. This friend was consulted by a Somali mother, distraught that her son had been labelled in grade one as learning challenged and had been put in a special class. The school principal justified his position by stating that this boy had major fine-motor skill challenges and could be not taught how to write. As an example to prove his point, the principal said that at 6 years old, the boy was still not able to do up his zipper or tie his shoe laces. The mother or one of his sisters had always done this for him! I would suggest that some boys from other nomadic and patriarchal African cultures like the Dinkas would not be any different.

On the other hand, boys from these cultures in situ have to show a great deal of independence, initiative and perhaps aggressiveness outside the home. Young male herders have to show courage to defend their calves from marauding animals. In the chapter on social capital, there was already reference to the possibility that Dinkas, as a nomadic, cattle herding culture, might be more capable to adapt to new environments than sedentary cultures. Their males as children have learned to be autonomous to protect their cattle from "running into lions, hyenas and wild animals that they have to challenge" (David Abraham, June 11, 2008).

Ultimately, especially with their freedom, some Sudanese males may have great flexibility and adaptive skills to take from the two cultures in order to survive. As Deng Bwolo, Alew's oldest son said during the young adult focus group:

You come here and you do not know anything about this country. When you are having conflicts with this country, you try to take something out of your value and to take the new things in. But if you try to take everything from your background and life, then you will not fit in. Immigrant adolescent males have far more

responsibility to find a middle ground between their culture and that of the new one in order to survive.

Freedom for male adolescents, including cultural distancing from their families can have negative and positive consequences. Two fathers (David Abraham, Akic Ruati) told me disturbing stories of the consequences of the freedom available to their sons. One dropped out of school after grade 11, married an “aboriginal woman” who later killed him. Another son got involved in drugs and cannot get off welfare. There are reportedly two youth gangs connected to the Sudanese in Ottawa.<sup>63</sup>

On the other hand, several sons, those of Aurelia Justin and Dominic Funda are extraordinarily successful as basketball and football players, some with athletic and one with academic scholarships. As well, young male adults with significant levels of all three forms of capital, human, social and cultural, after completing high school in Canada, have significant options. Among them, would be to identify as openly gay.

That decision to come out as a gay male was made by a Somali male who arrived in Ottawa in the mid-1990's and had graduated very successfully from high school. To protect the young man in the coming out process, he was supported by a leader in the Somali community to live with friends in Toronto. He has now returned to Ottawa to become a scholarship student at a local university. He now again lives with his mother, who has always been as supportive as possible.<sup>64</sup>

Given the greater cultural freedom of males generally in patriarchal societies such as the Sudanese, and the large amount of human and cultural capital of first wave refugees, there would seem to be no reason in the long run for male elements of these communities to converge, or at least in their dominant values, to selectively acculturate or adapt to the dominant society. Readers are reminded however, that the second wave of refugees may experience divergence or a downward spiral. Social class differences perceived or real, are always influential in the outcomes of the individual immigrant and refugee experience.

---

<sup>63</sup> Informal conversation with David Pepper, Director of community development, Ottawa Police, March 16, 2006

<sup>64</sup> Anecdote reported to me by Mohamed Abdulle, counsellor, Youth Services Bureau, Ottawa

### 3. Identity for both genders

Although I expected affirmations of ethnic identity from the three Sudanese-born young adults during the focus group I organized, there were none, perhaps because only of them was a Dinka. All three of the young adults spoke of themselves as “Sudanese”, a descriptive adjective that I also heard nearly all the time in other settings. A public identity, at church or at school of being Dinka or Luo or Nuer appears to never have been expressed publicly in those settings. The language of the home was often English, despite significant efforts as documented in the previous chapter for some children to learn Dinka on Saturdays. The trips back to Sudan for the two female young adults mentioned above might contribute to their ethnic identity, but they primarily spent their time in the Sudan in a major city like Juba where many languages are spoken. At the Sudanese church analyzed extensively in the next chapter, English was overwhelmingly the language spoken by the young adults. This research is very inconclusive about the continued ethnic identity of Sudanese young adults. Their overall attitude was one of having choices before them to define their identities, but a recognition, especially by the oldest children as young adults, that they have an obligation to their parents “who brought them here”. (Elizabeth Rihan)

Music which interests nearly all young people provides the ground for identity construction. In the previous chapter on social capital, I pointed to the way music, including drumming and dancing, is an important part of Dinka and most African cultures. In the next chapter on the ‘African’ churches in Ottawa, singing, instrument playing and drumming are the most important way in which to involve young adults in the church. Admittedly, these tasks are gendered in that the girls sing and the boys play drums and instruments, but playing and practicing music for many public performances is a culturally rooted activity, across ethnic differences, which bring both male and female young adults together. Music, including that coming from universal ‘Black’ music defined broadly, may be one of the major influences to break down ethnic barriers for young adults, although perhaps not gendered differences.

#### E. Racialized experiences

George Dei (2007) teaching at the University of Toronto, a Ghanaian by birth, suggests that Canadians live in a racialized society in which to be “raceless is akin to being genderless” (p. 53). We all tend to be identified racially and by gender. Living in

environments with very few Blacks or very few Whites, race becomes a very distinguishing identity feature. Let me further illustrate with two examples, both relational from my own life,

On a personal level, when I was living in Africa and during my research, my whiteness was probably my major identifier. In northern Ghana, partly because I was one of only three White people living in a 100 kilometre radius, the description of my presence was: “The White man visited our village yesterday.” Rather more tellingly, when talking to a village elder, I would be asked if I knew another White man that he had met, presuming that I knew all White men in Ghana. In addition wherever I went, there was a symbolic dollar sign on their forehead. All White men in Africa are perceived as rich. From talking to others who have visited rural Africa, they all had comparable racialized experiences.

Somewhat similarly, although obviously in a different socio-cultural context from that of Ghana and with different power dynamics, I was never able to go to any Sudanese event, even if I arrived late, without the speaker or leader of the event feeling it important that my presence be publicly signalled to all present. Often admittedly I was the only White man present, but my discomfort with this racial visibility made me uncomfortable and sometimes prevented meaningful conversations because my life was othered, or perceived as too radically different.

Both these personal examples were presented in part to illustrate that racism is a reflection of unbalanced power relationships, sometimes symbolic and illusory, but real nevertheless in affecting human relationships, primarily negatively, but only when there are differences in perceived and real power.

### **1. Racism in Toronto**

Being Black in Ontario Canada has often been a negative, social reality. For example, from 1986 to 1993, the number of Blacks imprisoned in Ontario increased by 204%, compared with a 23% increase for Whites, and while Blacks accounted for only 3% of the province’s population, they accounted for 15% of the prison population in 1993. (Mosher, 1999, p. 3) In other words, there were 500% more Blacks in Ontario prisons in 1993 than one would predict based on their population.

There are also more recent examples in Toronto when “residents of African/Black origin receive harsher treatment than White residents, and are over represented in Police statistics of charges and arrests. . . . [In June, 2005], the *Toronto Star* published a series of articles on the Toronto Police Service and racial profiling of African-Canadian communities. Using data from the Police Services, obtained through Access to Information, the reports raised serious questions about the practice of racial profiling and its impact on Black communities in Toronto. ”<sup>65</sup>

The marginalization of male immigrant Black youth in Canada is of grave concern perhaps partly because of the freedom they are accorded as sons in patriarchal cultures. Referring generally to many official commissions and reports includes the following:<sup>66</sup> Black youths are misplaced in school programs and underachieve academically; they are referred disproportionately to special education and clinical facilities; they drop-out or (or are pushed out) of schools before realizing their academic and career goals; they fail to get employment at the same rate as their dominant group (White) peers; “and are *over-policed* by law enforcement agencies”. (Dei, 1997, p. 11) I am particularly concerned by the far higher dropout rate for Blacks. In Toronto Board of Education high schools in 1991, 42% of Black students (compared to 33% of the overall student population) dropped out.

These statistics primarily apply to Caribbean-born Blacks in Toronto since there were not a substantial numbers of Blacks from Africa in Canada until the 1990’s. I do not know if the Sudanese from a very different culture than the Caribbean can escape the apparent racist reality outlined above, especially since they are already so race conscious, having come to Canada partly because they experienced racial discrimination from Arabs governing their country.

## 2. Racial analysis in Ottawa as not Toronto

Table I provides a statistical analysis of the racial changes in Ottawa, comparing to some extent those changes to Toronto in the same period. From this table, it will be seen that most South Sudanese arrived in Ottawa as refugees after 1995 just after 2,545 Muslim Somali Black refugees had radically changed the visible composition of the city’s

<sup>65</sup> Ontario Coalition of Agencies Serving Immigrants, Toronto.

<http://www.ocasi.org/index.php?qid=691&catid=117> Accessed December 5, 2009

<sup>66</sup> The Ontario Royal Commission on Learning (1994); The (Stephen Lewis) Report (Ontario) of the Commission of Systemic Racism in the Criminal Justice System, 1995 and others

population. By 2006, Ottawa had become a city with a significant immigrant population, nearly tripling the number of Blacks in 15 years, a transformation of the city in less than a generation.

The influx of Sudanese also occurred at the same time as a significant numbers of refugees from neighbouring countries, some of whom may belong to the same ethnic groups as some of those classified as Sudanese. Most of the 41,000 people from the Caribbean and Africa are perceived as Black and perhaps as identical by the mainstream White population to the Sudanese and Somalis, but are in fact culturally and religious radically different from the Sudanese.

**Table 1**

**Some Statistics on Blacks in Ottawa-Gatineau (Ont. Part)**

**Toronto**

Place of Birth	Immigrant Population 2006 <b>Ottawa</b>	Before 1991	1991-1995	1996-2000	2001-2006	<b>Immigrant Population 2006</b>	Before 1991 Toronto
Caribbean	10,995	6,335	1,805	1,190	1,415	177,450	111,400
Africa	20,030	5,655	4,220	3,840	5,010	122,645	49,000
Somalia	3,905	800	1,745	745	520	10,230	1,680
Ethiopia	1,590	460	495	280	320	8,970	3,045
Kenya	855	455	40	75	230	10,380	6,075
Uganda	625	380	25	75	110	4,040	2,935
Sudan	470	35	45	195	195	3,240	470

Source: Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration (8) and Place of Birth (261) for the Immigrants and Non-permanent Residents of Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2006 Census - 20% Sample Data <sup>67</sup>

As well, as already pointed out in this dissertation, an identity called Sudanese really does not exist, somewhat in the same way as being a Yugoslavian no longer exists. Being Sudanese is a political construct, grouping together many different ethnicities.

<sup>67</sup><http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/english/census06/data/topics/RetrieveProductTable.cfm?ALEVEL=3&APATH=3&CATNO=97-557>  
[XCB2006007&DETAIL=0&DIM=&DS=99&FL=0&FREE=0&GAL=&GC=99&GK=NA&GRP=0&IPS=97-557-XCB2006007&METH=0&ORDER=&PID=89424&PTYPE=88971&RL=0&S=1&ShowAll=&StartRow=&SUB=&Temporal=2006&Theme=72&VID=&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=&GID=838003](http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/english/census06/data/topics/RetrieveProductTable.cfm?ALEVEL=3&APATH=3&CATNO=97-557-XCB2006007&DETAIL=0&DIM=&DS=99&FL=0&FREE=0&GAL=&GC=99&GK=NA&GRP=0&IPS=97-557-XCB2006007&METH=0&ORDER=&PID=89424&PTYPE=88971&RL=0&S=1&ShowAll=&StartRow=&SUB=&Temporal=2006&Theme=72&VID=&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=&GID=838003) Accessed December 7, 2009 Identical table for Toronto with geographic name change.

The statistics also point to a radical cultural change from a city with a Black population overwhelmingly from the Caribbean, with its slave history and Christianizing colonization, to an African population with no history of slavery by Whites, and limited conversion to Christianity. The African cultures also have well-maintained ethnic identities, such as the Dinkas, much less true of the Caribbean. The near 100% Somali adherence to Islam adds another dimension to the racial dynamic in Ottawa which will be addressed in future research. Blacks born in Africa are now double the number of Blacks born in the Caribbean.

My point here is that much of the history of Blacks and of racism in Canada reflects a unique, Commonwealth and colonial relationship with migrants from the Caribbean who came here to fit into specific service employment categories (Winks, 1997). The history of racism in Toronto documented previously in this chapter is dominantly concerned with Blacks who had some relationship with the Caribbean islands. Even in 1991, Toronto had a Black population (excluding Canadian born Black families) which exceeded 160,000 people compared to Ottawa in 1991 which had only about 12,000 people and in the 1960's had only several hundred. As well the relative proportion of African-born immigrants is totally reversed from that of Toronto. In 2006, twice as many Blacks in Ottawa were born in Africa (20,030) than in the Caribbean (10,995). For cultural capital reasons, including history and religion, I would posit that the racialized experience of Sudanese-born migrants in Ottawa will be significantly different from that of the Caribbean-born population and perhaps even from the experience of the Sudanese-born in a much larger racialized city such as Toronto.

Only in the last 10-15 years has Ottawa gained a significant population of Blacks, but they appear not to live dominantly in any particular neighbourhoods.<sup>68</sup> To understand the possible racialized future of non-Caribbean-born Blacks now living in Ottawa, I interviewed Carl Nicholson, Jamaican-born who came to Ottawa in 1962 and is now executive director of Catholic Immigrant Services, a mainstream immigrant settlement

---

<sup>68</sup> A caveat is needed here. Government sponsored refugees with larger families have rights to social, geared to income housing. Significant concentrations of Somali and Sudanese refugees are therefore found in those neighbourhoods with such housing built at public expense. This research did not explore the implications of such realities, although I am aware of possible implications. Cf. April 18, 2009 personal correspondence with Brian Ray, Department of Geography, University of Ottawa.

agency which has worked with the Somalis and the Sudanese. He was Alew Bwolo's senior supervisor. In 2006, Carl Nicholson won the Ottawa Community Foundation's award for outstanding community leadership. I have also formally interviewed several leading members of Sudanese communities here in Ottawa and informally some Somali and Jamaican-Canadian citizens about their experiences of race.

Carl Nicholson's perspective in 2005 was that by the 1980's, in the human rights context of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and anti-racism efforts, Black Caribbean in Ottawa had reached a "rapprochement" with the White community. The overt discrimination in housing and employment which he had experienced in the 1960's was no longer possible. Canadians knew that they had to deal with the results of racism. By racism he meant: "how Blacks are [stereotypically] portrayed in the media, how schools promote sports among Blacks, how they get siphoned off into the B stream in schools, and the lower expectations that people have of them." (November 14, 2005) He suggested that this "rapprochement" may be unique to Ottawa and that the new influx of Somalis and perhaps of Sudanese in the 1990's might disrupt this understanding between White and Black 'communities'.

### 3. The South Sudanese experience of racism

A group's racial identity is ideological, forged as a discourse for self-assertion, and is historically contingent. . . . Racial identification is [also] primarily a structural phenomenon, i.e. a response to economic marginalization, exclusion from power, and other forms of inequality. (Jok, 2009, p. 8)

The above statement by Jok Madut Jok, a Sudanese anthropologist teaching at an American university is forged in the cauldron of the Sudan where gradations of colour affect daily life. Blacks earn less than Arabs generally and have far less power in the Sudan, somewhat similar historically to the situation in South Africa.

One of the possible underlying reasons why South Sudanese-born male young adults especially may have problems in integrating into North American society is that they are usually phenotypically easily recognized and have already experienced racism in the Sudan. Another reason as already explained is that male adolescents and young men have a lot of freedom outside the home which in traditional societies gets well used economically. They learn important skills in order to be shepherds, businessmen, soldiers, handymen,

politicians in their free time outside the home, but very seldom in urban, North American society with its relatively new sense of prolonged childhood through adolescence into early adulthood.

A central criticism of segmented assimilation theory is that it “characterizes a black racial identity as a liability”, (Lacy, 2004, p. 909) partly because of the history of the United States, where such a large percentage of the underclass, living in impoverished parts of many cities, is Black. It is hard for adolescents there to break out of the cycle of poverty, given the generally poorer and less well-equipped urban, public schools to which they have access in the United States. Whether this is true for Canada needs more research. Also it is not clear whether being Black in Canada necessarily any more has inherent negative implications. There is no implication necessarily that the Sudanese will experience racism in Canada. Boyd (2000) suggests that the divergent model of segmented assimilation, a downward spiral, “rests on the unique history of race relations in the United States, and may not hold elsewhere.” (p. 1038)

Within the Canadian context, there is no research on the racial identities of Sudanese Blacks, but their skin colour, compared to being Arab has certainly been a basis for discrimination in the Sudan. Edward (2007) interviewed many South Sudanese refugees and Cairo and documents their “daily harassment and name calling which revolves around skin colour, or blackness.” (p. 195) Edward goes on to analyze how such racism is possible because the Sudanese are viewed at the bottom of the “social and economic hierarchy among Egyptians ... below all class divisions in Cairo, making them the target of exploitation, discrimination and mistreatment”.

Racism is always possible where, for example, Arabs or Whites have more power, influence over others, than Blacks, as is true in the Middle East or to a decreasing extent in the United States. Most of the South Sudanese refugees I interviewed did not come through Cairo, and were therefore less conscious of their racialized identity before arriving in Canada. Funda Dominic remarked that the arrival of the Sudanese from Cairo changed the dynamics of the Sudanese community in Ottawa, perhaps a social class comment, as well as a reflection on the very different racial experience of Sudanese coming through Cairo compared to the first wave of refugees who came directly from the Sudan or through

Kenya and Uganda. As Elizabeth Rihan, one of the members of the young adult focus group remarked:

This whole racist thing, I only saw it in Egypt, because the Egyptians are really racist. They tell you to their face, they laugh at you. They call you names. When I told the teacher, they told the person not to do it again, but the teacher did not do anything. But when I came here, I did not notice anything. (Focus group, May 21, 2009)

At least in Canada, since we do not have a large Black underclass compared to Egypt or the United States, further research is needed to confirm the conjecture that most Sudanese immigrants to Canada, given their screening by the Canadian government as sponsored refugees, see themselves as middle class, with associated concepts of individual agency. Some Black immigrants I have spoken to informally recognize that they have to “act white” to be successful in the work world, but preferring being with others of similar skin phenotype and ethnicity socially. As well, there were occasional examples of idolizing whites and of racism from other ‘blacks’, based on a lived reality throughout Africa and the Caribbean of preference for people with lighter skin color, probably a colonial or media-influenced vestige. Some examples follow.

Akic Ruati\* expressed the feeling that “being Black has not significantly affected his life in Canada”. Where he has experienced it, he has confronted it. In the hospital work, patients “welcome my height and race”. In a social life, he recognized that race may be a common feature of many of his friends. However, his socializing with other Blacks was primarily to share common experiences as refugees and immigrants and to discuss politics and sports.

After visiting two high schools in Ottawa at my request in 2007 David Ochan noticed the reality of bonding based on similar skin phenotypes and presumed common experiences.

Black students find it difficult to make friendships. Grouping to keep their own language and culture by walking together [does] not make it easy ... to create new friendships here. (November 1, 2006)

Grouping by race, and by first language if possible, is a near universal experience that I have observed in high schools in Ottawa over many years. Such grouping is a preference, partly in the face of possible racism, these groups being a countervailing force against

possible racism by the dominant white population. But my many years of teaching immigrants and refugees leads me to believe that the grouping of students by race is also the result of a natural tendency to ‘hang out’ with people with similar experiences, of looking the same and having gone through the immigration and adaptation processes together, including ESL and other special classes.

However, there appears to be some racism between Blacks of different ethnicities and political histories. Akon Luala in the focus group (June 11, 2009) said:

My problem is that I did not see any racism from white people, but I saw a lot from black people, because there is this whole thing that when you are lighter, you are seen as prettier. So I kind of experienced that a little bit. I saw it from my friends.

None of the young adults in my focus group went to school with a significant number of Somalis. But I know from my teaching experience that many white Canadians are not able to distinguish between blacks from different cultures. Other Blacks do distinguish, as they have learned to do in Africa itself. Lam Riek, unsolicited, made the distinction between Somali and Sudanese in their appearances. “Canadians see Moslem [Somalis] wearing different clothes. Our children wear jeans and skirts.”

More subtly racist, based partly on skin color, as mentioned in the previous chapter on social (and cultural) capital, there is clearly a disdain for the Dinkas, because they are the most black of Sudanese tribes, although I recognize that this negative attitude may also be a reflection of historic relationships and cultural differences. I would suggest however, that the following comments are at least partly rooted in racism: by Ring Malou, a Dinka, “to a Nuer or Moro, we are nothing ...” (May 4, 2005); or as said by David Abraham, a non-Dinka, “the Dinkas are an arrogant people, very arrogant and they are very forceful” (June 11, 2009). The comments are both rooted to some extent in some Dinkas clans having more power than other tribes, but they also have racial undertones.

Lastly, in this section on race as already tangentially referred to, racism is in effect the display of power by one people of one skin colour over another people with a slightly different skin colour. But when these people are politically and economically equal, have similar power, racism is not possible. “Race and social class are inextricably linked, perhaps more so today than ever before.” (Dei, 2007, p. 55) Many of the leaders of the South Sudanese community interviewed for this research were empowered as part of the

upper classes of South Sudan and knew how to overcome racism there in order to succeed before the civil war escalated. There should be no reason that they experience meaningful racism in Canada, unless they cannot find jobs and become part of the underclass unemployed.

It is some of these powerful Black elites that joined the Jordan community church, a focus of the next chapter on the role of the church in the settlement process. A group of powerful Blacks can welcome Whites who know that they do not have greater power in a Black setting. Hence, Jordan Community church had an increasing number of Whites even in leadership positions. These Whites helped link to their professional, business and personal groupings. My earlier chapter on social capital analyzed the ways Whites affiliated with Black churches can provide breakthroughs to economically link across racial groupings. Empowered Sudanese Blacks can also link to dominantly White organizations.

Shandy (2007) in the many sited study of the Nuer in the United States does not document any racism experienced by the Nuer, despite their being on the “lowest rung of the socio-economic ladder” (p. 97). Holtzman (2000) also does not report any racism by Nuers in Minnesota, other than friction at the beginning of their stay, largely perhaps because their numbers stayed small (p. 135). Abusharaf (2002), in the epilogue to his book, reports on a “racialization [of the Sudanese in the United States] as Black people in a White-dominated society” (p. 164). It is no longer polite to openly express racism in Canada, except that as quoted by Dei at the beginning of this part of the chapter, race is like gender; both affect us daily. How their being Black affects the Sudanese in Canada is yet to be determined.

## **F. Conclusion**

What I have tried to show in this chapter is that the adaptation of South Sudanese refugees to Ottawa must be segmentally analyzed by gender, both adult and adolescent, as well as possibly by race. I have argued that dominant Canadian society will generally empower South Sudanese-born women more than men, building on gender role changes that began in the Sudan and in refugee camps. Many women will gain more authority and financial independence very soon after arrival in Canada. Some men may not know how to respond fast enough to these changes and may become marginalized or experience

divergence in Ottawa. I have suggested that civil authorities may have to modify their approaches to working with families from patriarchal cultures.

Depending somewhat on social class, the ability of parents, primarily mothers, to transfer cultural capital to their girls will perhaps be more successful than with respect to their boys. However, girls may also have fewer choices, given the culturally required processes for marriage. Sudanese-born boys have greater freedom to explore their identities generally, and therefore may assimilate to dominant Canadian culture in ways not possible for girls, but not necessarily with positive results.

I have suggested that race may not be a salient factor for the first wave of Sudanese partly because they have come to Canada as refugees with significant social and cultural capital, generally knowing how to challenge the power structures of their political environment.

## **Chapter 5: An organizational church for the South Sudanese in Ottawa?**

### **A. Introduction**

The third chapter on social capital for the South Sudanese showed how their access to human relationships which matter required an organized structure such as an extended family, an ethnic group or a religious organization. Effective, trusted leaders were essential to create and maintain these organizations in order to bond member individuals and potentially to bridge and link to other organizations with resources. Essential to operationalizing social capital was mutual trust or confidence built on member individuals sharing many common values, and/or understandings of life priorities. The Dinkas in Ottawa appeared most successful in bonding and building on social capital in Ottawa for three reasons: effective leadership; their agro-pastoral cultural capital; and their historic domination in the Sudan itself.

Leaders of families, of ethnic groups and of churches among the Sudanese were often confronted by conflicting values, between that of the Canadian host culture and of ethnic cultures. Such conflicts were difficult to mediate without recognized and trusted leadership which may now be lacking for the South Sudanese, partly because they are a refugee population often hankering to go back ‘home’, their male leaders already having begun the process and partly because of their small number.

The fourth chapter on segmented assimilation showed that Sudanese adaptations in Canada will be gender differentiated, both for adults and their children. Women will tend to converge with dominant Canadian society. Coming from patriarchal cultures, men and young male adults may have more difficulties adapting, partly because men may have more invested in maintaining traditional cultural practices and boys have greater cultural freedom than girls. I suggested that in a second tier immigration city, racialized identity may not be as much of a challenge as in historically racially diverse urban centres, but also because the Sudanese know how to operate in a racially discriminating society.

The present chapter wants to test whether Christian Sudanese will turn to religion as “buffer against the traumas of exile” as was predicted by McAlister and Richman, 2009, p.

319, in order to help cope with their 'outsider' status through social bonding, and to keep connected to their "ancestral and spatially-defined past" as proposed by Agrawal, 2008, p. 46. These writers all presume relatively homogeneous ethnic churches, with common theological traditions, in large urban centres with a critical mass of specific ethnocultural group members. These conditions do not exist in a newly diversified, second-tier immigrant, smaller city like Ottawa.

The chapter explores religious alternatives for the Sudanese. The thesis of this chapter is that the viability of a 'Sudanese' church in a relatively small Canadian city will depend on several factors, including: a charismatic pastor; Christian Sudanese-born ethnic leaders involved in the church; a critical mass of church members; a coherent value system which tries to bridge the gap between mainstream and Sudanese ethnic cultures. None of these conditions were met by the Sudanese church in Ottawa. Leadership was inadequate. The church never had enough members and there was no relationship between ethnicity and the church. The church was not able to provide significant support to arbitrate value differences between members of Sudanese families living in the new Canadian culture.

The Sudanese came to Canada mostly unwillingly from positions of some responsibility in the Sudan which they were forced to leave, or as part of a class of people who could no longer hope for a future in an Islamic, Arab-dominated republic. The religious, ethnic and perhaps racial context of their past will have a continuing effect on their adaptation to Canada. A preoccupation with the politics of the Sudan, a focus on extended family members there and of a possible return will always be a part of Sudanese refugee adult consciousness.

The chapter then begins with an overview of the Sudanese religious context which South Sudanese refugees left. Some understanding of the linguistic, historical, ethnic, and Islamic contexts of Christian faith in the Sudan provides the reference points for evaluating South Sudanese refugee adaptations in Ottawa. A brief overview of the possible influence of ethnic traditional religions and of Christianity in the Sudan for the Dinkas and Nuers in Ottawa is also provided, again with the assumption that traditional cultures and religion continue to have an influence on life in Ottawa.

In order to provide a Canadian religious context for the arrival of the Sudanese in the late 1990's, this chapter then provides a brief history of the Black Church in Canada.

Ethnicity and/or race have often defined the profile of individual churches and continue to do so for the Sudanese. I will also outline the consequences of the two countries' different approaches to the integration of refugees through churches, and provide other reasons why the American context may not be helpful in understanding the racial and religious adaptation of Black refugees in Canada.

Since the churches in Ottawa that the Sudanese tried to access were Anglican and Catholic, I then examine these local denominational experiences. When I started this research, I presumed that educated Sudanese Anglicans and Catholics speaking English would be able to be members of churches with similar liturgies and beliefs to the churches in which they had worshipped and been members in the Sudan. That was a mistaken assumption, given the results demonstrated by this research, documenting the importance of language, music, culturally rooted preaching and social capital as some of the bases of congregational cohesion.

This 'Sudanese' New Ambassador Church is then described and analyzed in some detail, including its history, administration, membership, worship (including music), special events, finances and its leadership. The anti-Islamic thrust in the church becomes clear. For a number of reasons, a strong link develops with a church serving migrants from ethnicities in neighbouring parts of East Africa to the Sudan, the Jordan Community Church. The importance of linkages back to East Africa is emphasized, including fund raising for development projects. This church becomes a clear alternative for the South Sudanese for programming and leadership reasons, but social class dynamics, ethnic involvement and language issues are difficult.

East African migrants in Ottawa, including the Sudanese were very aware of how the blessing of same-sex marriage and the ordination of gay bishops were dividing the Anglican Church. Partly because of this awareness, and informants discovering that I was gay, a confrontation on homosexuality within an East African church developed unpredictably during this research, terminating the possibility of continued participant observation for my research. The chapter therefore ends with a brief overview of cultural understandings of homosexuality in the Sudan and the Ottawa churches' responses, partly in the context of East Africa having the highest rate of HIV/AIDS in the world. The

conclusion asks additional questions about the role of churches for refugee migrants in Canada.

### ***B. The Christian Church in Southern Sudan***

As noted in the introduction, through the process of indirect British rule as late as the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, various Christian denominations were assigned responsibilities for ethnic groups living in specific areas of the Sudan (Holtzman, 2000; Shandy, 2007; Essien and Falola, 2009). These denominations built schools, hospital and churches with notable success. For example, nearly all converted Dinkas became either Catholic or Anglican (Jok, 2007, p 154). The “best” schools in the Sudan became Catholic, some quite recently (Ochan, December 13, 2005).<sup>69</sup> On the other hand, the many tribes in a large circle around Juba, the largest city of the South, were influenced by the less liturgically bound Protestant denominations like the Soudan Interior Mission (SIM), also very active in refugee camps near the Sudanese border.<sup>70</sup> There is also considerable evidence that Southern Sudan has recently gone through an evangelical revival, (Sellers, 2001) possibly in reaction to the imposition of *sharia* by the central Sudanese government since 1985, some examples of *jihad*, and a perception that becoming Christian might be a countervailing, globalized force to the influence of Islam.<sup>71</sup> Dianna Shandy (2007) quotes from Douglas Johnson in his 2004 study on the *Root causes of Sudan’s civil wars* “that the current drive to Islamize the South has produced more Christian converts than the entire colonial missionary enterprise during the first half of the twentieth century” (p. 40). Suffice it to say that Christianity in the Sudan and the motivations for being Christian there

---

<sup>69</sup> This was a comment made by David Ochan\*, perhaps reflecting his commitment to Catholicism, but supported by other anecdotal conversations. A number of my parental interviewees have preferred to put their children in Catholic schools in Ottawa, even if they are not practicing Catholics. Some children from Sudanese homes, according to Deacon Wayne Lee, were baptized Catholic in Ottawa only to be able to register their children in Catholic schools. Catholic schools appear to be perceived by both Somalis and Sudanese as ‘better’ schools, but there is currently no statistical proof of this preference.

<sup>70</sup> SIM is now called Serving in Mission when many evangelical missions across the world were united. In 1989, SIM combined with the work of Intervarsity Christian Fellowship.

<http://webtest.sim.org/index.php/country/SD> Accessed July 5, 2006

<sup>71</sup> See my later references to the charismatic evangelical weekend events organized by the New Ambassador (South Sudanese) and the Jordan community (Eastern African) churches.

are heterogeneous, and always in an ethnic context, factors that influence the diversity of Sudanese Christian expression in Canada, similarly divided by denomination and ethnicity.

There were many motivations for individual informants being Christian in the Sudan. Relatives of two of my informants<sup>72</sup>, Helena Lino Costa and Gordon Kur Luala, were Catholic and Anglican archbishops respectively. Some of my informants joined the church to “alleviate both their material and spiritual needs” (Edward, 2007, p. 191). The churches in the Sudan often had resources supplied by denominations in the Global North motivating people to become Christian to access these resources, including school supplies and drugs through hospitals.<sup>73</sup> As documented above and later in this chapter when describing the Sudanese organized revival, some informants became Christians in reaction to the oppression of the Islamic central government in Khartoum. Some refugees in Ottawa experienced a significant increase in Christian faith while in a refugee camp “where people who were separated from their families by civil war [saw] ... Christian organizations as the only avenue to gain access to food, water, medicine, clothing [and] shelter” (Essien and Falola, 2009, p. 60). Helena Lino’s experience through the ministry and support provided by the Anglican parish church in Cairo very much deepened her faith. Edward (2007) refers to the importance of the church in Cairo in providing spiritual and material support to South Sudanese refugees living there. Her *in situ* research in Cairo provides support to Helena’s perspective on the important role of the church in supporting a Christian faith perspective in opposition to Islam. These historical and political forces and personal events are reflected in the varied ways in which South Sudanese migrants in Ottawa expressed their Christian faith.

### ***C. Traditional ethnic religion***

Christianity also continues to be influenced by traditional ethnic religions (Mbiti, 1990; Parrinder, 1970). . As Essien and Falola (2009) point out rightfully:

---

<sup>72</sup> The introduction to this dissertation provides detailed biographies of all informants.

<sup>73</sup> I was personally involved from 1972-74 when working for the National Council of Churches in the United States (New York City) in administering the shipments of large amounts of medical and food aid supplies to the Sudan as well as other forms of aid.

Many southern Christians seek spiritual redemption only because they do not envision living a long life in such a life-threatening and chaotic situation as they encounter daily. However, they do not necessarily see Christianity as providing a heavenly home for their souls because Nilotic [Dinka and Nuer] customs and traditions which most of them continue to practice, do not say so. ... However, such an analysis does not take away from the fact that a large portion of Christians in Sudan have converted for genuine religious reasons. (p. 60)

It is important to recognize that constructs of life and death meanings may not be rooted in Christianity for many refugees, but rather in locally place-rooted ethnic religions whose beliefs may surface especially under stress conditions. After three years of living in rural Africa myself, among relatively newly converted African Christians, and my previous studies under John Mbiti, the then expert on African religions, I am convinced that “the peoples of Africa remain largely and deeply religious in outlook and practice”.<sup>74</sup> A further research project would need to further explore how traditional African religion influenced the migration adaptation. For the moment, I will only offer a relevant overview of the traditional religions of the two most important ethnic groups in the Sudan and in Canada, with the implicit recognition that a Christian faith may be inextricably tied to a culturally rooted faith, particularly in relationships to the past and to the processes after death.

### **1. Dinka world views**

As seen in other parts of the dissertation, as well as by other sources (Deng, 1971; Jok, 1999, 2007) the Dinkas are politically and economically the dominant peoples in Southern Sudan. . It is therefore not surprising that the Dinkas are also dominant in Ottawa in the Sudanese `community`. While his work is admittedly based on research in the colonial era, Godfrey Leinhardt’s (1961) research is still the only scholarly anthropological study of the Dinkas. He summarizes the Dinka world view as follows:

Dinkas ... never doubt the superiority of their own society to all others.

All concepts ... of creator, of Divinity have a masculine and a personal connotation.

---

<sup>74</sup> Dictionary of African Christian Biography. Mbiti, John Samuel.

[http://www.dacb.org/stories/kenya/mbiti\\_john.html](http://www.dacb.org/stories/kenya/mbiti_john.html) Accessed September 3, 2009

Dinka religion is a relationship between men and ultra-human Powers encountered by men, between the two parts of a radically divided world. (Lienhardt; pp. 26, 29, 32 respectively)

The theme of Dinka superiority repeats itself in Ottawa, as testified by other Sudanese in Ottawa. If such a world view dominates the thinking of Dinkas in Ottawa, it is perhaps doubtful that a ‘Sudanese’ Christian church, other than for the newly converted, evangelical or Bible fundamentalist Christians, could be helpful to Sudanese refugees, under the stressful conditions of adapting to a radically different culture. When Gordon Luaala’s family suffered three fires in 2006, as mentioned earlier, he told me informally that he was ‘obligated’ to offer formal thanks to God for his survival and that of his family. I interpret this within the lens of a Dinka world view, as referred to in Lienhardt’s observation that : The Dinka have a concept of spirits or *jok*, powers that are not imagined but are “ultra-human forces participating in human life and often affecting men for good or ill” (p. 28). As an ‘expiation’ to the gods for Gordon’s family, hundreds of people came to pack a local community centre Gordon had rented in order to participate in a Christian service of thanksgiving led by Ugandan-born Christian pastor, Joseph Kiirya and an Anglican priest, Christina Guest, both of whom had had a pastoral relationship to Gordon. At the end of the service, Gordon handed out personally signed letters to dozens of people thanking them for their support during the crises related to these fires and then provided a sumptuous meal for everybody present.

The lack of regular Dinka participation in the ‘Sudanese’ church in Ottawa later described might partly be explained by the dominance of traditional Dinka religious perspectives and ceremonies. I am not aware of such ceremonies having been held, other than the semblance of one organized by Gordon, but in homes of some Dinkas and Nuers I interviewed, I often saw what looked like traditional religious symbolisms of small altars, including the prominent placement of grainy photographs of ancestors. During a New Ambassador church service on October 10, 2008, there was reference in an announcement to a Dinka family having to practice “official mourning of three days for men and four days for women” after a death from a long illness. Exploring the linkages between traditional religious and cultural influences on migrants in Ottawa is beyond the scope of this thesis, but those influences might be one reason that so few Dinkas appear to practice their Christian faith through participation in churches.

## 2. Nuer religious expression

The Nuers were not numerous in Ottawa, but they apparently are in other cities, such as Hamilton.<sup>75</sup> In 2005, about twenty Nuer families in Ottawa worshipped monthly at a Lutheran church on Woodroffe Avenue in Ottawa near-west end (Lam Riet, June 13, 2005). The services were in Nuer and English. Also according to Lam, there are two Nuer churches in Kitchener, one Presbyterian and one Lutheran. Because the Nuers are such a small group in Ottawa they have not been studied in this dissertation. However, the Nuers are the only South Sudanese ethnic group whose religious adaptation to North America has been extensively studied. (Shandy, 2002, 2007; Holtzman, 2000a, b) The Nuers are also very similar culturally to the Dinkas, but in a very competitive relationship with them as two neighbouring pastoral cultures. For these reasons, I have included a more detailed reference to them than might otherwise be justified.

Most of the Nuers in North America are apparently Presbyterian or Lutheran, largely the result of colonial decisions mentioned earlier. The leader of the Nuers in Ottawa, Lam Riek and his wife interviewed in 2005 and 2008, felt that they could not worship with the Sudanese church partly because they did not speak Arabic. Many Nuers lived near the border with the Sudan or in Ethiopia beyond the reach of the centralizing Islamic Sudanese government and had therefore never learned Arabic, nor were they informed by the Islamic education system imposed on the Sudan after 1985.<sup>76</sup> The Nuers were therefore not interested in the Arabic-speaking Sudanese New Ambassador church. The other reason the Nuers apparently did not want to attend the 'Sudanese' church was because of their strong rivalry with the Dinkas whom Lam perceived as involved in the 'Sudanese' church. He also pointed to the importance of a specific Nuer site, <http://southsudan.net> for communication between Nuers across the Diaspora, as well as internet chat groups and cell phones, obviating the need for Nuer to get together that often. The Southsudan.net is run by Nuers in Scandinavia and clearly has an anti-Dinka tone. For

---

<sup>75</sup> Culture, community and health program, Centre for addiction and mental report (2005).

<sup>76</sup> In all references to ethnicity in Africa, one should never forget that the borders of African nations were artificially drawn by the colonial powers without any respect for ethnic boundaries.

example the following quote from a September, 2009 news release on the site refers to the total domination by the Dinkas of the Sudanese Liberation movement and army.

“The (SPLM /SPLA-Dinkas) have been attempting to marginalise the other South Sudanese tribes for more than two decades. This group says frankly that Dinkas are born to rule and not to be ruled by any ethnic community in South Sudan. The (SPLM /SPLA) has never been led by a non-Dinka since its formation in 1983.”<sup>77</sup>

The similarity of this diatribe to Linehardt’s 1961 perceptions of the Dinkas previously provided is striking. There are also parallels to comments by non-Dinkas quoted in this and other chapters. It should also be noted that this Nuer web site, as probably the most important way to connect the world wide Nuer diaspora, also contains a lot of personal information such as funeral notices and marriages, and is clearly kept current with events across the diaspora.

However, what needs to be emphasized here is the global context in which all refugee migration takes place. Riet was clearly tied in to the larger Nuer diaspora and its dominant ideologies. He told me of frequent trips to visit other Nuer communities in Toronto and Kitchener as well as in the United States. His use of the Internet and his consulting of the South Sudan Nuer site were frequent.

#### ***D. History of the Black church in Canada as relevant to the Sudanese***

The Black church in North America has always functioned as a product of the “notion of Spirit that connects religious and cultural expressions of people of African descent in the Americas” (Duncan, 2008, p. 2) and has historically been the most important tool of Black empowerment in Canada (Foster, 1996, 2002; Talbot, 1989; Winks, 1997). Beginning in small largely black towns in Southwestern Ontario and in Nova Scotia, English-speaking Blacks by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, then living mostly in Toronto and near Halifax, set up their own churches as bastions of community support and foci for political activity to give voice to Black aspirations. Black pastors in Canada were politically active and advocates for better services for their congregants. For decades, “the

---

<sup>77</sup> “Governor Kuol must leave Jonglei State”. Sunday, 27<sup>th</sup> September 2009 Press Release <http://southsudan.net/> Accessed 2009.10.24

Canadian black community was almost solely defined ... by its churches” (Foster, 1996, p. 54). Natural leadership training was available for Blacks through the church. As more Blacks arrived in Canada, nearly exclusively from the Caribbean, such setting up of ethnic-based churches was very common with the goal of continuing a worship tradition and spiritual connection to the land and language of origin (Foster, 1996, p. 54). Winks showed that because Canadian mainstream churches were ineffective in meeting the major problems faced by Black migrants in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, they were forced to continue having their own churches. (Winks, 1997, p. 360)

Perhaps following the lead of Black Churches in Canada throughout the last two centuries, many Christians from Africa living in Ottawa have set up their own churches, loosely coordinated with the help of a common website<sup>78</sup> which currently lists 11 churches as being “African churches” in Ottawa. This site, an information and business centre, provides “information for Africans in diaspora and those interested in African affairs” and has hundreds of links including ‘African churches’ in 10 Global North nations. Appendix F entitled ‘African’ Churches in Ottawa (a possible sample) provides an incomplete list of these churches including those from the website. Some of these churches appear to minister to immigrants from various African countries such as Ghana and Nigeria. Some have become part of largely Black denominations such as the Church of God, while some appear as part of African-headquartered churches. Others are independent, such as the Jordan Community Church led by Pastor Kiirya, a church extensively referred to later in this chapter. Nearly all that church’s members come from the nations of the Great Lakes in East Africa, principally Kenya and Uganda, the two countries on the southern border of the Sudan. As documented later, some educated Sudanese are now going to Jordan Community Church. Some of these East Africans and some Sudanese, both adults and youths, occasionally attend one or more of the Black/African churches listed in the end note for special occasions such as revivals, concerts, baptisms and weddings.

As a generalization, it can be said that most immigrant Blacks historically have been reluctant to join mainstream denominational churches. These churches use English that is too difficult to understand for immigrants. European worship style and classically

---

<sup>78</sup> <http://www.afrodive.com/AfricanChurches/default.asp?WCountryID=1> Accessed 2009.10.19.

influenced music may be factors in Black migrant decisions not to be in White churches. The mainstream denominational commitments to liturgy, especially Anglicans and Catholics, may not appeal to Africans wanting a more fluid congregational worship style, such as often found in African churches. The lack of significant racial heterogeneity in most non-ethnically defined churches in Ottawa may also discourage some Sudanese. Churches and denominations tend to have a social class-defined membership. Guenther also suggests that immigrants to Canada see “mainstream churches in decline” and are therefore reluctant to join, (Guenther, 2008b) and proposed that like many ethnic groups racially and/or linguistically and culturally defined, African migrants, like the Sudanese, create their own “parallel institutions” (Guenther, 2008a). Readers will have noted a shift in the above paragraphs to analyzing the Black church for migrants from the Caribbean to those from Africa, all loosely grouped under the construct of a Black church. Although there may be a link between the racialized experiences of the migrants from the Caribbean and from Africa in cities with a long history of Black populations like Toronto, the previous chapter on segmented assimilation has suggested that researchers should be careful in generalizing about the experience of migrants from two continents with very different cultures and colonial histories. For example, the cultural capital and pride of the Dinkas and the middle/upper class background of government sponsored refugees from the Sudan is not comparable to the type of immigration from the Caribbean. While recognizing the importance of the above topic, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

### ***E. Local Anglican relationships with Sudanese refugees in Ottawa***

The Anglican Diocese of Ottawa’s response to the influx of Southern Sudanese Christian refugees sponsored by the government, partly because a considerable number of the Sudanese were Anglicans, was to set up a “Sudan Task Force” chaired by Peter Anderson at St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church. The first meeting of the task force on September 30, 2000 with representatives of the Sudanese community discussed the following topics in chronological order as raised by the Sudanese present and recorded by the task force’s secretary, Reverend Sharon Schollar:

1. The training of [Anglican} Sudanese priests and laymen in Canada and in neighbouring countries to the Sudan;
2. The situation of Sudanese in “Arab” countries like Lebanon and Syria;

3. The need for a common Sudanese meeting place in the national capital region;
4. Fund raising to help the Sudanese in their “various activities”;
5. Education--raising Canadians’ awareness of situation in Sudan;
6. Need for unity among “various [ethnic] groups” in Canada and in the Sudan;
7. Local Sudanese women’s situation – how to “promote Sudanese women, integrating them with Anglican women’s groups and giving them a voice in the local Sudanese community, in the churches and in society generally” and setting up a future meeting of female clergy and Sudanese women;
8. Displaced persons within Sudan - how to provide them support?

What is noticeable is that of the 8 topics above, at least 6 of them focus significantly on the needs of the Sudan itself. This list of concerns brought by Sudanese in Ottawa reflects the reality of a refugee community pining to go back ‘home’, having been pushed out of the Sudan, and a community in some turmoil because of a lack of leadership and gender tensions. Like many immigrants from the Global South in the Global North, the Sudanese also feel a commitment to support their families and communities left behind.<sup>79</sup> This first meeting of the Anglican Task Force with such an external focus on the Sudan was a harbinger of the reality that several of the men at this meeting would return to the Sudan 7 years later and of religious leadership difficulties. Only a short while after the arrival of the Sudanese in Ottawa, the task force already heard comments about the lack of ethnic unity and the domination of Dinkas who were even in 2000 apparently the only organized ethnic presence. Later discussions with Anglicans and other Sudanese in Ottawa would attest to this Dinka dominance. The leadership challenges and gender tensions emerged in the course of this research as major foci to be considered. .

The early reference to “giving voice” to Sudanese women was probably partly a reflection of the person taking notes at the meeting, a female Anglican priest, although also present at the mostly male meeting was a Sudanese woman interviewed later, Emmy Ochan\* who had been in Canada since 1992 and had been raising 4 children by herself.

---

<sup>79</sup> See also my later references to the importance of remittances and the ways in which ‘help’ or aid to Africa is a linking construct between the traditional practice of White congregations and the ‘home’ focus of African migrants in Canada.

The previous chapter on segmented assimilation and even the chapter on social capital suggested the ways in which dominant Canadian values such as gender equality were an area of contestation for the Sudanese in Ottawa, including through the Church. To my knowledge, no formal meeting of female clergy and Sudanese women was ever held, partly because Reverend Schollar left the Anglican ministry and I no longer have contact with the Sudanese female informant since these notes came to my attention.

The first formal worship occasion facilitated by the Anglican Diocesan Sudan task force was a Eucharist at St. John's for the Sudanese community in Ottawa on Easter Sunday, April 15, 2001. The Task Force report that the event "had raised ethnic differences and rivalries, requiring a subsequent meeting with a Dinka delegation."<sup>80</sup> To my knowledge, that meeting never occurred although the report contributed to the overall opinion among refugee advocates in the church and among the social workers that the Sudanese community in Ottawa was extremely divided and dominated by the Dinkas as enunciated to researchers from the Culture, Community and Health program at the University of Toronto.<sup>81</sup>

In October 2001 the Episcopal (Anglican) Primate of the Sudan, Archbishop Joseph Marona Biringi, not a Dinka, was invited to Canada by the Anglican Church of Canada to speak to interested Anglican churches in Canada about the deteriorating situation in the Sudan and to meet with South Sudanese diasporic communities. On October 15-16, 2001 he attended the Diocese of Ottawa synod meeting where he appealed for help for the Sudan. The following day, he preached at the St. John the Evangelist Anglican Church main Eucharist.<sup>82</sup> Later that Sunday, he led a worship service at Notre Dame Catholic Cathedral in Arabic and English, with about 120 South Sudanese living in Ottawa in attendance. (David Ochan, August 8, 2005) During both his sermons that day, the bishop appealed for South Sudanese unity in Canada, and described the positive roles the Church was making in contributing to peace in the Sudan.

The bishop's eloquent appeal for funds for the Sudan and the work of the Sudan

---

<sup>80</sup> Anglican Task Force Minutes, June 4, 2001

<sup>81</sup> [http://atwork.settlement.org/downloads/atwork/Study\\_of\\_Sudanese\\_Settlement\\_in\\_Ontario.pdf](http://atwork.settlement.org/downloads/atwork/Study_of_Sudanese_Settlement_in_Ontario.pdf)  
Consulted 2004.06.02

<sup>82</sup> St. John the Evangelist has sponsored a number of South Sudanese refugee families, in whose settlement process I was then (2001) involved. By 2005, the congregation was also known as one of the 4 most gay-positive Anglican congregation in Canada.

task force in the Diocese generated resolutions at the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa Synod in support of sending funds to the Sudan for the support of churches there as well as to sponsor and support a few more refugees. According to the task force minutes, articles about the Sudan were published in the local diocesan newspaper and three more Sudanese refugees were sponsored by parishes. However, by June, 2002, the Anglican task force felt that it no longer had a role largely because there had been practically no support from any of the parishes in the Diocese for the work of the Task Force and because of ethnic divisions within the Sudanese ‘community’.

In a letter to the Anglican Bishop of Ottawa and the diocesan executive committee, Peter Anderson noted the following:

1. Although we have learned much from the meetings [with the Sudanese community] and worship events, we have had little success in overcoming the deep divisions within the local [Sudanese] community. In retrospect, we were slow to appreciate the tribal divisions, and perhaps naïve to expect that we could treat the local Sudanese as a single community. This may be a good lesson to remember for the future.
2. The Sudan Task Group was born of a concern [for Sudan and its refugees] first expressed by Synod in 1999 and re-iterated annually since. Task Group members, perhaps wrongly, saw their role as facilitators to action of parishes already convinced that action was necessary, rather than “evangelists for Sudan” trying to establish the priority in a climate of apathy and even disbelief. We started out as a small group expecting to point enthusiastic parishes in the best directions. We have ended up at a loss to know how to push the string that connects us to the parishes more effectively.<sup>83</sup>

The task force stopped functioning as an inter-parish consultative group as early as June 2002. Like the Catholics described in the next section of this chapter, the task force had spent considerable efforts focused on the needs of the Sudan itself, and was frustrated by the lack of support from churches in the Diocese and by ethnic divisions within the Sudanese community. More importantly, even as early as 2001, the Task Force no longer had any active Sudanese refugee members showing that the diocese was operating in a vacuum and could not really respond to the needs of the Sudanese.

---

<sup>83</sup> Peter Anderson letter to the secretary, Ottawa Anglican Diocesan executive committee, 2002.06.12 and to the Bishop of Ottawa and executive committee, 2003.01.15

At about the same time the Anglican Task Force was wrapping up its activities in 2002, the Dinka community under the then-presidency of Gordon Luaala Kur continued to build on the ethnic group's bridging social capital<sup>84</sup> to find regular worship and meeting space in a local church. Gordon and two other Dinkas met with the leadership of St. John the Evangelist Anglican church, Reverend Garth Bulmer and its warden<sup>85</sup> Peter Anderson during October, 2002. Peter consulted the then bishop of Ottawa who "emphasized that the diocese had no role in the local Sudanese community's work towards political solutions for Sudan, and that we need to concentrate on our legitimate concerns for spiritual support and human rights advocacy."<sup>86</sup> The Diocese responded to Gordon's request by asking him to organize a broader community consultation, involving non-Dinkas and women.

The resulting meeting organized by Gordon Luaala a few months later in May, 2003, became quite acrimonious, some other ethnic groups objecting to the Dinka-organized nature of the meeting.<sup>87</sup> The meeting especially broke down when some Sudanese women objected that they had not been consulted in the organization of the meeting. The influence of the Diocesan Task Force mentioned earlier may have been a factor in the female challenge. Although the women at the meeting were marginalized by the men, being forced to stand at the back while the men were seated at the front of the room, their forcefulness reflected again the ways in which Canadian dominant culture empowered them in surprising ways, especially from the perspective of the Sudanese-born men. As a result of this dispute and already established perceptions of Dinka dominance, St. John's and the Diocese refused to provide any more space to the Sudanese. The ostensible reason for the parish refusal was that it did not want to foster divisions among the Sudanese by working with only one 'tribe', the Dinkas, although they were clearly the most organized and no other 'tribe' representatives had formally approached the parish.<sup>88</sup>

However, in late July 2005, more than two years after the last mentioned meeting of

---

<sup>84</sup> See later for a more detailed analysis of the Dinka's Sudanese Community Association. Gordon was a warden in a small Anglican church in Hull, as well as synod delegate from this church.

<sup>85</sup> The title for the lay co-president of a congregation, forming 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of the parish's corporate governing council.

<sup>86</sup> March 13, 2002 Anderson personal notes

<sup>87</sup> I attended this meeting in person. It should be noted that this meeting, generated by the Sudanese themselves, was organized after the Diocesan Task Force no longer had an official function.

<sup>88</sup> Personal e-mail correspondence between Garth Bulmer, Peter Anderson, Tony Lovink during July, 2009.

the Anglican Task Force, the president of the new government of Southern Sudan, John Garang, a Dinka and Anglican, was killed in a helicopter crash under suspicious circumstances in Uganda.<sup>89</sup> I have referred extensively to this event in the chapter 3 on social capital to illustrate how events in the Sudan were always in the forefront of the Sudanese refugees living in Ottawa, Canada. Garang had been the leader of the South's liberation army for 21 years and had only become president of a potentially new country after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in the Sudan between the North and the South only a few weeks earlier. Many felt that his untimely death was a real setback for continued peace.<sup>90</sup>

Gordon Luaala responded to this politically and culturally very disappointing event building on his contacts in the Anglican Diocese of Ottawa and asked Peter Coffin, the then Bishop of the Diocese if St. John's could hold a commemorative funeral service for Garang. Both the diocese and the parish agreed. 126 people came for the service at St. John's,<sup>91</sup> most taking communion from the Bishop. However, the event was also the last straw in a difficult relationship between the Sudanese and the Diocese. The funeral was scheduled to start at 2, when the Bishop arrived, but actually started at 4:30 when most Sudanese-born had arrived. The bishop was very upset! In my long experience, Anglican services never start late. The bishop clearly felt that the Sudanese had been disrespectful of his time by forcing him to wait 2.5 hours. The values gap between the two cultures was just too great for cooperation to be possible.

Gordon again tried to find space for regular Anglican Sudanese worship at a later date. However by early 2006, the leadership of St. John the Evangelist within the Diocese of Ottawa as the most active refugee sponsoring parish in the Diocese as well as the strongest advocate for the blessing of same-sex relationships made any further working with African immigrant group very difficult. As noted earlier, the Diocese had further decided that it would no longer provide support to the Sudanese community, but only to some of its individual members. By late 2007, Gordon had returned to the Sudan for a

---

<sup>89</sup> See previous chapter on social capital for more extensive discussion of Garang's death.

<sup>90</sup> "Garang's Death: Implications for Peace in Sudan", Africa Briefing N°30, 9 August 2005 <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=3611> Accessed 2008.06.24

<sup>91</sup> Vestry records, 2005, St. John the Evangelist, Ottawa

senior position with the new government of the Southern Sudan.

### *F. Catholic relationships with the Sudanese*

Like the Anglicans, the Catholic Diocese between 1999 and 2003 sponsored a considerable number of Sudanese families and individuals, facilitating their getting housing and providing financial support for one year, as the diocese was required to do under their sponsorship agreement with the government. (Lee and Ochan interviews.)

Under the leadership of David Ochan\*, the Sudanese Catholics approached the office of Bishop Gervais in Ottawa's Catholic archdiocese in 2002 for various kinds of support. The bishop appointed a deacon, Dr. Wayne Lee, to offer pastoral support of 1 hour a week and to head a committee of 4 Sudanese, especially with a view to providing wedding and baptism services. The diocese also followed the "traditional [Catholic] pattern with other ethnic groups" (McAlister and Richman, 2009, p. 330) in announcing Good Shepherd church in Blackburn Hamlet as the parish church for the Sudanese. However according to Lee, only 5 baptisms for Sudanese children were ever performed there or in the Diocese, and a few Sudanese came for a few weeks to Good Shepherd for "a few weeks", but the church was "too out of the way" for significant numbers of Sudanese. (Wayne Lee, October 22, 2009) The Sudanese were admittedly "dispersed" throughout the city, the church was 30 minute drive from downtown, with only irregular bus service, and was located in a very White suburb. The preferred church, according to David Ochan, would have been St. Brigid's near the main market downtown, but by then it was largely being used by a Portuguese-speaking congregation and the building was not well maintained.<sup>92</sup>

David Ochan\* and Dominic Funda, whom I interviewed, were two of the members of Deacon Lee's committee. According to them, the Diocese agreed to sponsor several children of families already living in Ottawa, and provided "food baskets on a weekly basis to several families. Also every November [they] asked the Bishop to provide certain families with Christmas baskets." (Funda, June 7, 2005) According to Wayne Lee, the committee and the Catholic diocese, like the Anglicans helped the Sudanese to settle by:

---

<sup>92</sup> In fact, the Catholic Diocese, not able to maintain the building and support the parish financially, sold the building to a performing arts consortium in late 2007. (*Ottawa Citizen*, October 11, 2009)

“Finding clothes; introductions to the medical care system; finding housing; [supporting] wives with three kids whose husbands had been killed in the Sudan. I would find them food, clothing, vehicles. I invoked the church to be supportive. I delivered furniture. (Wayne Lee, October 22, 2009)

Like the Anglicans, the Catholic committee meeting at Good Shepherd in 2002 increasingly focused on aid to the Southern Sudan. On their behalf, Lee obtained large donations of medical supplies, clothes and books to be delivered to the Sudan by a Canadian military plane carrying then former Prime Minister Martin there in 2003. These supplies were stored at an army base in Ottawa, all organized through Wayne Lee. But the Sudanese had “not well-thought out grandiose plans”, according to Lee, and arrived 1.5 hours too late to be able to meet the army truck taking the supplies to the airport. The issue of value differences between the Sudanese and dominant Canadian society around the Sudanese flexible understanding of time has already been documented, especially around the commemorative funeral of President Garang. As a result of this perceived lack of cooperation from the Sudanese, Lee donated everything to the Salvation Army.

The Sudanese, male politicized community in Ottawa continued its main focus on life in the Sudan. In October, 2003, the Canadian government announced \$20 million in aid to help the Southern Sudan set up schools after the long civil war.<sup>93</sup> The allocation of government funds was mostly the result of the work of Senator Mobina Jaffer, “Canada’s Special Envoy to the Peace Process in Sudan from 2002-2006.”<sup>94</sup> David Ochan\* showed me pictures of the event which he chaired as the most senior Sudanese in Ottawa and one of the principal organizers of the ceremony, attended by Prime Minister Martin. Deacon Lee stated that he convinced Catholic Archbishop Gervais to attend the event.<sup>95</sup> Certainly, when my informant Ochan showed me a photograph of the event, he was very happy that the archbishop had come.

Through his contacts, Lee also apparently raised significant funds through the Canadian Catholic Conference of Bishops to enable David Ochan\*, Dominic Funda and

---

<sup>93</sup> “Canadian Aid for Sudan” <http://www.web.net/cass/education.htm> Accessed 2009.10.30. It is to be noted that this aid was significantly channelled through the Catholic diocese of Rumbek in Southern Sudan

<sup>94</sup> <http://sen.parl.gc.ca/SenWeb/bio/?lang=en&sen=59> Accessed 2009.10.23

<sup>95</sup> I suspect that Martin and the archbishop had other reasons for being together at this event, occurring at the same time as the spat over Catholic Martin’s support of women’s abortion rights

Gordon Luaala and “several others” to attend the NGO Sudan peace conference in Geneva in 2006 particularly after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) between Northern and Southern Sudan in 2005. Luaala and Ochan discussed this conference with me, since it focused on the skilled diaspora contribution to the future of the Southern Sudan. Their interest was another indication that Sudanese males focused increasingly on the Sudan rather than on their lives in Canada. By early 2007, David Ochan and Dominic Funda had both moved back to Sudan to prominent positions in the new South Sudanese government there. Ochan’s wife, 4 children and other family members remain in Canada, although his oldest daughter spent Christmas 2008 in the Sudan with her father. Lee simply commented that “suddenly all of them [Sudanese males] just disappeared two years ago, leaving their families behind. I do not understand, do not understand. Our last meeting [of the committee] was in 2005.” (Lee interview)

Unfortunately, there was no consistent Catholic and/or Sudanese leadership able to bring together the South Sudanese-born Catholic community. David went to his neighbourhood Catholic Church, St. Ignatius in Overbrook. The deacon was appointed to the Shepherds of Good Hope Church on Innis Road. Other prominent Catholics, for example, Alew Bwolo, with lots of human capital and a good job in Ottawa, went to St. Columbus where he was also president of the Knights of Columbus. Michael Soro Enoka, now the administrator and organizational force behind the New Ambassador (Sudanese) church went to St. Patrick’s Catholic Church on Kent Street when he first arrived in Ottawa in 2005. He lived a block away from the Irish origin Catholic church on the corner of Lyon and Gloucester when he first arrived in Ottawa. The church became the “centre of my being.... I felt guilty about not being in church.” (July 22, 2008) He was “looking for community” in this church, pushing him to help found such as the Sudanese prayer group and later the church which I now describe.

The conclusion of the above sections of this dissertation has been that the South Sudanese Christians in Ottawa could not find a church community where they felt welcome and comfortable and the denominational leadership was perhaps not very accommodating of their needs. Nevertheless, even in 2009, several of the South Sudanese I knew, (Ochan, Bwolo), still occasionally went to a Catholic or Anglican church to participate in the

Eucharist, the ‘eating the bread and drinking the wine’ to commemorate the death of Jesus, a powerful symbol of reconciliation with God. However, the search for culturally rooted worship tends to require a community of people who speak the same language and share many of the same experiences. Immigrant Catholic parishes in Ottawa worshipping in Portuguese or Italian, an Anglican parish worshipping in Cantonese for example, exist. There were not enough Sudanese in Ottawa of one particular ethnicity and they did not have the required leadership or common theology to found their own church within a denominational tradition.

### **G. History of the New Ambassador (South Sudanese) church in Ottawa**

According to Akic Ruati\* and Helena Lino, singing gospel songs in Arabic was the first reason seven South Sudanese-born Christians living in Ottawa from the city of Juba area got together in October, 2000. Each then paid \$10 per week to meet as a “non-denominational church”. (Lino Costa, August 17, 2005) Very soon, the group meeting developed into a community bible study in Arabic, in space provided by the Ottawa Carleton Immigrant Services Organization (OCISO). Even as late as October, 2006, the bibles in Arabic for this group were still stored at OCISO. However, the study group stopped meeting there in late 2004.

By late 2002, the group had evolved into a more formal worship service, “partly for young women with no English language skills, but all with low-level Arabic”. (Riek Adwok, July 14, 2008) Meeting the needs of South Sudanese who did not speak fluent English became one of the goals of the new group called the New Ambassador (Sudanese) church which began its official meetings in a former classroom in the Bronson Centre by 2005. According to Michael Soro, the current administrator of the church, it has always been bilingual. According to Helena Costa:

We now meet 2 hours a week at the Bronson Centre in Arabic and English and on Saturdays in people’s homes. Mary<sup>96</sup> has a big house and we meet for choir and Bible study in her basement. On Sundays, there are regularly 20-30 people. (August 17, 2005)

---

<sup>96</sup> Mary helped sponsor Helena to come to Canada as her older sister, partly based on Helena having a very hyperactive son.

The first male leader of this group was Jaffar Bashir who had to move to Kitchener in 2004 for employment reasons. He has now apparently had significant responsibility for setting up a Sudanese inter-ethnic church there. From 2005 to late 2007, I frequently listened to his replacement, Riek Adwok\* and Pastor Samuel Guli preach in Arabic and English, although both not equally fluently. According to Riek Akwok, Samuel Guli has a diploma in education and apparently a B.Sc. in natural sciences from the University of Juba (Personal e-mail, November 11, 2009), whereas Riek is qualified as a teacher in Ontario and trained as a Catholic priest. Both of them worked hard at preparing much appreciated sermons, but lacked any charisma. Both of these preachers had to leave Ottawa for employment reasons. Since Pastor Guli's departure on October 10, 2008, preaching at the Sudanese church has been inconsistent, deteriorating into preaching only in English by a white evangelist, James Mason, with no knowledge of Sudanese cultures and no interpretation offered for the several women present who only really understand Arabic (and their ethnic language). The average attendance was 31.7 people on Sundays at the New Ambassador (Sudanese) church before Pastor Samuel Guli left on October 8, 2008. The average attendance now appears to be 12.6 people (a drop of 60.2%). The exception to this drop was when Pastor Kiirya came from the Jordan Community church to preach.<sup>97</sup>

With so few people now attending on average, and mostly women, (see Appendix C), Helena told me that the church "is having money problems", a comment shared in a personal conversation at the service on May 10, 2009. The `Sudanese` church does not have a charitable status, despite bookkeeping help offered by Jordan Community Church. Donation by cheques for the church had to be made out in the personal name of Michael Soro Enoka, a recipe for financial difficulties. Most people gave cash. Perhaps partly because of weak financial oversight, there seemed to be problems of expenditure control. David Abraham at length spoke to me (June 11, 2009) about expenditure problems in the church. Kiirya on several occasions publicly referred to his volunteering his time to support the Sudanese church since the church could not afford to pay a pastor.

Administratively, the church has been consistently led by a good organizer, Michael Soro Enoka, reflecting a hypothesis of this dissertation that the survival of any community

---

<sup>97</sup> See appendix C for church attendance statistics

depends on 1-2 committed individuals. Michael is always at the church on Sunday afternoons and ensures that there is a preacher, coordinates setting up the room and taking it down, generally chairing the worship service and liaising with the building landlord, the Catholic Church owned Bronson centre to meet his church's varied needs for space. But he has never preached and rarely read the Bible in public. Together with Kwongo Bongo and Richard Gerard, he ensures that music is chosen in advance and is nearly always well done by the young adults, eliciting dancing, clapping and general congregational participation.<sup>98</sup> Michael was also effective in being principally responsible for organizing the Sudanese revival at a local hotel and community-wide events for Mother's Day, Christmas and Easter for the past 4 years (2005-09). Michael Soro Enoka, the president of the church, interpreted this broad community role in this way:

People forget their ethnicity in the church, a unifying body. It is a place for people to find a solution to their problems, to congregate, to assist in private lives, to resolve misunderstandings. The community is not intact [without the South Sudanese church]; although many people also go to their traditional denomination and may not have time to come to their community church in the afternoon. (July 22, 2008)

Michael felt strongly that it should be the church which is the "glue", where people forget their ethnicity. But a significant number of South Sudanese did not attend New Ambassador regularly. They came only in times of crisis. When several people in Alew Bwolo's family died in the same week, although he is a practicing Catholic, he came to the Sudanese church with his family and other friends for prayer and cultural support. More people came in for worship and the subsequent social occasion that Sunday "than the community centre's rooms [could] hold", (Enoka, July 22, 2008), although I personally arrived too late to record attendance statistics. At least 10 additional people came near the end of a service on June 14, 2008 to support a family whose female relative had died that week in the Sudan. Other Sudanese-born 'visitors' came when a family member died or was very ill in order to receive prayers and support from the community. On several occasions, a pastoral team composed of Michael and Riek\* visited homes where Sudanese

---

<sup>98</sup> Referring back to the chapter on segmented assimilation, all the singers in the church were young adults (16-25 years old); all the accompanists, pianists, guitarists, drummers, were males. See also my later section in this chapter on the importance of music, especially to involve young adults.

families had experienced a particular loss, but who were not frequent attendees at the church.

According to Enoka, non-Christian (or at least non-practicing) leaders of the South Sudanese community, including Cirillo Garang, have told the church leadership that the “church is an important part of the community”. These leaders may also contribute financially while not attending. The ‘pastoral’ visits described above and the organization of later described events for Christmas and Easter indicated that the New Ambassador Church clearly had a cultural role beyond its immediate membership.

Somewhat paradoxically, Michael Soro booked space for the South Sudanese community (Dinka) association executive to meet in the same room as the church at the Bronson centre, right after at least one worship service in 2007 had finished. Gordon Lualla exceptionally came to the worship service in 2007 before one of these executive meetings, but at least 3 of the members, including one of my prominent Dinka interviewees, arrived right at the end of the service. Michael knew the importance of linking to the Dinkas, but alienated some of them, according to David Abraham. (June 11, 2009)

For the Christmas service on December 25, 2008, Michael succeeded in getting the city of Ottawa’s Jack Purcell community centre to open exceptionally for Christmas Day itself, exclusively to meet the needs of the Sudanese community. A white Christian evangelical employee of the City of Ottawa, paid double overtime by the Sudanese, agreed to staff the building at the last minute. When I arrived, at least 108 people were already present, compared to the average Sunday attendance during 2008 of 31 people. The 18 young adults performing the music were well rehearsed, with three guitars, a keyboard, three male drummers and 11 singers (but only one male). The preaching by Joseph Kiirya<sup>99</sup>, was excellent, although only in English, but addressed very directly to the young adults at the service. There was no Eucharist offered.

Most worshippers stayed after the service to eat a copious meal prepared by the women. Everybody sat at 16 long tables set up in the next room at the community centre, perhaps emphasizing that this event was more a social than Christian occasion. A lot of movement occurred between tables, largely between younger Sudanese. Men sitting

---

<sup>99</sup> See my later references to leadership issues faced by the South Sudanese church and the section on Jordan Community Church for a fuller discussion of Kiirya’s potential roles. He is Ugandan-born.

together talked politics at their tables. Women generally sat separately as also happened in most church services. There were only 4 male-female couples sitting together. At the church service earlier, men sat in the front and women at the back. Genders in traditional Sudanese society do not mix in public.<sup>100</sup>

The event clearly showed that the ‘Sudanese’ church has a function beyond its Christian mandate. It was the only organization, with no ethnic label, able to organize such a calendar day Christian feast day. Many of my informants, including Dinkas, were present. The event would not have happened without the church.

Similar events were organized by Michael and his team for all Easters and Christmases, 2006-08, attracting large numbers. Special secular events like Thanksgiving, fathers’ and mothers’ days also attracted more people to the church, although quite often more for the social event after the service.<sup>101</sup>

However, the New Ambassador church is not attracting more South Sudanese to its regular services. It may not survive financially with a critical mass of members for two reasons, theological and ethnic. Theologically, the church is evangelical. The Bible<sup>102</sup> is the focus of worship. People are strongly encouraged to bring their Bibles, several also being available at regular services. The focus of worship was on the gospel proclamation and preaching. David Ochan\* commented that as a Catholic, “I am not comfortable in an evangelical church”. He has never come, nor have several other Christian leaders in the community. Alew told me that he is “not an evangelical”, although he has come occasionally as previously mentioned. He felt that most other Christian Sudanese have other denominational preferences. However, the drive by at least 6 adults and 3 young adults for the church to succeed is enormous.<sup>103</sup>

### *H. Evangelization and Islam for the Sudanese in Ottawa*

Part of the challenge of the Sudanese church in Ottawa may be that perhaps the

---

<sup>100</sup> See my discussion of segmented assimilation and gender roles

<sup>101</sup> Please consult attendance statistical tables in appendix C.

<sup>102</sup> However, quite long ‘old’ and New Testament verses are always read out loud in English, sometimes very badly. People seem to follow along, but I do not know if they understand what is read. Usually the sermon focuses on one verse only.

<sup>103</sup> Michael, Richard, Kwongo, Riek, Helena and her sister, Mary, Helena’s two daughters, James – Pastor Samuel’s sons

majority of its first generation members are motivated by their faith in opposition to Islam which had negatively affected their lives or which they saw as a threat. Such a motivation would not perhaps be true for second and third generation Christians like some of my informants. This evangelical or believers' theology of the New Ambassador church is well illustrated by an enormous effort under Michael Soro Enoka's and Helena Lino Costa's leadership to organize a "revival meeting" at the Talisman hotel in Ottawa on Friday and Saturday evenings, August 30-31, 2008. They invited a Sudanese-born, fluently Arabic and English, non-Dinka pastor from Calgary, Pastor Isaac Mahdi Wagdi Ishkander to lead the retreat. He was an inspiring speaker with highly impressive qualifications, especially for a focus on the relationships between Christianity and Islam in the Sudan.<sup>104</sup> The Ottawa congregation paid for his travel, providing housing and meals. Organized by such a small congregation, the event crystallized a major reason for the Sudanese church's existence: past contacts with Islam.

On the Saturday evening of the revival, August 30, 2008, 33 adults (and at least 14 children) were in attendance.<sup>105</sup> Unusually, there were more men than women, perhaps because it was an evening event preventing many mothers with children (and women) from coming, but also because of the reputation of the male evangelist. The music by the 9 young adults had been well rehearsed under Kwongo and Richard's leadership and was uplifting, eliciting loud singing and frequent dancing during the evening by several women.

The theme of the revival was forgiveness – "If you forgive others, God will forgive. If you do not forgive others, God will forgive you." This is a reverse formulation of the Christian gospel as part of Matthew's teaching of the "Lord's Prayer":

For if you forgive others the wrongs they have done, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if you do not forgive others, then the wrongs you have done will not be forgiven by your Father. (Matthew 6:14-15 NEB)

---

<sup>104</sup> A life of international experience, Wagdi Ishkander is currently ministering at the Arabic Alliance in Calgary, ordained since 1991 with Doctorate in Ministry from Langley Theological Seminary, Masters Degree from Canadian Southern Baptist Seminary in Cochrane and Bachelor Degree in Theology from Prairie Bible Institute. <http://www.islamevents.ca/medicine-hat/concept-and-basis-of-salvation/2008022714265291> Accessed 2009.11.03. The conference in Medicine Hat, Alberta where this conference was hosted was studying links between Islam and Christianity.

<sup>105</sup> 23 male adults, including 4 guitar players and keyboard; 14 adult females – the previous figures also including a white couple and their son from the Alliance Gate church; 9 young adults – 5 girls singing, 4 boys drumming; about 14 children aged about 9-12, supervised primarily by one young male adult.

Why was the Gospel message changed? Forgiveness of those who have wronged you may be the hardest message Jesus communicated. Sometimes however, according to the evangelist, it is impossible to forgive, and especially to forget. If we cannot forgive the person who has wronged us, after trying very hard, we can be forgiven by God, said Mahdi. Indeed many revival testimonies that weekend spoke of how difficult it was to maintain Christian faith in the context of an Islamic jihad and sharia law in the Sudan. Mahdi paralleled Sudan to the apartheid regime in South Africa, with references to Jesus as Black, and religious discrimination in the Sudan by Muslims against Christians. He maintained that Christians would eventually have power in the Sudan. Interestingly, his sermon was interchangeably in Arabic, the holy language of Islam and in English

In a riveting oral account with eyes fixed on his audience in both languages simultaneously, Mahdi retold the biblical myth of Joseph, the youngest brother sold into slavery in Egypt, according to the Genesis myth. The story was recounted probably as it was in a pre-literate era, a gripping account of human betrayal, justice, power and forgiveness. Listeners were spellbound, including the children. Mahdi pointed out how Joseph eventually became powerful and forced his brothers to seek forgiveness for past betrayals. The suggestion was that Muslims in Sudan will eventually have to apologize to Christians.

Pastor Mahdi then spoke about his biological brothers becoming Muslim and never again talking to him because of his Christian faith. Jesus having laid down “his life for me” said Mahdi. A brother put him in prison in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia for his faith. He consequently developed a real hatred for his brothers and all Muslims. Because of his hatred for those who had persecuted him, Mahdi was initially refused ordination as a Christian pastor. His brothers offered him all the money he wanted if Mahdi did not become ordained to the Christian ministry. Two years after first seeking ordination, leaders of the church witnessed his telephoning his brothers to forgive them. He was ordained a few months later.

Other testimonies followed. Richard Gerard, the youth leader, spoke of how many of his friends had changed faiths and “ [had] lost their lives” in converting to Islam, making him much more “bold” to proclaim his faith. Kwongo, another youth leader and guitarist,

spoke of a woman in his family being raped by a Muslim for being Christian, but how she has been freed by forgiving the man. David Abraham referred to the Sudanese government refusing to give him and his family a passport with the last name Abraham. His official last name is now Ibrahim, even in his Canadian passport. His children are often perceived as Muslims as a result of their last name, despite the fact that both their parents have been life-long Christians. David's faith is nourished by anti-Islamic feelings. He has not forgiven those who changed his name. Other testimonial references to transgressions needing forgiveness were many: a man shot down in a church, presumably by Muslims; a plane with a brother shot down and knowing who the assassins were; a cousin drowned; a "mama", older lady testifying to the power of her faith to heal her and a family member. The hope of converting Muslims peppered the service both on Saturday and on Sunday. The theme of forgiveness, but also the need for a strong faith in the face of Islam was continually emphasized.

Pastor Mahdi Ishkander could not stay for the Sunday afternoon part of the revival. He had to return to Calgary for his job as pastor. Pastor Kiirya of Jordan Community Church brought 14 of his members to the Sunday part of the revival. The dominant language of the revival changed from Arabic to English because Kiirya could not speak Arabic, thus excluding several committed Sudanese congregational members, primarily older women. On the other hand, Kiirya brought 14 members of his (East African) Jordan Community church, Kenyans and Ugandans to the Sunday service,<sup>106</sup> absolutely packing what was only a fair-sized former classroom so that at least a dozen people had to stand outside the doors.

The gender balance on Sunday afternoon of the revival changed completely. Far more women than on Saturday came that afternoon. Sixteen adults arrived in the last 20 minutes of the service, presumably only for the meal and the social interaction that took place after the Sunday service. There was no Eucharist offered, perhaps one of the reasons most Dinkas did not attend, their being historically Catholic or Anglican, denominations with the Eucharist as focus. The dominant group of attendees at the revival were evangelicals from the smaller tribes of Southern Sudan who had experienced religious and

---

<sup>106</sup> See my later references to links between the Sudanese and Jordan community church

racial discrimination in the Sudan, but some in Cairo Egypt as well while waiting many years for UNHCR clearance and resettlement.<sup>107</sup> In a testimony, Clement talked about his having spent 10 years there. Helena spent 6 years in Cairo in great difficulties. For both, the experience in another Muslim country strengthened their faith.

It is possible that the strongest believers and supporters of the Sudanese New Ambassador Church were those Christian believers who had really suffered for their faith in the Sudan. Christians from birth, or more traditional denominationally perhaps do not have the same motivations to commit to an evangelical faith requiring sacrifices or causing difficulties. Other than fundamentalist Christians, most Sudanese did not see their faith in Canada as creating a boundary with the dominant society as would have been the case in the Sudan. Can the overseas experience of the Sudanese in their experience with Islam be a continuing motivating factor for their faith in a secular Canada?

Perhaps forebodingly for the future of the congregation, its ability to attract a good pastor and to pay the rent, the financial report from the revival was a bad omen. The goal was to raise \$3,400, but only \$1,224 was raised,<sup>108</sup> although the hotel costs for an evening and a morning as well as Pastor Mahdi's travel from Calgary return cannot have been less than that. The financial incentive to reach out for support to like-minded congregations was clear.

### *I. Bridging to another East African church?*

By early 2006 several leaders in the South Sudanese-born communities, especially Gordon Kur Luaala and David Abraham as well as Michael and Helena recognized the religious leadership vacuum for the Sudanese in Ottawa and the poor quality of preaching and service at the New Ambassador church as well as its financial challenges. The need for effective pastoral counselling to provide advice to families dealing with marital and/or with

---

<sup>107</sup> Somewhat beyond the scope of this work, Sudanese-Egyptian tensions in Cairo broke out into riots in March 2009. The Sudanese in Cairo are nearly all Christian, easily identifiable by their skin colour and dress. The Egyptian government were making attempts to repatriate them back to the Sudan. "Twenty die in Sudanese raids". BBC news, 2005.12.30, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4568340.stm> Accessed 2009.11.04

<sup>108</sup> New Ambassador Church worship oral financial report, Sunday, September 28, 2008

adolescent difficulties was also evident.<sup>109</sup> Preaching at the Sudanese New Ambassador church was only evangelical with no opportunities for a regular Eucharist and therefore of no appeal to many Catholics and Anglicans. In fact in the at least 18 times I worshipped with the congregation, the Eucharist (Holy Communion) was not offered once at the New Ambassador Sudanese church. As well, there appeared no trained clergy of interest to the Sudanese and able to perform baptisms, marriages and funerals.

Pastor Joseph Kiirya had started his Jordan community ministries in 2005.<sup>110</sup> Since he was born a Bugandan near the south-western border of Sudan, his ministry therefore immediately appealed to those who had grown up in the densely populated areas of Western or Eastern Equatoria provinces in Southern Sudan with several cities including Juba, and concentrations of peoples like the Shilluk and Kakwa peoples near the Ugandan border with Sudan. Most people in these provinces live within 100 kilometres of the Ugandan border connected by major roads. As well, as in much of Africa, many tribal and language groupings cross colonial-drawn, artificial borders. Many of my informants had grown up in the area very close to the Ugandan border. Kiirya's only major disadvantage was that he did not speak Arabic and did not understand Sudanese religious, ethnic history and politics.

One of the major leaders of the South Sudanese community in Ottawa, David Abraham (Ibrahim), a very faithful evangelical Kakwa Christian, president of the local chapter of the South Sudanese People's liberation movement (SPLM), had been sent to school across the border in Uganda in part to escape sharia and the imposition of Arabic on Southern Sudanese schools. David consequently speaks fluent Buganda and immediately bonded with Kiirya. The only difficulty was that throughout 2005-08, David was a long-distance truck driver not able to be in Ottawa for more than a week at a time because of his work. David was consequently not able to show community leadership, except through cell phone and internet use.

---

<sup>109</sup> There had been efforts to set up a Sudanese council of elders to arbitrate marital conflicts, but this council had floundered on ethnic shoals, and difficulties in finding people with time and skill. (Ochan\* interviews) See also my chapter on social capital for further reflections on the potential role of immigrant community elder councils.

<sup>110</sup> See chapter introducing all the people involved in this research.

However, his name, as the most important leader of the church and perhaps among the South Sudanese as a non-Dinka, was often mentioned to me by Michael and Riek. In October 2008, David was forced to leave his job for health reasons and became the most important presence in the Sudanese church, as well as the only chairperson (non Dinka) of the SPLM (South Sudan Political Liberation Movement) in Ottawa, after Gordon Luala's return to the Sudan a year earlier. David therefore had the influence to encourage Michael, Helena and the New Ambassador Church council to invite Kiirya to preach at the New Ambassador church services. In view of the pastoral and preaching weaknesses at the Church, the council agreed, especially since Kiirya did not ask to be paid.

#### **J. The future of a 'Sudanese' church in Ottawa**

In all probability, a 'Sudanese' church with limited financial and educated human resources in Canada cannot survive in a small city like Ottawa. There were just enough people in Ottawa with Sudanese roots to support a congregation. This conclusion fits with the conclusion of the Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) multi-sited study of immigrant congregations that "that the single most important variable that will affect the futures of contemporary immigrant congregations is the size of the immigrant streams from the various nationalities represented in these institutions"(p. 460). It is to be noticed that Ebaugh and Chafetz refer to "nationalities", an underlying presumption of much immigrant research which presumes that the defining characteristic of a congregation is national rather than ethnic. The presumed lack of continued refugee flows and few sponsored immigrants from the Sudan, but more importantly from one ethnic Christian group in the Sudan, together with refugee populations naturally returning to their country or region of origin does not bode well for the future financial and human support for a 'Sudanese' church.

The faithful commitment of the leaders of the Sudanese Ambassador church was admirable. Michael Soro, Kwongo Bongo and Helena Lino Costa plus the two young adults, Elizabeth (Helena's oldest daughter) and James (Pastor Samuel Guli's son) were at nearly all the worship services of the Ambassador that I have regularly attended over more than 3 years. All of them brought skills and a deep spirituality to the group. But all of the adults were dreaming of going back to Sudan. Even Helena spoke of going back because she still has 4 sisters in Sudan as well as her mother, all still living in the area in Sudan where she was born. Many male adults have already gone back. They did not leave the

Sudan willingly. Their hearts were still there. Others have had to leave Ottawa to find employment. The numbers of people needed to sustain such a congregation just did not seem to live in Ottawa.

The leadership of the church was no longer pastorally adequate. Michael and the council were regularly inviting James Mason, a white evangelist, to be their preacher. I talked to James on several occasions. He knew nothing about Sudan, although he had visited mission fields in Kenya. He was employed part time, hoping for full-time ministry, but he had no formal training as a pastor or in theology. An uncharismatic member of the church council, Isaac, also preached regularly because he had some training in a bible college in Sudan, but his sermons were largely in English, because he did not speak Arabic well, and were disconnected and badly organized. Pastor Kiirya tried to come once a month, but as he was not paid, his presence was not predictable, although always well received by the congregation, even though he also did not speak Arabic.

The dominant language of adult conversation at all social gatherings of the church was Sudanese Arabic. Helena always led prayers in the church in Arabic, including invoking blessings of the children before they went to their Sunday school. Helena recognized that Arabic was the language of the dominant Arab Muslim population of the Sudan, and that some people might prefer not to speak it since they were refugees in part in opposition to the Islamic government of the Sudan. However, she preferred taking a positive approach arguing that “Arabic is only language which is now common to all South Sudanese of her generation, and really the only common language for worship” (September 26, 2008). Michael also began all services in Arabic and then provided translation in English.

Ebaugh and Chafetz (2000) wrote the following about language use in immigrant congregations pointing out that language can be both the cause of unity and of conflict.

In immigrant congregations ... conflicts regarding language use [are] of the most central concerns. Immigrant congregations self-consciously select languages for formal services and religious education classes in pursuit of institutional goals, while their members unconsciously employ languages in informal contexts that can both enhance solidarity and promote disunity. Differences in native languages ... often constitute the bases for segregation among immigrant members, and not infrequently for inter-generational strains and tensions. (p. 409)

This analysis applies totally to the language difficulties faced by the Sudanese. Ethnic languages are used in worship in the Sudan, except in the cities. Arabic, imposed as the dominant language, may now be the only inter-ethnic one for younger Sudanese in the cities. However, Arabic is not spoken by many of the young who came to Canada before formal schooling or by some adults such as most Nuers. Religious education for children in the ‘Sudanese’ church in Ottawa is in English, since the teachers are young adults educated in English. There are no pastors in Ottawa who speak both Arabic and English fluently. At church social events, I heard English or a mixture of English and Arabic or an ethnic language. Is a unified church possible without a common language?

Another complicating language factor is the preference of some for services in a vibrant ethnic first language. Among themselves, Dinkas speak their own language. It is also the language of the home in all the Dinka families I visited. David Abrahams (June 6, 2009) informed me that the Dinka community in Toronto had their own services in Dinka, but that the pastor for these services could not communicate in English. One of Gordon Luaala’s goals in organizing the meetings at St. John the Evangelist Anglican church referred to earlier was to be able to have worship services in Dinka.<sup>111</sup> This is a logical request, since one’s first language can emotionally and culturally be a better medium for worship and expressions of spirituality.<sup>112</sup> Michael Enoka, a Dinka by birth, and David Abraham have both spoken to me about bringing to Ottawa a trained pastor named Joseph who was studying theology at Providence College and Seminary in Winnipeg. Joseph was then the assistant pastor in the South Sudanese church in Winnipeg and obviously fluent in English, but he did not speak Arabic, David Abraham, the most prominent political leader in the church told me that he is “not happy with the leadership of the church”; there is no one with “leadership qualities”. There is nothing in the church that makes “[me] feel proud. I am in fact ashamed”. (June 11, 2009) Alew refuses to come to the Ambassador church regularly because they are not “comfortable” with the evangelical, non-Eucharistic focus. Dominic Funda stated that “the church is the closest to life in Sudan. ... The church

---

<sup>111</sup> See the chapter on social capital and the role of first language in social bonding

<sup>112</sup> The importance of first language learning for future learning in a second language is well established in the literature and is the base of the very extensive funding of ‘heritage’ language education in Canada funded by the federal government and now even offered during day programs in public schools.

used to be our government, our teacher, our doctor, our everything.” He went on to explain that the church here cannot give the “pastoral attention” needed. (June 7, 2005)

The need for pastoral attention may be the biggest challenge that cannot be met by such a small congregation not rooted in a particular ethnicity, language and culture and with no pastorally trained leadership. I drove leaders of the church, Riek and Michael, to provide counselling services to members of the church, for them to be at wakes for funerals, but they did not have the charisma or training to provide effective services. They served as a reassuring church presence. Pastor Kiirya also provided services for example to arbitrate family conflicts and lead funerals, but only in English and therefore only for highly educated South Sudanese.

As in many refugee populations, the first wave of migrants from the Sudan were highly educated: deputy ministers; doctors; academics; lawyers; human rights advocates; teachers; all represented in my interview population, nearly all men. Under conditions of relative peace in Southern Sudan since 2005, some leading men have now gone back, leaving their wives and children behind. The jobs that these men found back in Sudan provided far more responsibility and job satisfaction than could be found in Ottawa. The ease of international travel, their now being Canadian citizens and sometimes their employment contracts enabled them to come to Canada relatively easily to see their families. The mothers and children as Canadians are probably better off in Canada than in the Sudan. The children have a lot of potential in Canada.

From Appendix C, it will be seen that there were nearly always far more women at most Sudanese church services, including the New Ambassador and Jordan community churches. With less earning power and in a different country, can women be the financial and human base for the religious institutions of a historically patriarchal population? In the Ambassador church, only Helena as the most prominent woman had an important role. But living on social assistance, she had no money or social status outside a church environment. No woman ever read or spoke in public at the Sudanese church, except occasionally as a testimony. Without the presence of men, an African-focused church does not have a future. When some of the men like Maker (Margaret Akur’s husband) or Alew or Gordon did come to church to speak about their lives back in the Sudan, or when there was an excellent male preacher, more males were in church to listen to them, but attendance was sporadic.

However, I was amazed how the informal network using only the telephone and networking enables people to know about events and speakers that will be at church on a given Sunday. The church had no telephone number or web site, but everybody found out about an upcoming event, even one organized with only a few days' notice.

Nevertheless without charismatic, ethnically neutral leadership, the options for an ethnically diverse and formally structured church were limited, at least for the evangelical Sudanese whose faith was central to their lives. Helena said that many Sudanese were only religious "at home" in Sudan, a comment that was perhaps understandable when life in the Sudan was so much less certain, and where the church, according to Dominic Funda and Helena Costa was "everything" in providing the focus of community life, the source of much social capital. Finding pastoral services for family crises and celebrants for rites of passage such as marriages and funerals was even more difficult. The Jordan Community Church was clearly one option in providing such services.

### ***K. Combining the Sudanese and Jordan Community Church?***

By October, 2008, Pastor Joseph's regular charismatic sermons in the afternoons at the New Ambassador (Sudanese) church were clearly appealing to the educated Sudanese-born worshippers, at least those who understood his fluent, quite rapid English. When he was preaching, the numbers in the congregation always increased.<sup>113</sup> Kiirya sermons were always full of emotion, not read, unpredictable, funny, not time-bound, physically entertaining with lots of body movement. Kiirya always brought members of his own congregation to the Sudanese church, including two Ugandans, three Kenyans, a Zambian, two men and four women.

Because of Kiirya's influence, some south Sudanese with young families began to attend the morning Jordan Community services partly because the Sunday programming at the church for children far exceeded that of New Ambassador church. Others like Zeinab, Gordon Luala's wife, started coming to Jordan's occasional evening worship services. Kiirya performed a funeral and wedding in the South Sudanese community. David Abraham decided to start going to Kiirya's morning services

---

<sup>113</sup> See attendance statistics in appendix C, although attendance numbers could not always be counted for logistical and politic reasons.

By June, 2008, Jordan Community Church had a large, effective youth ministry program with a charismatic leader, Daniel Kamau, an international engineering student at Carleton University. Daniel's music ministry was powerfully supported with a part-time music teacher. Jordan's financial house was in order with a balanced year end budget in 2007 of \$71,476 with \$3,960 carried forward in 2008.<sup>114</sup> A qualified book-keeper reported regularly to the congregation. Membership was growing. Average attendance from appendix C was 55 adults, 18 young adults (18-25) and 17 children under 12.

Joseph Kiirya was popular among some Sudanese who understand English well, those who were more educated and travelled. David Abraham said: "the intellectuals like Joseph's church. ... The women, especially the young girls, like him and they understand him. They connect with him right away". (June 6, 2009) The youth from the Ambassador church went to Jordan community church youth retreats. According to Joseph Kiirya, the largely Kenyan youth from Jordan ministries were surprised by the "depth of spirituality" shown by the Sudanese young adults. (June 30, 2008) Kiirya was the preacher at the Sudanese Christmas celebration in December, 2008, with more than 100 Sudanese present. Nobody left the room while he was preaching! His message on the centrality of faith to overcome obstacles was powerful. He connected to people, especially young female adults who interacted with him during the sermon. Having interviewed him several times, watched him lead services and preach, I knew that he had a lot to offer all immigrants. Joseph described his ministry as follows:

Our focus ... target group, the people I want to help, the objective, the vision of Jordan community ministries is to be able to help new immigrants to make ... a spiritual transition into mainstream Canadian faith and culture. We want to help them. We want to become, to be a gateway for them to come in. We understand that life here both culturally and spiritually is very different from what they are used to in Africa. My understanding is that when people come here, there is not only cultural, but a spiritual shock.

When they find what is acceptable here socially, culturally, spiritually, it shocks them and sometimes for those who go to church, that is my main concern ... they cannot accept what is going on here spiritually. It does not connect to what we are

---

<sup>114</sup> Jordan Community Church income and expenditure report for January-December 2007, Sunday bulletin, March 16, 2008

used to. What we are doing as a ministry is to help people get their grounding here... (July 31, 2008)

According to Kiirya, the role of the church was to help immigrants get “a grounding” in Canada, to overcome “spiritual shock”. Kiirya wanted to be sure that his congregants felt spiritually uplifted in their church, in their worship, while also feeling comfortable culturally. Richard Alba calls ethnic congregations “protective carapaces” (Alba et al, 2009, p.18) for new migrants, to protect them from an invading culture which surrounds them. African clothing, familiar music and words, frequent cultural references, a first language, traditional values affirmation were all regular parts of worship at both the two churches on which this chapter is focused. As Kiirya went on to say:

[In church] I have to ensure that [my members] have an environment in which they feel happy, they feel secure, and they feel confident to express themselves in faith.

To a significant extent, such an environment presumed that the values affirmed by the congregation, the biblical message, the theological understandings, the cultural mores were reinforced so that worshippers felt “secure ... confident” that their life context would not be challenged, that they would feel “happy”, grounded, to repeat Kiirya’s words above. According to Kiirya, such an environment enabled people to trust each other, to share common values in order to build personal, economic, spiritually meaningful, trusted relationships with each other and those outside the community. But Kiirya also recognized the importance of transitioning to new values, especially on gender issues.

Ministry to and with women dominated Kiirya’s ministry. The congregation was usually majority women as documented by the attendance statistics in appendix C. Somewhat in contrast to the Sudanese church, the majority of leaders at worship and in music ministry are female. Kiirya’s leadership council had a 50% gender balance. The women’s ministry program was far more active than the men’s. The women organized a very successful retreat to Niagara Falls in June, 2008 and many other social events in the church. I was invited to the men’s ministry event to go bowling one Friday evening and no-one came. From informal conversations during bible studies and after worship, it would appear that men were also more conservative theologically and culturally than most of the women.

### **L. Music as a focus for worship; the role of young adults**

The one activity that brought all East Africans, including the Sudanese together, irrespective of faith or ethnicity was music with drumming and dancing. Well rehearsed music with several instruments and several drums was part of every single event I attended in the Sudanese and East African communities. Singing with guitar accompaniment and the prominent use of drumming, and often with the use of an electronic keyboard, was a very prominent feature of all worship services at both Jordan and New Ambassador churches, always taking about half of each worship service. Singing was led by the girls only. Only once did I see a male singing. Males drummed. Nearly all young adults participated in these activities. The attendance statistic in the churches detailed in Appendix C show that at the Sudanese church on the average 6 young adults (aged 12-21) and at Jordan as many as 18 young adults led the music, eliciting loud singing by the congregations, clapping and often dancing.

At the Jordan Community Church, words for all the hymns, alternately in English and Swahili were projected on a large screen for all to read, but most seemed to know the songs by heart. At New Ambassador, the songs were sometimes taught by the young adults, but seemed to be familiar to all there. At the Sudanese church, the majority of songs were in Arabic with only occasional ones in English. The songs in English at both churches were all of an Evangelical nature, most of which I had learned in my Pentecostal days or at Intervarsity Christian fellowship meetings.

For this reason, I was totally comfortable being in these church settings, but they had no semblance to most 'White' Catholic, Anglican or Presbyterian services in Canada which I have attended. As discussed before referring to Alew and David Ochan\*, it is understandable that they might not be comfortable worshipping in such exuberant settings with little liturgy. However, many Sudanese Catholics like Bwolo and Anglicans like Margaret Chol still came occasionally, because the music, the drumming with a powerful beat, was so rooted in traditional African cultures. People at the church services fully participated with their whole bodies and beings, an embodied worship.

To quote a famous Black American theologian, what I heard in the music was people responding to "the power and energy released in black [African] devotion to the God of emotion ... interpreting [the Spirit's] rhythm and the faith in experience it affirms"

(James Cone, 1972, p. 4). According to current sociologists, “Evangelical methods ... rely heavily on music” (Corten and Fratani, 2001, p. 155), but powerful drumming is characteristic of most African celebrations in ways not true for European cultures. Although exuberant singing may be a part of many churches in Ottawa, the prominence of drumming is much less so. Drumming is the heart beat of African cultures. As John Mbiti, the foremost expert on African religions wrote:

There were originally two worlds . . . and the inhabitants of both worlds used to invite one another by the sound of the drum.

Drums are reported from all over Africa ... to announce important messages, and are kept in sacred houses.

Drums are the heartbeat of the Spirit. (Mbiti, 1969, pp. 123 and 242 respectively)

Perhaps equally importantly, music, singing, playing instruments, dancing, drumming, was the best way to actively involve many young adults, and even children. Kiirya very much recognized the importance of music in the ability of the Church to connect to young adults by bringing a distant Zambian cousin and musician, James, to live with him and his family to teach keyboard, drumming and singing to Sudanese and other East Africans. Kiirya converted the basement of his home to allow James to give music lessons to all who wanted them. They came. James’ schedule was soon full of lesson appointments enabling the combined choirs of the New Ambassador (Sudanese) church and the Jordan Community Church to be a prominent presence as they sang at various events in Ottawa which I attended, including at St. Thomas Anglican Church on Saturday September 13, 2008:

“as [many] gather[ed] for worship across denominational lines to pray together, in a multicultural setting, to ‘Celebrate Our Faith’ through music from different groups with rich and diverse backgrounds (Caribbean, West Indian, African and Canadian); prayer and dance followed by a time of fellowship.”<sup>115</sup>

The excitement of the 14 Sudanese, Kenyan and Ugandan-born young adult musicians, drummers and singers performing together at this event was enormous as measured by conversations I had with some of them.

---

<sup>115</sup> Advertisement as part of personal e-mail from Rev. George Kwari, 2008.09.07

However, I should note, that although the organizers of the worship service at St. Thomas Anglican were two African-trained Anglican priests, George Kwari from Zimbabwe and Naomi Kabugi from Kenya, there were no more than 22 Blacks in a congregation of about 150 people at the service. African Gospel music may be a way to bridge between White and Black Christian communities.

### *M. Support for church projects in East Africa*

The common objective and value of helping those who are less well off in Africa may also be a link for whites and White congregations to the 'African' churches. For many countries in the Global South, remittances, monies sent back to families and communities of origin by migrants in the Global North are a more important source of foreign exchange than all international development aid.<sup>116</sup> The Christian message emphasizes the importance of giving to those in need. Consequently, it was not surprising that a major focus for the New Ambassador Sudanese church and the Jordan community East African church was to provide funds for projects 'back home'. The Sudanese church in Ottawa perhaps did not have the critical mass and leadership to organize such fundraising alone, but their association with Jordan Community Church enabled a major effort. Many regular Sunday services at both church services referred to difficult situations at 'home' in the Sudan or Uganda and Kenya.

Kiirya had been able to attract involvement from several senior Canadian public servants born in East Africa and most recently several Whites, notably the sales manager for a major company in Ottawa. As a result, Jordan Community church has now had two very successful international fund raising events, the last one on May 9, 2009. That event was very actively supported by the Sudanese church leadership which provided much of the staffing for the event, taking coats, setting up tables, taking tickets, and clean up. One of the reasons for their participation was that a project in the Sudan has also been chosen as a focus for the fund raising. This event allowed both churches to profile their music ministries with young adults, as well as their other programming to a wide audience. The young adults from both churches sang several hymns and popular gospel songs.

---

<sup>116</sup> International Monetary Fund, June, 2007.

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2007/06/gupta.htm> Accessed 2009.11.01

What was astounding at the May, 2008 fund raiser was that the significant majority of the over 150 people at the event in May, 2009 were Europeans (Whites), not Africans. At least 95 people were women, reflecting the fact that the major organizer of the event was a white, female business leader in Ottawa with many contacts. Another reason so many white people came was because the projects in East Africa for which the church had decided to raise funds were of interest to most female Christians: orphanages; housing for teen-age mothers and girls from poor homes; shelter, clothing and schooling for children on the streets of Nairobi. The middle and upper class Whites in the audience were clearly enthused by the cultural entertainment and participated in the singing and dancing around the room. They also contributed additional cash than their already significant contribution in paying for the fund raising dinner. Total net funds raised in the 2009 campaign was \$8,400 for projects in Uganda, Kenya and the Sudan, a great achievement for two congregations together of 100-120 people, nearly all born in East Africa, by no means wealthy, but whose goals were supported by the dominant culture.

#### **N. Values conflicts for East African-born Christians; ‘homosexuality’**

Theological divides between fundamentalist and more liberal Christians on the meaning of salvation, the assurance of eternal life, the understanding of Holy Scripture have always divided the global church. Pastor Joseph completed a Masters in Divinity at St. Paul’s University in Ottawa, a Catholic and ecumenical training program and understood the various lenses through which scripture could be interpreted. He knew that after many years in Canada, many of his congregants would understand that we all have to work out “our own salvation with fear and trembling” quoting Paul’s letter to the Philippians (2:12) and that the grace of God is individually expressed. But, in staying in this culture, in understanding its values, in understanding the ways are going, you begin to look at things with a very different point of view. (Kiirya, May 21, 2008)

Although Kiirya recognized that perspectives have to change in a new culture, his assistant pastor, John Waithaka voiced a quite other point of view in his sermon on April 22, 2008, repeating twice in a period of 5 minutes: The days are evil! ... Africans who come to this side are really in danger.” He appeared to be referring exclusively to same sex marriage, the Conservative government in power having indicated that month that they

would not challenge Charter rights granting same-sex couples equal rights to marriage under the law

Unfortunately for my research to some extent, the escalating numbers of deaths from AIDS in East Africa from the sexually transmitted human immunodeficiency virus, and the movement in the Anglican Communion in North America to publicly accept gays as bishops and to authorize same-sex marriage rites was extensively being discussed in the Church world-wide and in the popular media, especially in Africa during the time of my research, 2005-09. Culturally, religiously and perhaps politically, in terms of the church's competitive relationship with Islam and traditional religions, the African church was not ready for a debate on sexuality. My research was severely curtailed when most of my informants and the two congregations in which I was working discovered that I was gay, and married to another man, although at least the Sudanese also knew that I was active as a leader of St. John the Evangelist church as well as a high school teacher and university lecturer and were less negative toward me after the 'outing' as a gay man, some of their leadership having known since the beginning of my research.

In the next part of this chapter, I will then describe and analyze the meaning of the theological and cultural clashes from the HIV/AIDS crisis and gay rights, their current and possibly future ramifications for the future of the two Eastern African-focused congregations as they struggle with the impact of an evolving Canadian mainstream culture and church.

Although somewhat general statements, it can be said that dominant East African culture is extended family or kin-oriented. Without a universal health care and old age security system, in a society where women are not the main contributors to the financial economy, the commitment of fathers and their male children to the welfare of their families is central to survival. The Christian missionary message reinforced this understanding by its emphasis on (monogamous) marriage as a central rite. But in Canada, marriage rates have been steadily falling.<sup>117</sup> The fertility level per woman in Canada remains well below

---

<sup>117</sup> Statistics Canada. *Marriage*. January 17, 2007. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/070117/dq070117aeng.htm> Accessed January 10, 2010

the replacement level.<sup>118</sup> People in the dominant culture in Canada clearly make individual choices about life options, choices increasingly not dictated by religion or family.

However, in many of the sermons that I listened to in both the Sudanese New Ambassador church and Jordan (East African) community church, the preaching emphasis was often on affirming traditional values and understandings. “The body is lower; the life of the Spirit in Jesus is higher. Marriage is the way to God. There is no reason to think about relationships unless you are thinking of marriage.” (Kiirya preaching quotes, 2008)

In interviews, many expressed cultural traditional viewpoints. “It is impossible for a person not to get married. One has to continue the family line. ... If one does not marry, [one] cannot wield power. ... Boys can have no leadership roles without being married.” (Riek Akwok\*, July 14, 2008)

In the chapter on segmented assimilation, I analyzed the ways in which gender role reversals caused enormous conflict in traditionally patriarchal, Sudanese families. Pastor Kiirya told me that he spent a majority of his pastoral time counselling parents and couples that were having marital difficulties or were being challenged by their adolescents. In my report on a meeting with Pastor about six months after I began worshipping in his congregation, I summarized his thoughts as follows:

Pastor is very conscious of the fact that his role as nurturer of children and “cook, serving food to visitors” while his wife works, challenges the patriarchal culture of his birth, “underscored by a largely patriarchal Bible”. The Bible “sealed what we already [culturally] knew” about the inferior-superior nature of female-male relationships. The “gender role reversal” he personally exhibits is very difficult for many of his church members, particularly those who are less educated. (April 16, 2008, his actual words enclosed in quotation marks)

In his personal life, Kiirya exhibited what might be the now-dominant Canadian urban values of gender equality in completing home responsibilities of cooking, parenting and ‘bottle washer’. Kiirya really wanted a woman as assistant pastor to work with him. His congregation had several highly educated female members. The opposition to greater formal, female leadership came from the theological, fundamentalist members of the

---

<sup>118</sup> Statistics Canada. *Births*. September 22, 2009. <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/090922/dq090922b-eng.htm> Accessed January 10, 2010.

congregation, especially the assistant pastor, John Waithaka and his wife<sup>119</sup>. The issue of gay leaders in the church catalyzed the end of a 4 year relationship between John and Joseph.

By June 22, 2008, John Waithaka and other leaders in Jordan Community church congregation had discovered that I was gay, probably via a CV that I had left with Kiirya the week before or possibly via an Internet search, since Kiirya had already had two conversations with his church council about my doing research in the congregation. He had known of my sexual orientation since our first contact. I also know that Gordon Luaala had told Kiirya of my sexual orientation from my organizing of several national conferences to pressure the Anglican church of Canada to ordain gays and marry same-sex couples.

That Sunday, John Waithaka preached since Kiirya was out of town. As I had done at many previous services, I took notes of what was said. The theme of the sermon was that the devil was at work “to steal, to kill and to destroy” (John 10:10). There were “demonic forces in this world that are destroying our families”. John continued:

Africans who come to this side are really in danger. ...The God we know has changed. ...We are part of the school of the Holy Spirit, trying to understand the will of God. ... Books do not displace the revealed wisdom of God. How are we wise in the Kingdom of God? The God we know has not changed. (My sermon notes, June 22, 2008)

The fundamentalist sermon was an attack on the ways in which Canadian culture affected African families negatively. “If a man finds a good thing, [a wife], he takes care of it ... The devil “allow[s] our kids to sleep with girls even before marriage; before they are 16 ... If we discipline a child, the child calls 911. ... The system destroys our families ... too many immoral practices ... worldly enticements.” The tenor of the comments was not new, even including exactly the same sentiment, even the same words, that I had heard from Funda Dominic and even David Ochan\* during my interviews with them, also railing against the negative effects of Canadian culture on their families.<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>119</sup> John Waithaka holds a PhD in biology I believe from the University of Nairobi in Kenya and currently works for the federal government. His wife, Tabitha has a B.A. in theology from a college in Nairobi.

<sup>120</sup> See segmented assimilation chapter for more discussion of this topic

But I was still surprised at the intensity of John's preaching, so different from Joseph's. John's theology reflected what I call the boundary understanding of the Gospel in which Christians stand apart from this world and do not interact with it. Occasionally in the Sudanese church, I had heard similar preaching from fill-in lay Sudanese leaders like Isaac, but never from a prominent Christian leader. Part of John's context was a clear fear of the future, of people "dying from AIDS" of children "protected by evil systems ... that do not know who is the boss". Migrants want safe religious and cultural spaces, values maintenance to lessen the cultural shock of moving to a new culture.

At my request, Kiirya came to my home on June 30, 2008, ten days after this sermon, to discuss my presence in his congregation, during which he said the following:

100% of families in my congregation are interested in talking with you about the adaptation process to Canada. The issue of this research is that you are gay. ... There is a fear, an uncertainty about being gay, spiritually and culturally. The issue of homosexuality brings suspicion, doubt and fear. It is very difficult to come to terms with it. ... In Uganda, gays organized events, and "enticed young people into being gay". In our countries, it is so bad that people have been given "\$3,000 to be gay", not because they are gay.<sup>121</sup> ...The issue of this research is that if I do not handle it well, it will bring in many other issues, and will undermine trust, and can create doubt in my ministry. Parents are willing to leave their children with me, even their girls because they trust me.

Kiirya was expressing a perceived cultural and religious reality which was going to affect his ministry. Homosexuality ran counter to fundamental cultural realities and understood Christian theology in Africa. However, Kiirya was not willing to renege on his support of my research or deny my value as a Christian. Nevertheless, all my informants now knew that I was gay. Continued work with African Christian communities now became more difficult.

On July 31, 2008, a month after my being 'outed' in the African church communities, Joseph and I again had a 2-hour long conversation in my home. He began by

---

<sup>121</sup> Discussions about homosexuality have a very long history in Uganda, including as far back as first contacts with the English. On September 29, 2009, the government of Uganda introduced into its parliament a bill to "to protect the traditional family by prohibiting any form of sexual relations between persons of the same sex" with severe penalties for any caught doing so. <http://www.boxturtlebulletin.com/btb/wp-content/uploads/2009/10/Bill-No-18-Anti-Homosexuality-Bill-2009.pdf> Accessed 2009.11.01

telling me that there had been a 50% drop in church attendance that month. The charismatic youth leader, Daniel<sup>122</sup>, had left the congregation totally rejecting the possibility that the church could be open to a homosexual member. In the following transcript, Joseph is describing a very painful confrontation; one that I know tore his heart.

Look at someone like Daniel who has done so much. He comes. He is so vibrant. He is doing everything. He is impacting the choir, the youth. Everyone loves him. And he tells me that this is not a debatable issue, gone. He tells me that I'm out. Don't e-mail me. Don't even ask for a meeting with me. I'm out, I'm out ... because you're not looking out to protect my, our interests. You seem to be bent on what you think is good for us and you do not look at what we tell you is good for us, what we feel is helpful for us. *We need a place where we do not have to struggle with these issues. (my italics)*

There is probably nothing more damning for a pastor than to be told by a major leader in his congregation that “you’re not looking out to protect my, our interests”. Daniel had significantly improved the youth programming both for the Sudanese and the East Africans. The church in Canada for him and others should be a place where migrants are “safe”, protected from what they perceive as the negative aspects of the dominant culture. Is that possible?

Daniel dumped all his responsibilities within the church within one week, ostensibly because Kiirya was not willing to reject me as a gay. Pastor has not heard from him again. John Waithaka, his wife and several other financially important members left, including the deputy high commissioner for Uganda, Joseph Kahigwa. These men all told pastor that they did not want “Tony to have access to our young boys and girls” and that Pastor was “limited in his sight because his children were so young”. Everybody at Jordan Community Church, and the Sudanese at Ambassador church knew what had happened in reaction to my presence and involvement in the church as a gay man.

However, Pastor has continued to be involved in other work that I do. His letter to Peter Beyer formally offering his support of my research was sent on July 15, 2008, several weeks after this debacle in his church. He came to my dissertation colloquium in November, 2008. He lectured to my student in one of my university classes in February,

---

<sup>122</sup> Readers should be reminded that Daniel Kamau was student leader from Kenya, in Canada on an engineering graduate scholarship. He had no need to interact with Canadian culture.

2009 on the “role of immigrant churches in Canada” with the knowledge of both Jordan and New Ambassador churches to whom he announced this lecture publicly. On two occasions while preaching before the Sudanese at the Ambassador Church, Pastor Kiirya praised my commitment to my research and my interest in the future of the Sudanese Christina community.<sup>123</sup>

As a result of these incidents at Jordan community church in mid-2008, I have not noticed any greater negativity from the Sudanese, my having continued to worship at their evangelical church on several occasions since June, 2008. Perhaps over more than 7 years of being in and working with the South Sudanese community, they may have learned to trust me. A year later in June, 2009, recruiting by appointment for the young adult focus group, I was again welcomed into the homes of four of my female Sudanese informants. Mothers have encouraged their children to join my focus group. The only negativity is that Michael Soro, the administrator of the New Ambassador church has prevented me from talking about my research from the pulpit to his congregation, telling me in a phone conversation on April 10, 2009, that my speaking from the pulpit about the research would give it “the blessing of the church”. I have consciously not broached the subject of sexual orientation with my Sudanese informants since the happenings at Jordan church and continued to worship there occasionally and conducted extensive interviews with its adult members since the event at Jordan community church.

However, the issue of same-sex marriage in the Church and gay bishops was very much in the news in 2008-09. Nobody listening, reading or watching the secular media could avoid knowing about it. The Sudanese must have known what was happening at Jordan Community Church. On October 10, 2008, Isaac, a lay preacher whom I had met a few times informally gave a sermon based on 1: Timothy: 1-10 describing “church order”.<sup>124</sup> Isaac referred to God having destroyed the earth because of “perversion and the laws of Canada” being used improperly by the Devil, clear parallels to John Waithaka’s

---

<sup>123</sup> I should also note that Kiirya’s assistant pastor, John Waithaka and his wife, left Jordan Community church late in 2008 to join a more ‘fundamentalist’ congregation.

<sup>124</sup> The letters of Paul to Timothy were written at the beginning of Paul’s ministry when he clearly believed that the second coming of Christ was imminent. The language is therefore stark and judgemental.

sermon a few months earlier. According to Isaac, African cultures understand that same-sex marriage is not Christian.

There were a much larger number of Sudanese in the audience that Sunday in October that Isaac preached his sermon, because it was Thanksgiving Sunday and it was also Pastor Samuel Guli and his son James' last Sunday before their leaving for Kitchener where Pastor Samuel Guli had found a job. He was very much liked as a pastor, with a spiritual, soft approach in all his relationship with parishioners, including me. There was a lot of sadness that day, as well as much good food to celebrate Thanksgiving.

The sermon by Isaac was not well received, as assessed by one comment made to me by one informant, Riek Adwok\*. But more importantly, the poor quality of preaching meant that the average attendance at all the following services I attended in was 10.3 Sudanese adults, except when Kiirya was preaching or a calendar celebration, Christmas and Mothers' Day. There was significant criticism of Isaac's preaching as "uninformed" (Abraham, June 11, 2009). It is also possible that many women especially did not appreciate his quite paternal and negative approach to living in Canada.

Two Sundays after the controversy at Jordan Community Church, I was invited to have lunch with Beatrice Obama, a member of the Church and former senior United Nations official in Nairobi. We did not openly talk about what had happened at the church, since she had invited Kiirya and he did not come. Both Beatrice Obama and Mary Kange, the church's treasurer, both came to St. John the Evangelist Church on October 25, 2009. At the coffee hour after the service where they met me, they warmly invited me to come back to worship with them at Jordan Community Church.

The comment above raises the possibility again that many middle\upper class immigrant African women converge with the values of dominant Canadian society far more quickly than many, if not most men. This was a thesis of both of the previous chapters.

### ***O. Homosexuality as universal reality***

From the informal beginning of my research in 2002 and over the next 7 years, I was conscious that my being gay or sexual orientation might have a role in my research. I wrote a question about it as part of the interview script approved by the University's ethics review board. Universally, all my informants acknowledged that homosexuality existed in Sudan, but was not accepted. Alew Bwolo referred to homosexuals as "outcasts" and that

it only existed between “younger and older, submissive and dominant men”. (April 25, 2005) For Margaret Chol, homosexuality only exists “in the North” among Arabs; among Muslims in which “men go with men”. (October 8, 2005) For Riek Adwok (July 14, 2009), gays and lesbians have to leave his clan. Gays or lesbians only exist “underground”. An unmarried person “has no power”. A boy has no leadership role until he is married.

As mentioned and analyzed in chapter 1, Gordon Luala had always been aware of my sexual orientation and my involvement in the Anglican Church on this issue. I had never felt any discrimination from him or his family. His family with 4 children spent the day at my cottage in July 2006. He had encouraged my research during many conversations. His wife and daughter were encouraged to cooperate with me and did so concretely. However, there is a significant cultural (and religious) gap between Africans and many Canadians, even for an acculturated and human rights conscious man such as Gordon Luala.

For example, after a long evening interview with him and his wife Zeinab in their home on April 4 2005, focused principally on his community association’s role here and on how difficult it was to be a parent in Canada, he wondered if he could ask me a question. I obviously did not hesitate to say yes. He asked: “What would happen if all Canadians came out? Where would Canada get its future children?” I knew that the context of this question was that Gordon, as Anglican Synod delegate had been bombarded with briefing notes on the sexuality debate within the Anglican Church in Canada, and with news of major divisions around gay issues in the Anglican Communion. However, no one had explained to him that gays were a very small minority of the population, maximum 10%, but a politically active one in the church. Nor had he understood the cultural context of a society whose cultural emphasis was increasingly on the rights to individual expression and fulfillment without impinging on the rights of others. After at least an hour’s additional discussion, he understood some of what I had said, but his comment illustrated the enormous divide between even educated Africans and increasingly mainstream understandings on the nature of sexuality, and basic life purposes.

Nearly two years later after our initial conversation, on December 19, 2006, Gordon, his wife, Zeinab and I had a similar conversation in their kitchen about gay people in Canada. Zeinab by then seemed to have understood that there were a significant number

of gays in Canada, partly by talking to Gordon's cousin, Margaret Akur, who had recently opened a hairdressing studio. Zeinab was personally very supportive and had been so at several other places I had met her, including the Sudanese and Jordan revival meetings, and at other social events.

As I have mentioned earlier, most African women with whom I was in contact seemed to have accepted same-sex emotional and physical bonding. They are the ones most affected by HIV/AIDS in Africa. "Three-quarters of all Africans between the ages of 15 and 24 who are HIV-positive are women."<sup>125</sup> Women are far more vulnerable in patriarchal cultures than men. They also have to adapt faster to new situations, including to a Canadian culture, and its increasing acceptance of same-sex bonded relationships.

### ***P. HIV/AIDS***

The highest HIV infection rate and death from AIDS in the world is in the countries of East Africa, including Kenya and Uganda.<sup>126</sup> The virus carried by men has spread along the trade routes of the region, often disproportionately affecting women and children. The spread of the virus is clearly the result of "men's desire for increased extramarital sexual relations, their desire for large families, and increased attempts to expose women to pregnancy". (Jok, 198, p.19) The Church in Africa has not been particularly effective in the fight against HIV, partly because Christian theology has historically not had a sexual analysis as well as partly for traditionally cultural reasons, especially the lack of sexual choice for women. For traditional Christians, sexuality is only possible within monogamous marriage, a reasonable, if non-redactional interpretation of Holy Scripture.<sup>127</sup>

This interpretation of Scripture is bolstered by the perception, especially in times of stress, that sexuality is a "metaphor for survival ... always about the household and the society and their continuity." (Jok, 1989, p. 226) However, Kiirya and others in the Eastern African diaspora in Ottawa know that the spread of HIV is an issue among East

---

<sup>125</sup> From *Africa Renewal*, Vol.18 #3 (October 2004), page 6.

[http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/vol18no3/183women\\_aids.htm](http://www.un.org/ecosocdev/geninfo/afrec/vol18no3/183women_aids.htm) Accessed January 10, 2010.

<sup>126</sup> <http://www.avert.org/hiv-aids-africa.htm> Accessed 2009.11.01

<sup>127</sup> For example, cf. The Letter of the Hebrews, 13:4. Marriage is honourable; let us all keep it so, and the marriage-bond inviolate; for God's judgement will fall on fornicators and adulterers. (NEB))

Africans in Canada.<sup>128</sup> Kiirya had organized HIV discussions with his parishioners (Kiirya, March 10, 2008) and he was conscious of the impact of HIV on lives in his congregation.

One of the first sermons that I heard delivered by Kiirya on February 25, 2008 was on the letter of Paul to the Ephesians, chapter 6, versus 10-18. “Put on all the armour of God; ... fasten on the belt of truth; ... for coat of mail put on integrity” (NEB). Kiirya interpreted these verses as demanding public openness on life below the “belt”. He went on noting that “we” tend to guard the “secret aspects of our lives”, not considering what is below the waist, not “girding your loins with truth” (vs. 14). We do not talk about our “private lives”. We are “cosmetic Christians”. We should have a “shield of faith” which does not allow “darts” to enter, but we have to “pay the price for the prize”. In a subsequent service on March 16, 2008, Kiirya referred to the “morals in our societies” being poor. “We are spiritually poor, not integrating body, soul and spirit”.

During previous services (June 7, 2006; July 13, 2007)) led by Kiirya and others, there had been regular references to people ‘back home’ having died from AIDS , the importance of marriage as the way to God, there being no reason to “think about relationships unless you are thinking of marriage”. Kiirya participated in a HIV forum in Toronto organized by the African & Caribbean Council on HIV/AIDS in Ontario (ACCHO) on January 27, 2009.<sup>129</sup> However, according to Dr. Faduma Abdurahman, a

---

<sup>128</sup> This dissertation is focused exclusively on the Eastern African diaspora living in Ottawa. However, Kenyans and Ugandans here are very conscious of the ways in which HIV/AIDS has destroyed many families back home. A presentation on June 21, 2009 by Zaida Bastos, African program coordinator for the Anglican Church of Canada international development agency (PWRDF) speaks to both the effects of AIDS in the Kenya and Tanzania, as well as the necessary empowering of women. These are my notes, but she has edited and approved them for my use.

HIV/AIDS has devastated much of Eastern and Southern Africa. PWRDF has responded by working a lot with HIV-positive women and women in general, recognizing that it is largely their “battle” as “caregivers, burying the dead and raising children”. ... At times, the Church has not been the most progressive voice when speaking out of HIV/AIDS and sexuality. The role of PWRDF has been to encourage and fund programs that educate the population about HIV and sexuality in order to prevent the spread of the virus. Sometimes, priests that have been supportive of this approach have been ostracized from their own congregations, but there is a “network of supportive clergy that are courageously taking on the issue, speaking out from the pulpit, and are themselves HIV positive”. Women are the most active in the struggle to educate the population about HIV/AIDS. Institutional change to enable more education through the churches is happening, even though at a slower pace.

<sup>129</sup> <http://majimbokenya.com/home/2009/02/19/canadablack-churches-step-up-fight-against-hiv/>

counsellor with Ottawa's African-Caribbean Health Network<sup>130</sup>, there are currently no men involved in discussing and working on HIV-prevention strategies in Canada, despite men being the major carriers of the virus! It is the women who carry the future of their communities.

How the leadership of the African-rooted churches in Canada responds to the spread of the HIV virus, and the now politically entrenched rights of gays in all Canadian institutions, although the two topics are not necessarily connected, requires a more open discussion about sexuality in the Church generally. Such openness has begun to occur in mainstream churches in Canada, partly stimulated by the demands of the gay clergy leaders such as Bishop Gene Robinson<sup>131</sup> to be fully accepted by the Church, but also by an ever larger number of publications.<sup>132</sup> After all, the only contentious difference between a gay and straight person is their expression of sexuality. However, for African Christians, marriage between a man and a woman is the most central economic and cultural institution. Marriage binds extended families together. To conceive otherwise fundamentally undermines the culture and therefore the Church as one of a culture's religious expressions. The church, even in Canada, then has to condemn young adults in the congregation when they have no intention of staying together or don't know if they want to. (Kiirya sermon, May 26, 2008)

Kiirya fully recognizes the challenge of moving the Christian church from an understanding of marriage as bringing two extended families together to an understanding of the concept of a nuclear family and marriage between two individuals. The discussion on sexuality, HIV transmission, and homosexuality becomes an enormously complicated ball of wax intertwined with a history of a mission church in Africa which never addressed issues of sexuality except as the construct of heterosexual monogamy within marriage.

## **Q. Conclusion of chapter**

The church for Sudanese migrants has the potential to be a trusting community providing access to bonding social capital, supporting the process of adaptation to Canadian

---

<sup>130</sup> Informal conversation, St. John the Evangelist church, February 25, 2009

<sup>131</sup> Episcopal Bishop of New Hampshire elected as openly gay in 2008

<sup>132</sup> From an intercultural, Anglican/Episcopal perspective, the most helpful is probably that edited by (Bishop) Terry Brown (2006), reviewed in the literature review of this dissertation.

society. However, the reconstruction of religious identity requires a common language, a somewhat common history and traditions, and most importantly a qualified and ethnically trusted leadership to lead the transition into a new culture, while still helping migrants “get their [spiritual] grounding here” in a safe environment. (Kiirya, July 31, 2008) Arabic may be the only language available to all adult migrants from Southern Sudan, but as the language of the oppressor cannot be preferable to an ethnic language like Dinka spoken by the most well organized part of the South Sudanese-born community in Ottawa. Young adults, male Sudanese educated outside the Sudan, and Nuers only have English as a common language as do those who have been in Canada for a long time.

A ‘Sudanese’ church only has a future with continued streams of evangelical Sudanese coming to Ottawa for whom ethnic identity is not primary. Continued dominance by one ethnicity is problematic. An alternative to religious survival for the Christian Sudanese would be for them to join an East African church with effective leadership that encourages the membership of “non-co-ethnics” (Ebaugh and Chafetz, 2000, p. 460) such as Jordan community church with good human capital among its members, but perhaps therefore lacking enough social capital to enable bonding for new arrivals.

Effective leadership is probably the only way to mould diverse life stories and adaptation experiences into a vibrant religious community. A history of confronting Islam, a strong ethnic identity, differing histories and political foci, lack of a common language may make it practically impossible to find acceptable religious leadership for all the Sudanese. The religious adaptation process is even more complicated by the radical values challenges in a new culture. Even strong congregations such as the Jordan Community church cannot escape the emotionally draining and culturally challenging differences resulting from changing interpretations of the Bible and of life priorities informed by now culturally embedded understandings of gender equality and new understandings of the purposes of sexuality. The confluence of the devastating HIV/AIDS virus spread, killing so many through irresponsible sexual behaviour in East Africa, has come at the same time as the acceptance within denominational Christianity of sexual orientation as genetic and not chosen. All these developments undermine the understanding of marriage as the most fundamental East African cultural process, bringing together two extended families

economically and politically. The church has few responses to these changes but as an expression of culture wants to maintain traditional approaches.

In Canada's more individualized, sexual culture, how can African migrants find a safe, emotionally secure religious environment in which to worship and find community in trusted relationships sharing common values? How do churches provide that bonding social capital so necessary for emotional health? The answers are not obvious. Going back "home" to a greater cultural security is one option especially for men who are able. For others, it may be finding congregations with more fundamentalist values, setting clear boundaries with the dominant Canadian culture, using Holy Scripture for rule setting. Others, particularly the more educated, may engage the dominant society and elicit a dialogue between two cultures as have some African migrants in traditional Christian denominations like the Anglican Church. An example of such a leader would be the Reverend Dr. Isaac Kawuki-Mukasa, Coordinator for Dialogue for the Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto, and a former Ugandan priest. One of his responsibilities is to catalyze discussions between the Canadian and African Anglican dioceses on the nature of sexuality and faith among other topics. Joseph Kiirya also has the potential for a greater leadership role in such a dialogue.

The goal is to find spiritual depth in searching for a just and righteous God working in this fast changing world, rather than in the past. For refugees though, the goal may be to recapture the past, having left it unwillingly. The church can perhaps provide this "refuge" for a while, but for how long and under what conditions?

Women as mothers working with children growing up in Canada have to grab the future in order to parent. Mothers cannot afford to live in the past. Their children live in an interconnected, electronic media world fundamentally influenced by the dominant culture, particularly through peer groups. But what happens to men and fathers? Canadian culture and increasingly the Church challenge patriarchal hegemony and received understandings of 'God's' will. The role of a church for migrants which does not engage this culture is deeply problematic.

However, church leaders may be torn between two goals: supporting those male members who in a globalized world want to maintain traditional cultures, encouraged by frequent diasporic contacts, increasing rates of return to Eastern Africa for employment or

visits; supporting their family members and others who are starting a new life in Canada or who cannot or do not want to be part of a diaspora and who need support to adapt their values and lifestyle to a dominant new culture. Can both goals be achieved in one church by one leader?

### **Q. Questions for further research: the church for African migrants?**

The following are questions which flow from the above chapter which will be the focus for additional research that I wish to undertake. Comments are welcomed from all readers in order to refine these questions for further research and to help me set priorities.

1. What are the important values and cultural differences between being a Catholic and an Anglican in Juba, Sudan and in Ottawa, Canada? Does the Eucharist have the same meaning in both places? Other than language, what are other reasons that particular African ethnicities may need their own services? Does such a preference have a social class dimension? What aspects of an ethnic faith will always refer to the spaces of origin and traditional religious symbolisms and constructs? How does faith and practice travel between distant dominant cultures?
2. One of the theses of this dissertation is that some ethnic, agro-pastoral (formerly nomadic) cultures like the Dinkas may be stronger than others in situations of migration. What does this strength mean in their longer religious and cultural adaptation to Canada? How are traditional ethnic constructs expressed in Canada? Should Canadian culture enable the expression of immigrant traditional constructs, perhaps in the same way as active recognition is now given to aboriginal traditional religious traditions?
3. How will Christian and cultural leaders mediate value conflicts which will occur in the new cultural migration environment, for example around gender equality, understandings of sexuality, parent child relationships? What training can be provided to such leaders to increase their effectiveness?
4. In the course of this research, the global and national context of what was happening among the Sudanese and East Africans constantly surfaced. Members of both congregations studied in this research travelled often to go back to the Africa and/or in North America to see family members. They used cell phones and Skype

to talk to family members in the East Africa or in the diaspora every week if not more often. What are the implications of such a globalized world for the African-rooted church in Canada to support its members' adaptation to a new culture and culturally rooted theology? How does such regular communication make it difficult for the congregations to meet the needs of African migrants in Canada to minister to their needs in a radically different dominant cultural environment?

## Chapter 6: Conclusion - Maintained ethnic identity, gender roles and religious organization for the South Sudanese in Ottawa?

### A. *Review of dissertation focus*

In the introduction, I asked the following questions which I have tried to answer in the course of the last several hundred pages.

Referring to South Sudanese refugees' adaptation in Ottawa:

- a) What was the role of their ethnic identity? How was it maintained? Why or why not?
- b) How did gendered relationships change within families, for adults and for adolescents? How were these changes attenuated?
- c) Was racial discrimination a challenge in adapting to Ottawa? Why or why not?
- d) How did the South Sudanese express their Christian faith in Ottawa and what were the roles of the Church in their adaptation processes?
- e) How did the dominant individualism of Canadian culture affect the South Sudanese and their families coming from a more traditional society? What are possible solutions to resulting tensions?

This concluding chapter will summarize how each of the preceding three chapters with the lenses of social capital, segmented assimilation and the role of the organised church answered and tried to answer these five questions. I will end this concluding chapter with some additional questions for further research.

### B. **Ethnic identity and its role?**

From my research, it appears that only the Dinkas in Ottawa had the critical mass, the links to the Sudan and to the Sudanese diaspora, the cultural capital in building on the importance of their language, music and history as well as the required leadership to enable enough social capital as the basis of a viable community. The Dinkas in Ottawa consequently did not need to work with any other Sudanese-born group. Dinkas have historically and politically been the dominant ethnic group in the Southern Sudan and wished to maintain that dominance if possible in a new culture, although this dominance created tensions with members of other ethnic groups.

It has been argued in this dissertation that the maintenance of ethnic identity such as being Dinka is important to all immigrants with a lot of cultural capital to motivate first language learning, separate ethnic homogeneous organizations including churches, ethnic programming and events. Such maintenance may be particularly important for refugees who continue to conceive of and may actualize their return to the Sudan. Relationships with other extended family members are central to cultural and family continuity and for spiritual and emotional health.

The viability of ethnic maintenance in Canada is however nearly totally dependent on three factors to different degrees: a critical mass of people speaking the first language in a particular place; the possibility and motivation to remain in contact across space with other Dinkas; the essential role of effective, respected ethnic and religious leaders. Enough members of an ethnic community association and politically astute leader or leaders are required to access funding from different levels of government for programming first language classes and recreational programs, but also to pay rents and costs to run an ethnic association. The Dinka-speaking refugee population in Ottawa was initially large enough in a second tier immigrant city like Ottawa to form an enduring ethnic organization, but decreasingly so, particularly in the context of their male, refugee leadership returning to the Sudan. Other options are not clear.

However, the social capital framework does show that group solidarity, solidified by first language use and political power, may be effective in achieving group goals, but often at the expense of some hostility to out-groups such as other ethnicities.

### **C. Gendered lives?**

The dissertation has tried to show that the adaptation of nearly all the South Sudanese is gendered. Historically in a patriarchal society women were considered as similar to property with few rights. However under war time conditions and general economic and social instability, women in the Sudan before coming to Canada had taken on different roles with more responsibility. These changes in gender roles in the Sudan were accelerated in the somewhat gender equalized culture dominant in Canada. Immigrant women from the Global South generally have greater power in Canada than in countries of origin. The result for the South Sudanese was gender role changes causing significant

tensions with husbands and fathers. Sudanese women appeared to converge more quickly with dominant Canadian culture than men.

The segmented assimilation approach to the adaptation of the South Sudanese community in chapter 4 showed that it may not be very useful to talk about a refugee community, when gendered, peer, age-based, religious faith and ethnic groupings undermine the cohesion of such a 'community'. One of the hypotheses is that when ethnic grouping is not possible, due to a lack of leadership and lacking a critical mass of members, other options for grouping by members of smaller ethnic groups may be joining the dominantly female non-Dinka church, other gendered, peer or racial groupings.

All three chapters of this dissertation addressed the realities that the two genders in their older and younger forms among the Sudanese in Canada adapt segmentally. Women as mothers with a strong community network and as the majority of church members may have more social capital than many men who tend to be marginalized in Canada unless they can find well-paying or socially recognized positions of influence in order to regain their power status.

The experience of young adults coming to Canada from patriarchal cultures will often be gendered, girls being more constrained by their culture and family contexts than boys who have greater freedom to live outside the home than girls. Girls are far more present than boys in the home and in the church. For many cultural and economic reasons, girls tend to be more socially stable and often do better in school than boys. Young adults are totally aware of the cultural tensions between the culture of origin which the parents want to maintain and the freedom and equality offered young adults in Canada. First language use and culturally-rooted music performance are some of the meeting grounds between migrant adults and their parents. Respected ethnic and religiously-rooted adults mediating between young adults and parents may solve some generational and cultural challenges.

#### ***D. Racial discrimination?***

Because of their being Black, the Sudanese in Ottawa are continuing the racial transformation of the city. As demonstrated in the social capital chapter, the South Sudanese have tended to associate together to celebrate common calendar events and to

focus politically on developments in the Sudan. There appears to be no sharing with Blacks from other countries.

This dissertation has suggested that first wave Sudanese refugees will not experience racial discrimination in Ottawa partly because most will have enough cultural and human capital which enabled them to resist the racism that underlies Sudanese politics. In theory, the Christian Sudanese access to ‘White’ people in mainstream churches may give them the social capital needed to combat possible racism. However, continued resistance to possible racism will also require that the South Sudanese have recognized organizations and representative leadership to interface with other populations in order to have a political presence. In a small city, the Sudanese voice may not be heard without such leadership.

I have also argued that Black immigration to Ottawa is significantly different than immigration to Toronto where racism against Blacks appears to be a reality. Black immigration to Ottawa is recent with a majority coming from Africa, in contrast to Black immigration to Toronto being dominantly from the Caribbean with very different histories. South Sudanese have no experience of being subjugated by Whites.

### *E. The Church for the South Sudanese, and other East African Christians?*

Historically the Black church with effective leadership has been a crucial mainstay and political instrument for Black Christians in North America, particularly in past eras of more explicit discrimination. Existing churches tend to be culturally homogeneous. Chapter 5 on the Church for the South Sudanese suggests that intercultural parishes are perhaps not possible, but leaves unanswered how bridging capital within an episcopal structure such as a Catholic or Anglican diocese could enable linking capital, effective fellowship between perhaps differently visible parishes with varying cultural expressions. Free flowing evangelical traditions with greater emphasis on participatory music and cultural forms appear to be more attractive to African migrants than liturgically bound Christian traditions. However, such churches are not helpful for migrants adopting ‘clock time’ as central to the dominant culture.

The African church is generally led by men, and the Bible is seen to enforce patriarchy. In the adaptation process to Canada, only effective leaders with intercultural understandings and mediation skills, as well as those with theological and scriptural depth,

will be able to support the Sudanese-born in their inevitable adaptation to the more gender equal Canadian society. Joseph Kiirya as pastor spent considerable time mediating family differences, significantly those generated by changed gender roles. This dissertation has suggested the importance of mainstream Canadian society supporting the family and cultural mediation efforts of religious and ethnic leaders able to arbitrate value conflicts between those from the dominant and from the immigrant cultures. However, In-Sudan and in-Canada as well as in-diaspora bonding social capital means that arbitration around changing gender roles and values influenced by dominant Canadian society is very difficult.

Much of the literature on immigration and religion documents the difficulty of negotiating between religious and ethnic identities and the tendency for churches to be ethnically homogeneous. The Sudanese clearly had difficulties in finding a common language to bond their community, whether English, Arabic or an ethnic language. Language is the carrier of faith and community. Maintaining harmony and a cohesiveness in the Sudanese church with ethnic and linguistic differences became even more difficult without effective leaders.

It was possible for some educated South Sudanese who understood fluent English to join a charismatic church with compatible ethnic leadership. Segmented assimilation theory would suggest that such an option was available to those Sudanese of a middle/upper class background with considerable agency, perhaps the majority of first wave refugees. Such a church with effective leadership may also be able to mediate values conflicts that inevitably surface in new cultural environments.

It may also be that Christian faith for many Sudanese does not transfer to Canada. Religious faith is forged in a religious and cultural environment where religious boundaries are keys to survival. Nearly all people in Sudan are religious. Religious identity as a Muslim, Christian or traditional believer always together with one's ethnic identity are the labels with which one is defined in the Sudan. In Canada's individualistic, secular culture, being Christian does not impose any requirements. What then becomes the meaning of being a Christian, other than getting together for social and cultural reasons once a week or less, unless one has a deep, conversion-like experience and a consequent committed faith? In a small community like the Sudanese in Ottawa, a church with such a profile probably

has no viable future. This dissertation began an exploration of options through other 'African' churches, linguistically, culturally or social class defined.

#### *F. Values conflicts?*

One of the goals of an ethnic community and of an immigrant church is to affirm common values, to provide a 'haven' from the surrounding culture. Such an ethnic, religious environment may be possible with a critical mass and viable organizations in which life in private is dominantly ethnic. There are too few Sudanese in Ottawa, and the community is too divided ethnically and religiously to provide such organizations. As well, in the multitude of daily interactions with the dominant society, through work and children at school, through church and social systems, through media and education, the Sudanese and other East Africans became aware of the individualism of Canadian dominant culture.

Earlier, I have already written extensively about gender role tensions which cannot be solved without community-based mediation efforts. Similar efforts should also apply to mediating parent-adolescent values expectations. Marriage expectations and processes leading to marriage are culturally very clear, but difficult to maintain for young adults not rooted in their cultures of origin in the Sudan. The possibility of being gay as normative and not getting married is a new cultural construct for the Sudanese, and perhaps even more so within a historically-rooted church. Again the dissertation has suggested the importance of there being program relationships between respected immigrant religious and ethnic leaders who can speak with authority in interactions with dominant Canadian culture. It would be irresponsible for Canada to welcome so many refugees and immigrants from other cultures without anticipating values conflicts and putting in place mediation processes to attenuate destructive tensions, damaging the communities and people whom the country has welcomed.

Unfortunately, my 'discovered' identity as a gay man raised significant tensions with my interviewees and within the Christian and ethnic communities in which I was participating. In the context of the very high level of HIV largely sexually transmitted male infection in Eastern Africa, resulting in many deaths, and the highly emotional and politicized debate focused on the rights of gays, a debate formulated in neo-colonial terms by nations like Malawi, Kenya and Uganda, African refugee communities are not ready for an open discussion on the rights of gays, especially in the Church. Their openness is also

not made easier by a narrow reading of Holy Scriptures, interpreted largely through a missionary transmitted faith. The worry is that African migrants to Canada are poorly prepared to work and live in a culture which emphasizes the equality of all human beings, male and female, white and black, gay and straight.

### G. Further research questions

1. In chapter 3, there was reference to the apparent fact that tensions between Sudanese ethnic groups in Ottawa were greater than in other cities in Ontario. There is no doubt that ethnic competition for resources and political power in the Sudan will always transfer to some extent to a new environment. What is the experience of Sudanese negotiating ethnic differences for effective adaptation in other Canadian and perhaps American cities of comparable size to Ottawa? In particular, does the Dinka (or Nuer) transfer of dominance in Southern Sudan over other ethnicities also transfer to other cities? What models are there for enabling inter-ethnic cooperation among the Sudanese? The postscript to this dissertation begins to provide some answers to these questions.
2. The Canadian government is beginning to recognize the need to support second tier cities like Ottawa which have more limited experience with racial, cultural and religious diversity than more major urban centres like Toronto.<sup>133</sup> To what extent are religious and ethnic organizations a barrier to social cohesion or are they and their leadership a significant part of the capacity of any community to welcome newcomers to a second tier city?
3. Recognizing the probable inevitability of gender role conflicts in immigrant populations from patriarchal cultures, what cooperative education and mediation programs are effective in the Global North to decrease gendered tensions in migrant families? What training for social workers and other family intervenors can be provided to ease cultural transitions for immigrant families?
4. Canadian society itself is struggling with the possible need for gendered public schooling, recognizing the different socialization and learning needs of male and

---

<sup>133</sup> [http://atwork.settlement.org/sys/atwork\\_library\\_detail.asp?doc\\_id=1004478](http://atwork.settlement.org/sys/atwork_library_detail.asp?doc_id=1004478) Accessed January 9, 2010. The first planning meeting for an Ottawa local immigration partnership was held on December 11, 2008.

female students in high schools. Given the generally different gendered experiences of Sudanese-born young adults, how can schools in Canada recognize these differences? What are the advantages and disadvantages of male and female separate education for immigrants from patriarchal cultures?

5. Germane to the chapter on the Church and the Sudanese, what models exist in global north countries for supporting the religious and spiritual adaptation of migrants from Africa? How are skilled leaders, elders and pastors found and trained to support the migrant adaptation process? How have these leaders mediated the values conflicts that arise from living in a culturally different dominant environment? What are the range of possibilities that have been developed for cooperation between existing churches and new migrant community arrivals? How does a religious immigrant community, rooted elsewhere, mark liminal spaces, birth, marriage, illness and death, ritually and spiritually? Where and how does such an ethnic community find culturally rooted religious community leaders and elders, but with deep understandings of the host culture?
6. What are the relationships between denominational identities in missionary influenced denominations and those identities in a new cultural environment? Is liturgically focused Christianity in its Anglican and Catholic 'White' forms culturally accessible to African Christians?
7. The rights of gays and lesbians within Canadian culture are now enshrined in law and increasingly in the Church and its theology through the Anglican and United Church of Canada. The result appears to be a cultural and theological cleavage between dominant Canadian culture, including its churches, and African culturally rooted and missionary influenced churches. How does this cleavage get mediated, particularly between the immigrant-based and mainstream churches in Canada? What institutional framework will allow this mediation?
8. Finally, this research did not consider the second wave of Sudanese, often those sponsored to Canada by their relatives who came here as the first wave of refugees with considerable human capital. Referring to the Somali refugee experience, this second wave of refugees will have far less human capital and will consequently have far greater challenges in adapting to Canada. The adaptation challenges of this

second wave of sponsored immigrants from East Africa will be practically unsolvable if the leadership of first refugee wave is not supported in establishing the required organizations,, language specific ethnocultural communities and churches, needed to support adaptation of a second wave immigration to Canada from a refugee producing country like the Sudan and prevent second wave poorer and less educated immigrants become part of an underclass, divergence in segmented assimilation terms?

This dissertation is a work in progress. Many other questions come to mind.

## Postscript – Initial glimpses of South Sudanese refugees in other second-tier Canadian cities

From the preceding research results and analysis of South Sudanese Christians in Ottawa, a tentative conclusion is that the community was too ethnically and religiously divided to form and maintain viable church and community structures. Dinkas have tended to dominate ethnically and politically. There were not enough evangelical Sudanese to form their own church, particularly without effective leadership and having to operate in Arabic and English. Ottawa, as Canada's capital attracts more politically active men who want to maintain strong links to the Canadian government and invest considerable energy in the political future of Southern Sudan. Gendered and generational challenges may be greater in Ottawa without effective Sudanese-related community and religious leadership, too many of whom have returned to the Sudan.

The South Sudanese experience in other cities may be quite different. According to conversations after the writing of this dissertation, with Aurelio Madut Danto on May 12, 2010,<sup>134</sup> the Sudanese community in Winnipeg is very unified and has bought its own building to serve community needs, including that of a church headed by a Dinka-speaking pastor. This South Sudanese unity is also reported by a 2005 report from the University of Winnipeg entitled *Scoping the role of Canadian Diaspora in global diplomacy and policy making*<sup>135</sup> and more prominently in a report issued by the Mosaic Institute (2009)<sup>136</sup> *Profile of a community: a "smart map" of the Sudanese diaspora in Canada* prepared for the Sudan Task Force, Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT)<sup>137</sup>.

---

<sup>134</sup> Settlement officer, Manitoba Interfaith Immigration Council, Winnipeg

<sup>135</sup> Walter and Duncan Gordon Foundation, Global College, University of Winnipeg (2005). *Scoping the role of Canadian diaspora in global diplomacy and policy making*.

[http://www.gordonfn.org/resfiles/Scoping\\_Role\\_Canadian\\_Diaspora.pdf](http://www.gordonfn.org/resfiles/Scoping_Role_Canadian_Diaspora.pdf) pp. 31-33 Retrieved June 5, 2010

<sup>136</sup> The Mosaic institute in Toronto is interested in how immigrant populations in Canada can be effective parts of Canadian foreign policy implementation

<sup>137</sup> The Mosaic Institute, Toronto, (2009). *Profile of a community: a "smart map" of the Sudanese diaspora in Canada*. [http://www.mosaicinstitute.ca/uploaded/tiny\\_mce/File/Sudanese\\_Report.pdf](http://www.mosaicinstitute.ca/uploaded/tiny_mce/File/Sudanese_Report.pdf) (2009) pgs. 37-38. Retrieved June 4, 2010. This report also has analyses of varying depths on the Sudanese communities and their possible contribution to Canada's foreign policy in Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, Kitchener, Calgary and Edmonton, although the greatest depth of attention is given to Winnipeg, given that city's apparently uniquely unified South Sudanese community.

A similar Sudanese community unity is reported by this Mosaic Institute study in Hamilton where the Sudanese broadcast their own radio program and have cooperated in delivering settlement services.<sup>138</sup> Part of the reason for this unity may be that in 2005, the Sudanese community in Hamilton had a larger number of family sponsored and landed in Canada refugees than any other city in Ontario, and possibly in Canada.<sup>139</sup>

As remarked in the footnote, the Mosaic report referred to earlier also has a section on Calgary which seems to have the second largest Sudanese communities in Canada. To quote this report:

The most active Sudanese association providing support to the community is the African Sudanese Association of Calgary (ASAC) which serves both southerners and northerners. In addition, there are a number of smaller, tribally-focused organizations with very few resources and extremely limited organizational infrastructures, including a Darfur association, a Nuer association, and a Dinka association. There are some other sub-group-specific community associations, such as the Calgary Sudanese Family Integration Centre, which primarily serves the female members of the community. Many Southern Sudanese in Calgary are very active members in a chapter of the SPLM, and they support the government of southern Sudan (GOSS) in several ways. These include funding or participating in various peace building initiatives and post conflict construction projects across southern Sudan.<sup>140</sup>

The reference to the Calgary Sudanese Family Integration Centre working primarily with female members of the community is supported by information provided by Rob Bray, senior settlement officer with this organization.<sup>141</sup> He also reported on 5-6 Sudanese organization in Calgary “fractured by religious and ethnic differences”, but his working primarily with The African Sudanese Association of Calgary and through women’s organizations.

Hypotheses for apparent differences between these other second-tier Canadian cities, such as Hamilton, Winnipeg and Calgary with my research in Ottawa documented by

---

<sup>138</sup> Mosaic Institute report (2009), p. 39

<sup>139</sup> Culture, Community and Health Studies Program, Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, Department of Psychiatry, University of Toronto, (May 28, 2004). *The study of Sudanese settlement in Ontario —Final report*. Toronto: Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, University of Toronto. Retrieved from: [http://atwork.settlement.org/downloads/atwork/Study\\_of\\_Sudanese\\_Settlement\\_in\\_Ontario.pdf](http://atwork.settlement.org/downloads/atwork/Study_of_Sudanese_Settlement_in_Ontario.pdf) Retrieved June 16, 2005. P. 72

<sup>140</sup> Mosaic Institute report, p. 22

<sup>141</sup> Personal conversation, Canadian Council of Refugees consultation, Ottawa, June 5, 2010

this study may include factors such as: the more politicized nature of the Sudanese in Ottawa and their resulting more overwhelming focus on the Sudan itself and eventual return; smaller overall numbers; the greater mobility of Sudanese in Ottawa moving to other centres with better employment prospects or to live closer to other family members; greater number of female leaders. The above analyses of the Sudanese communities in other cities also do not refer to the roles of churches in the adaptation process, the most significant topic of the preceding study.

## Bibliography

- Abdulle, Mohamoud H. (2000). *Somali immigrants in Ottawa: The causes of their migration and the challenges of resettling in Canada*. (Master's thesis). ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (AAT MQ48122).
- Abusharaf, R. M. (2002). *Wanderings: Sudanese migrants and exiles in North America*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- Ajrouch, K. J. (2004). Gender, race, and symbolic boundaries: Contested spaces of identity among Arab American adolescents. *Sociological Perspectives*, 47(4), 371-391.
- Akwuei, Stephanie I. Riak. (2005). Singing about civil wars, injustice and displacement: a look at contemporary Dinka songs and their travel. Unpublished. Presented and discussed at the Sudan conference, York University, June 18-21, 2005.
- Alba, R. D., Raboteau, A. J., DeWind, J., & Social Science Research Council. (2009). *Immigration and religion in America: Comparative and historical perspectives*. New York: New York University Press.
- Alexander, K., & Glaze, A. (1996). *Towards freedom: The African-Canadian experience*. Toronto: Umbrella Press.
- Anderson, Benedict. (1991). *Imagined communities – Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anisef, P., & Kilbride, K. M. (2003). *Managing two worlds: the experiences and concerns of immigrant youth in Ontario*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.
- Appadurai, A. (1995). *Modernity at Large – Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. University of Minnesota Press, 1996
- Ashworth, M. (1975). *Immigrant children and Canadian schools*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Bader, V. (1997). *Citizenship and Exclusion*. New York: St, Martin's Press.
- Bannerji, H. (2000). *The dark side of the nation: Essays on multiculturalism, nationalism and gender*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Banting, K., & Courchesne, T. (2007). *Conclusion: Belonging, diversity and shared citizenship*. Ottawa: Policy Research Institute. (647-709)  
<http://www.irpp.org/fasttrak/index.htm> Accessed on January 10, 2010

- Bariagaber, A. (2006). *Conflict and the refugee experience: Flight, exile, and repatriation in the horn of Africa*. Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate.
- Barth, F. (1969). *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Bediako, Kwame (1995). *Christianity in Africa: the renewal of a non-Western religion*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.
- Belanger, Yale. (2003) Urban Aboriginal youth in Winnipeg: Culture and identity formation in cities. Winnipeg: Canadian Heritage.  
[http://www.usask.ca/politic/downloads/cv\\_belanger.pdf](http://www.usask.ca/politic/downloads/cv_belanger.pdf). Accessed October 17, 2007
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, 46(1), 5-34.
- Beswick, S. (2000) War, women and leadership in the Sudan (1700-1994). In J. Spaulding & Stephanie Beswick, *White Nile, Black blood: War, leadership, and ethnicity from Khartoum to Kampala* (p. 93-112). Lawrenceville, NJ, Asmara, Eritrea: The Red Sea Press.
- Beyer, P. (2006). Religious vitality in Canada: The complementarity of religious market and secularization perspectives. In L. G. Beaman (Ed.), *Religion and Canadian society: Traditions, transitions, and innovations* (p. 71-92). Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Beyer, P. (2006). *Religions in global society*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Bibby, R. W. (2002). *Restless gods: the renaissance of religion in Canada*. Toronto: Stoddart.
- Boddy, J.P. (1995). Managing Tradition: "Superstition" and the Making of National Identity among Sudanese Women Refugees. In W. James (Ed.), *The Pursuit of Certainty: Religious and Cultural Formulations*. (p. 17-44). New York: Routledge.
- Boddy, J. P. (2007). *Civilizing women: British crusades in colonial Sudan*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Bodley, John H. (2005). *Cultural anthropology: tribes, states and the global system*. (Fourth edition). New York: McGraw-Hill
- Bok, F., & Tivnan, E. (2003). *Escape from slavery: The true story of my ten years in captivity--and my journey to freedom in America*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (2002; 1998) *La domination masculine*. Paris : Éditions du Seuil

- Boyd, M. (2002). Educational attainments of immigrant offspring: Success or segmented assimilation? *International Migration Review* 36(4), 1038-1060.
- Brathwaite, Karen S. & James, Carl (1996). *Educating African Canadians*. Toronto: James Lorimer and Co.
- Bramadat, P., & Biles, J. (2005). Introduction to the special issue: The re-emergence of religion in international public discourse. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 6(2), 171-176.
- Bramadat, P., & Seljak, D. (2005). *Religion and ethnicity in Canada*. Toronto: Pearson Longman.
- Bramadat, P., & Seljak, D. (2008a). *Christianity and ethnicity in Canada*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Bramadat, P. (2008b). Oral presentation at the Canadian Society for the Study of Religion annual conference. Vancouver: University of British Columbia, June 2, 2008.
- Breton, R. (1990). *Ethnic identity and equality: Varieties of experience in a Canadian city*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Brown, Terry, ed. (2006). *Other voices, other worlds: the global church speaks out on homosexuality*. New York: Church Publishing, Inc.
- Brubaker, R. (2004). *Ethnicity without groups*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Caiazza, A., & Gault, B. (2006). Acting from the heart: Values, social capital, and women's involvement in interfaith and environmental organizations. In E. Gidengil, & B. O'Neill (Eds.), *Gender and social capital* (p. 99-126). New York: Routledge.
- Castellano, Marlene Brant (2000). Updating Aboriginal Traditions of Knowledge. In G. Rosenberg (Eds.), *Indigenous Knowledges in Global Context* (p. 24-36). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Carter, P. L. (2003). "Black" cultural capital, status positioning, and schooling conflicts for low-income African American youth. *Social Problems*, 50(1), 136-155.
- Castles, Stephen (2000). *Ethnicity and globalization: from migrant worker to transnational citizen*. London: Sage Publications.
- Charmaz, K. (2006). *Constructing grounded theory: A practical guide through qualitative analysis*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.

- Clarke, P. B. (2006). *New religions in global perspective: A study of religious change in the modern world*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Codjoe, H. M. (2001). Fighting a 'public enemy' of black academic Achievement—the persistence of racism and the schooling experiences of black students in Canada. *Race, Ethnicity & Education*, 4(4), 343-375.
- Cohen, Robin. (1997). *Global Diasporas: an introduction*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Cone, James H. (1969). *Black theology and black power*. New York: Seabury Press.
- Cone, James, H. (1972). *The Spirituals and the Blues: an interpretation*. New York: Seabury Press.
- Corten, A., & Marshall-Fratani, R. (2001). *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Creese, G., & Kambere, E. N. (2003). What colour is your English? *Canadian Journal of Sociology and Anthropology*, 4(5), 563-573.
- Darnell, Regna et al. (2005). Nomadic Legacies and Urban Algonquian Residence. In H.C. Wolfart, (Ed.), *Papers of the 36<sup>th</sup> Algonquian Conference (173-186)*. Winnipeg, University of Manitoba.
- Dei, G. J. S. (1997). *Reconstructing 'drop-out': A critical ethnography of the dynamics of black students' disengagement from school*. Toronto: Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.
- Dei, G. J. S. (1998). "Why write back?" The role of afrocentric discourse in social change. *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue Canadienne de l'Éducation*, 23(2), 200-208.
- Dei, G. J. S. (2004). *Schooling and education in Africa: the case of Ghana*. Trenton, N. J.: Africa World Press.
- Dei, G. J. S. (2007). Speaking race: silence, salience, and the politics of anti-racist scholarship. In S. P. Hier & B. S. Bolaria (Eds.), *Race and racism in 21st century Canada (53-66)*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.
- Deng, F. M. (1971). *Tradition and modernization; a challenge for law among the Dinka of the Sudan*. Foreword by Harold D. Lasswell. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Deng, F. M. (1978). *Africans of two worlds: the Dinkas in Afro-Arab Sudan*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.

- Deng, F.M. (2009). *The man called Deng Majok: a biography of power, polygyny and change*. Lawrenceville, NJ, and Asmara, Eritrea: The Red Sea Press.
- DeVoretz, D. J., Beiser, M., Pivnenko, S., Research on Immigration and Integration in the Metropolis, & Vancouver Centre of Excellence. (2004). *The economic experiences of refugees in Canada*. Burnaby, B.C.: Vancouver Centre for Excellence.
- Dinka. (2009). In Encyclopædia Britannica. Retrieved December 10, 2009, from Encyclopædia Britannica Online: <http://search.eb.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/eb/article-9030507>
- Driedger, L., & Halli, S. S. (2000). *Race and racism: Canada's challenge*. Montreal: Published for Carleton University by McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Dua, E. (2007). Exploring articulations of "race" and gender. In S. H. Bolaria, & S. P. Hier (Eds.), *Race and racism in 21st century Canada: Continuity, complexity and change (175-196)*. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.
- Duncan, C. B. (2008). *This spot of ground: Spiritual Baptists in Toronto*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Ebaugh, H. R. F., & Chafetz, J. S. (2000). *Religion and the new immigrants: Continuities and adaptations in immigrant congregations*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Edward, J. K. (2007). *Sudanese women refugees: Transformations and future imaginings*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Eid, P. (2007). *Being Arab: Ethnic and religious identity building among second generation youth in Montreal*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Eliade, M. (2004; 1964). *Shamanism: Archaic techniques of ecstasy*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Epprecht, M. (2004). *Hungochani: the history of a dissident sexuality in southern Africa*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Essien, K., & Falola, T. (2009). *Culture and customs of Sudan*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1956). *Nuer religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (1973). *Kinship and marriage among the Nuer*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Feliciano, C. (2006). *Unequal origins: Immigrant selection and the education of the second generation*. New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC.

- Feliciano, C., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2005). Gendered paths: Educational and occupational expectations and outcomes among adult children of immigrants. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(6), 1087-1118.
- Field, J. (2003). *Social capital*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Foner, N., Rumbaut, R. G., & Gold, S. J. (2000). *Immigration research for a new century: Multidisciplinary perspectives*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Forman, M. (2002). "Keeping it real"? African youth identities and hip hop. *Critical Studies*, 19(1), 101-131.
- Foster, C. (1996). *A place called heaven: The meaning of being black in Canada*. (1st ed.). Toronto: HarperCollins.
- Foster, C. (2002). *Blackness and Canada: A phenomenological exploration*. Unpublished Ph.D., York University, Canada. Retrieved from Proquest ID: 76519 database. (AAT NQ76025)
- Fukuyama, F. (2001). Social capital, civil society and development. *Third World Quarterly*, 22(1), 7-20.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures; selected essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gilroy, P. (1993). *The black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Gilroy, P. (2000). *Against race: Imagining political culture beyond the color line*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Gilroy, P. (2005). *Postcolonial melancholia*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Glazer, N., & Moynihan, D. P. (1971). *Beyond the melting pot; the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press.
- Gordon, M. M., & ebrary, I. (1964). *Assimilation in American life*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Grossman, J., & Raboteau, A. J. (2009). Black migration, religion and civic life. In R. Alba, A.J. Raboteau & J. DeWind (Eds.), *Immigration and religion in American life: Comparative and historical perspectives* (304-318). New York: New York University Press.
- Guenther, Bruce L. (2008a). Ethnicity and Evangelical Protestants in Canada. In Paul Bramadat David Seljak (Ed.). *Christianity and Ethnicity in Canada*. University of Toronto Press

- Guenther, Bruce L. (2009 b). Oral presentation by Bruce Guenther at the Canadian society for religion annual conference, University of British Columbia, June 2, 2008.
- Hajdukowski-Ahmed, M., Khanlou, N., & Moussa, H. (2008). *Not born a refugee woman: Contesting identities, rethinking practices*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Handlin, O. (1951). *The uprooted; the epic story of the great migrations that made the American people*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap.
- Harris, J. E. (1993). *Global dimensions of the African Diaspora* (2nd ed.). Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press.
- Henry, F., & Tator, C. (2006). *The colour of democracy: Racism in Canadian society* (3rd ed.). Toronto: Thomson/Nelson.
- Herberg, E. N. (1989). *Ethnic groups in Canada: Adaptations and transitions*. Scarborough, Ont.: Nelson Canada.
- Herberg, W. (1960; 1955). *Protestant, Catholic, Jew: An essay in American religious sociology* (new, completely revised.). Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books.
- Hier, Searn P & B. Singh Bolaria, eds. (2007). *Race and Racism in 21<sup>st</sup> century Canada: continuity, complexity, and change*. Broadview Press.
- Hirschman, C. (2001). The educational enrollment of immigrant youth: a test of the segmented assimilation hypothesis. *Democracy*, 38(3), 317-336.
- Hoad, N. (2007). *African intimacies: Race, homosexuality and globalization*. Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Holtzman, J. (2000a). Dialing 911 in Nuer: Gender transformations and domestic violence in a Midwestern Sudanese refugee community. In N. Foner, & Rumbaut, Rubén G. Steven J. Gold (Eds.), *Immigration research for a new century* (390-408). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Holtzman, J. (2000b). *Nuer journeys, Nuer lives: Sudanese refugees in Minnesota*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Ibrahim, A. (2004). One is not born black: Becoming and the phenomon(ology) of race. *Philosophical Studies in Education*, 35, 77-87.
- Ibrahim, A. (2008). The new flaneur: Subaltern cultural studies, African youth in Canada and the semiology of in-betweenness. *Cultural Studies*, 22(2), 234-253.
- Isajiw, W. W. (1999). *Understanding diversity: Ethnicity and race in the Canadian context*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Pub.

- Johnson, D. H. (2003). *The root causes of Sudan's civil wars*. Bloomington; Kampala: Indiana University Press; Fountain Publishers.
- Jok, J. M. (1998). *Militarization, gender and reproductive health in South Sudan*. Queenston, ON: Edwin Mellen Press
- Jok, J. M., & Hutchinson, S. (1999). Sudan's prolonged second civil war and the militarization of Nuer and Dinka ethnic identities. *African Studies Review*, 42(2), 125-145.
- Jok, J. M. (2007). *Sudan: Race, religion and violence*. Oxford: Oneworld. (e-book)
- Kasinitz, P. (1992). *Caribbean New York: Black immigrants and the politics of race*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kasinitz, P. (2008). *Inheriting the city: The children of immigrants come of age*. New York; Cambridge, Mass.: Russell Sage Foundation; Harvard University Press.
- Khosrokhavar, F. (1997). *L'islam des jeunes*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Krahn, Harvey, & Taylor, A. (2005). Resilient teenagers: Explaining the high educational aspirations of visible minority youth in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*. 6(3-4), 405-434.
- Lacy, Karyn R. (2004). Black spaces, black places: Strategic assimilation and identity construction in middle-class suburbia. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27(6), 908-930.
- Ley, D & Kobayashi, A. (2005) Back to Hong Kong: return migration or transnational sojourn? *Global Networks*, 5(2), pp. 111-127
- Li, P. S. (1998). *The Chinese in Canada* (2nd ed.). Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Li, P. S. (2001). The economics of minority language identity. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 33:3, pp. 134-154.
- Lienhardt, R. G. (1970; 1961). *Divinity and experience: the religion of the Dinka*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Luo. (2009). In *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved December 15, 2009, from Encyclopædia Britannica Online: <http://search.eb.com.proxy.bib.uottawa.ca/eb/article-9049393>
- Lund, D. E. (1998). Social justice and public education: A response to George J. Sefa Dei. *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue Canadienne De l'Éducation*, 23(2), 191-199.

- Mahtani, M. (2001). Representing minorities: Canadian media and minority identities. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 33(3), 99-103.
- Matsuoka, A. K., & Sorenson, J. (2001). *Ghosts and shadows: Construction of identity and community in an African diaspora*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- McAlister, E., & Richman, K. (2009). Catholic, Voodoo and Protestant: Being Haitian, becoming American - religious pluralism, immigrant incorporation, and transnationalism. In R. Alba, A. J. Raboteau & J. DeWind (Eds.). *Immigration and religion in America; comparative and historical perspectives*. (p. 319-352) New York: New York University Press.
- Mbiti, J. S. (1990). *African religions & philosophy* (2nd rev. and enl. ed.). Oxford; Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann.
- Melia, M. J. (2004). Transatlantic dialogue on integration of immigrant children and adolescents. *International Migration*. 42(4), 123-139.
- Meyer, G., & Nicholls, J. (2005). *War and faith in Sudan*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing.
- Mohamed, Hamdi (2003). *Multiple challenges, multiple struggles: a history of Somali women's activism in Canada*. (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Dissertations & Theses. (AAT NQ90007).
- Murray, S. O. (2000). *Homosexualities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Murray, S. O., Roscoe, W., & Allyn, E. (1997). *Islamic homosexualities: Culture, history, and literature*. New York: New York University Press.
- Mwamba, Bishop Musonda Trevor Selwyn. (March 26, 2007). The Anglican Communion: Crisis and opportunity. Paper presented at the *Ecclesiastical Law Society*, Liverpool, England. 1-13. Retrieved from [www.anglican.ca/news.php?newsItem=2007-03-26\\_africa.news](http://www.anglican.ca/news.php?newsItem=2007-03-26_africa.news). Accessed December 21, 2007.
- Murphy, J. M. (1994). *Working the spirit: Ceremonies of the African diaspora*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon Press.
- Nagawasa, Richard, Zhenchao Qian & Wong, P. (2001). Theory of Segmented Assimilation and the Adoption of Marijuana Use and Delinquent Behaviour by Asian Pacific Youth. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 42(3), 351-372.
- Norris, Pippa & Inglehart, R. (2006). Gendering Social Capital: Bowling in Women's Leagues? In B. L. O'Neill, & E. Gidengil, (Eds.), *Gender and social capital* (73-98). New York: Routledge.

- Odih, P. (2002). Mentors and role models: Masculinity and the educational 'underachievement' of young afro-Caribbean males. *Race, Ethnicity & Education*, 5(1), 91-105.
- O'Neill, B. L., & Gidengil, E. (2006). *Gender and social capital*. New York: Routledge.
- Pargament, K. I. (1997). *The psychology of religion and coping: Theory, research, practice*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Parrinder, E. G. (1970). *African traditional religion*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Pelton, R. D. (1980). *The trickster in West Africa: A study of mythic irony and sacred delight*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pieterse, J. N. (1992). *Christianity and hegemony: Religion and politics on the frontiers of social change*. New York: Berg.
- Pieterse, J. N. (2003). Social capital and migration: Beyond ethnic economies. *Ethnicities*. 3(1) 29-48. doi: 10.1177/1468796803003001785
- Pinxten, Rik. (1997). *When the Day Breaks: essays in anthropology and philosophy*. New York: Peter Lang
- Porter, J. A. (1965). *The vertical mosaic: an analysis of social class and power in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. Berkeley; New York: University of California Press; Russell Sage Foundation.
- Putnam, R. D. (1995). 'Bowling alone': America's decline social capital. *Journal of Democracy*. 6(1), 65-78.
- Rutledge, P. (1985). *The role of religion in ethnic self-identity: A Vietnamese community*. Lanham: University Press of America.
- Sandercock, L. (2002). Difference, fear and habitus: a political economy of urban fears. In J. Hillier and E. Rooksby (eds) *Habitus: A sense of place* (203-217). Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Sellers, Jeff M. (2001) Bearing the Cross: Sudan: No Greater Tragedy, What you can do to help persecuted Christians in Sudan. *Christianity Today*. June 11, 2001  
<http://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2001/june11/43.95.html> Accessed June 16, 2005

- Shandy, D. (2002). Nuer Christians in America. *Journal of Refugee Studies*, 15(2), 213-221.
- Shandy, D. J., & Fennelly, K. (2005). A comparison of the integration experience of two African immigrant populations in a rural community. *Social Thought*, 1(33), 44-63
- Shandy, D. J. (2007). *Nuer-American passages: Globalizing Sudanese migration*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Shiner, C. (2008). Interview with Jeffrey Sachs, Columbia University, September 18, 2008. *Africa: Cell phones transform continent's development*. <http://allafrica.com/stories/200809180986.html> Accessed January 7, 2010
- Sidahmed, A. S., & Sidahmed, A. (2005). *Sudan*. New York; London: RoutledgeCurzon.
- Somerville, S. B. (2000). *Queering the color line: Race and the invention of homosexuality in American culture*. Durham N.C.: Duke University Press.
- Spaulding, J., & Beswick, S. (2000). *White Nile, black blood: War, leadership, & ethnicity from Khartoum to Kampala*. Lawrenceville, NJ: The Red Sea Press.
- Stepick, A., & Rey, T., Mahler, J., Eds. (2009). *Churches and charity in the immigrant city: religion, immigration, and civic engagement in Miami*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press
- Takaki, R. T. (1994). *From different shores: Perspectives on race and ethnicity in America* (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Talbot, C. (1989; 1984). *Growing up black in Canada*. Toronto, Ont.: Williams-Wallace Publishers.
- Taylor, C. (2007). *A secular age*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Van Dijk, R. (2004). Negotiating marriage: Questions of morality and legitimacy in Ghanaian Pentecostal Diaspora. *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 34(4), 438-467. Retrieved from [www.brill.nl](http://www.brill.nl)
- Vantini, Giovanni (2000). The first missionary post in Southern Sudan in the twentieth century. In Jay Spaulding & Stephanie Beswick, *White Nile, Black blood: War, leadership, and ethnicity from Khartoum to Kampala* (325-324). Lawrenceville, NJ, Asmara, Eritrea: The Red Sea Press.
- Vertovec, Steven & Cohen, Robin (Eds.), (2002). *Conceiving cosmopolitanism – theory, context and practice*. Oxford University Press.

- Vertovec, Steven (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and racial studies*, 22 (2), 447-462.
- Warikoo, Natasha (2005). Gender and ethnic identity among second-generation Indo-Caribbeans. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(5), 802-831.
- Warner, Stephen R. and Judith G. Wittner (Eds.), (1998). *Gatherings in diaspora: religious communities and the new immigration*. Temple University Press.
- Warner, R. S. (2005). *A church of our own: Disestablishment and diversity in American religion*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press.
- Wayland, S. V. (2006). *Unsettled: Legal and policy barriers for newcomers to Canada*. Ottawa: Community Foundations of Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.cfc-fcc.ca/documents/legal-policy-barriers.pdf> Retrieved September 16, 2007
- Wilkes, C., Bourdieu, P., Harker, R. K., & Mahar, C. (1990). *An introduction to the work of Pierre Bourdieu: The practice of theory*. London: Macmillan.
- Wilson, Kathi and Evelyn J. Peters, (2005). "You can make a place for it": remapping urban First Nations spaces of identity. *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, 23(3), 395-413.
- Winks, R. W. (1997). *The blacks in Canada: A history* (2nd ed.). Montreal; Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Winland, D. N. (1994). Christianity and community: Conversion and adaptation among Hmong refugee women. *Canadian Journal of Sociology / Cahiers canadiens De sociologie*, 19(1), 21-45.
- Wright, M. M. (2004). *Becoming black: Creating identity in the African diaspora*. Durham N.C.; London: Duke University Press.
- Wuthnow, R. (2002). Religious involvement and status-bridging social capital. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 41(4), 669-684.
- Young, P. D. (2000). Same-sex relationships, religious traditions, marriage and the law. *Studies in religion/Sciences religieuses*, 29(4), 2004-13.
- Zhou, Min, (1997), "Segmented Assimilation: Issues, Controversies, and Recent Research on the New Second Generation", in *International Migration Review*, 31:4, (Winter 1997), 0975-1008
- Zhou, M., & Bankston, C. L. (2001). Family pressure and educational experience of the daughters of Vietnamese refugees. *International Migration*, 39:4, 133-149.

Zine, J. (2001). Muslim youth in Canadian schools: Education and the politics of religious identity. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 32(4), 399-423.

Zine, J. (2008). *Canadian Islamic schools: Unraveling the politics of faith, gender, knowledge, and identity*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

### **Organizational websites consulted with no author**

Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama`at Canada, Communications Department.  
<http://www.islamevents.ca/>. Accessed December 30, 2009.

All Nations Gospel Church. <http://www.allnationsottawa.com/>. Accessed September 18, 2009.

The Anglican Planet (2009). *Sudanese church plant in Vancouver*.  
<http://www.anglicanplanet.net/canadian-news/2009/4/30/sudanese-church-plant-in-vancouver.html>. Accessed October 28, 2009.

Avert. *HIV and AIDS in Africa*. <http://www.avert.org/hiv-aids-africa.htm>. Accessed December 30, 2009.

British Broadcasting Corporation. *Twenty Sudanese die in Cairo raid*.  
<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/4568340.stm>.

Canadian Aid for Southern Sudan. *Education*. <http://www.web.net/cass/education.htm>.  
Accessed December 30, 2009.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (2005). In-depth: Sudan, the Republic of Sudan. CBC online, June 6, 2005. [http://www.cbc.ca/printable\\_story.jsp](http://www.cbc.ca/printable_story.jsp) Accessed August 20, 2005

Catholic Immigration Centre, Ottawa. <http://www.cic.ca/about-e.php>.

Church of God in Canada. [www.cogcanada.org](http://www.cogcanada.org).

Citizenship and Immigration, Government of Canada. *Research and Statistics*.  
<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/menu-research-stats.asp>. Accessed December 30, 2009.

Culture, Community and Health Studies Program, Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, Department of Psychiatry, University of Toronto. (May 28, 2004). *The study of Sudanese settlement in Ontario —Final report*. Toronto: Centre for Addiction and Mental Health, University of Toronto. Retrieved from:  
[http://atwork.settlement.org/downloads/atwork/Study\\_of\\_Sudanese\\_Settlement\\_in\\_Ontario.pdf](http://atwork.settlement.org/downloads/atwork/Study_of_Sudanese_Settlement_in_Ontario.pdf) Retrieved June 16, 2005.

- Dictionary of African Christian Biography. Mbiti, John Samuel.  
[http://www.dacb.org/stories/kenya/mbiti\\_john.html](http://www.dacb.org/stories/kenya/mbiti_john.html) Accessed September 3, 2009
- East Gate Alliance Church, Ottawa. <http://www.eastgatealliance.ca/home.php>. Accessed November 25, 2009.
- Episcopal Diocese of Missouri. *May mission trip to Lui, Sudan: "We thought you had forgotten us, but now you have come."* <http://www.diocesemo.org/news/2009/05/20/on-the-ground-lui/>. Accessed November 15, 2009.
- Evangelical Association of Canada. <http://www.evangelicalassociation.ca/>.
- International Monetary Fund, June, 2007.  
<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2007/06/gupta.htm>
- Majimbo Kenya. <http://majimbokenya.com/home/2009/02/19/canadablack-churches-step-up-fight-against-hiv/>
- New York Times, August 2, 2005  
[http://www.nytimes.com/cfr/international/slot2\\_080205.html](http://www.nytimes.com/cfr/international/slot2_080205.html). Accessed September 16, 2009.
- Ottawa Citizen [http://www.ottawacitizen.com/story\\_print.html?id=2091499&sponsor=](http://www.ottawacitizen.com/story_print.html?id=2091499&sponsor=)
- River Jordan Ministries, Ottawa. <http://riverjordanministries.com>
- Senate of Canada. <http://sen.parl.gc.ca/SenWeb/bio/?lang=en&sen=59> (Jaffar)
- Serving in Mission. <http://webtest.sim.org/index.php/country/SD> Accessed July 5, 2006
- Statistics Canada. Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration (8) and Place of Birth (261) for the Immigrants and Non-permanent Residents of Canada, Provinces, Territories, Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations, 2006 Census - 20% Sample Data  
<http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/english/census06/data/topics/RetrieveProductTable.cfm?A LEVEL=3&APATH=3&CATNO=97-557 XCB2006007&DETAIL=0&DIM=&DS=99&FL=0&FREE=0&GAL=&GC=99&GK=NA&GRP=0&IPS=97-557-XCB2006007&METH=0&ORDER=&PID=89424&PTYPE=88971&RL=0&S=1&ShowAll=&StartRow=&SUB=&Temporal=2006&Theme=72&VID=&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=&GID=838003> Accessed December 7, 2009
- St. John the Evangelist (Anglican) Church, Ottawa. Vestry records, 2005.
- Sudan crisis group. <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=3611>

United Nations Secretariat. [http://www.un.org/sg/enstaff\\_details.asp?smgID=137](http://www.un.org/sg/enstaff_details.asp?smgID=137) (Deng)  
Accessed November 27, 2009.

United States Commission on International Religious Freedom. (1 May 2008). *USCIRF annual report 2008 – Sudan* UNHCR Refworld. Retrieved from  
<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4855699a45.html>

United States Department of State, Under secretary for democracy and global affairs. (2008). *Sudan: International religious freedom report 2008*. Washington: Retrieved from  
<http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2008/108393.htm>

University Of Pennsylvania, African Studies Centre.  
[http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Newsletters/SD\\_update68.html](http://www.africa.upenn.edu/Newsletters/SD_update68.html) Amnesty International,  
May 3, 1995

Word Press <http://geoconger.wordpress.com/2009/05/26/sudan-church-expels-us-missionary-cen-5-22-09-p-7/>

Zoom info. [http://www.zoominfo.com/people/Yiga\\_Fred\\_1002780686.aspx](http://www.zoominfo.com/people/Yiga_Fred_1002780686.aspx). (Luala)

## **Appendix A: Adult questionnaire for interviews with South Sudanese refugees in Ottawa**

The purpose of this questionnaire is to explore the experience of Christian families coming as refugees or immigrants to Canada from Southern Sudan. There is a special focus on the experiences of raising adolescents who came to Canada as part of these families.

1. When did you come to Canada?
2. Why did you come to Canada?
3. How old were your children (boy(s) and/or girl(s)) when you came to live in Canada?
4. To what Christian denomination (if any) did you belong before coming to Canada? Why is this important or not important to you now?
5. To what ethnic group do you belong? Why is this important or not important to you now?
6. How long have you been a member of New Ambassador church? Do you have any particular responsibility in the church? How often do you worship in this congregation?
7. Why is church membership important or not important to you now? Why is Christian faith and practice important to you now?
8. How would you describe the relationship between your faith, membership in the new Ambassador church and your ethnicity?
9. What has been the most interesting or most beneficial aspect of coming to Canada from a family point of view? Why?
10. Again from a family perspective, what has been most difficult change or challenge with which to cope after living in Canada with your family for more than 2 years? Why?
11. How has your faith, the church community, its worship and other activities been important in helping you and your family adapt to life in this new Canadian culture? Why?
12. Could the church and its leadership have been more important in the adaptation process? How and why?
13. How do you think dominant Canadian society and culture will change your family?
  - a. The role of the husband?
  - b. The role of the wife?
  - c. The life of adolescent children?
14. Did your adolescent children go to a public or to a Catholic secondary or to a private school? How and why did you make your decision? What has been the result from a Christian

point of view, if any? Was (Is) their Christian faith important in influencing their school experience?

15. What challenges did (do) you have in raising your adolescent child in Ottawa? Please explain how you met or were not able to meet these challenges? What role did your Christian faith and membership have in meeting or not meeting these challenges?

16. What challenges do you anticipate continuing work with your children as young adults, in Canada in the next few years, particularly as they marry or not marry? What roles will the church, your Christian faith, your ethnicity, your extended family have in this process?

## **Appendix B: Names of those formally interviewed organized by date**

Gordon Kur Lua\* (1): April 4, 2005; December 19, 2006. With wife, Zeinab Mokwaj:  
April 25, 2006

Ilew Bwolo\*: April 29, 2005; September 15, 2008

Ring Malou: May 4, 2005

Dominic Funda (1): June 7, 2005

Lam Riet, with wife Nyapen (2): June 13, 2005; alone, October 18, 2008

David Ochan\* (1) (2): August 8, 2005; December 13, 2005; November 1, 2006

Helena Lino Costa\* (with two daughters): August 17, 2005; (With only Elizabeth),  
September 26, 2008

Emmy Ochan (2): October 7, 2005

Margaret Chol: October 8, 2005

Carl Nicholson (4), November 14, 2005

Lucya Peters (3), March 18, 2005

(Interruptions in most interviewing and research occurred from April 2006 to September 2007 for my health reasons, although I continued to occasionally worship with the New Ambassador (Sudanese) church during this period, and informally talk with several informants at a variety of events.)

Akic Ruati (2): October 27, 2007; March 6, 2008

Reverend Joseph Kiirya\*(4): March 10, April 16, May 21, June 30, July 31, 2008;

Riek Adwok\* (2): July 14, 2008

Michael Soro Enoka\*: July 22, 2008

Richard Gerard and Kwongo Bongo\*: October 8, 2008

David Abraham: June 11, 2009

Deacon Wayne Lee (4), October 22, 2009

### **Young adult Sudanese-born focus group – May 21, 2009 (with ages)**

Elizabeth Rihan (20); Akon Lua\* (20); Deng Bwolo (20)

\* Many informal, valuable additional conversations were held with these informants in diverse settings.

(1) Moved back to the Sudan in 2007-08

(2) Alias names for these interviewees. All other individuals interviewed gave the researcher signed permission to be publicly identified with their real names.

(3) Lucya Peters was then president of the South Sudanese [Dinka] Community Association, but she not formally interviewed. I discussed the general role of the association along with another member of the St. John the Evangelist parish refugee sponsorship committee.

(4) Non-Sudanese

## Appendix C: Sudanese and Jordan Community Church– Attendance 2008-2009

**Note: For logistical reasons, attendance could not be counted at all services attended.**

	Adults		Adolescents <sup>142</sup>		Children (In Sunday school, <12)
	M	F	(Perceived 12-21)		
<b>2008</b>			M	F	
April 13	17	14			9
June 14 <sup>143</sup>	9	17	7	12	8
July 13 <sup>144</sup>	14	30`	3	6	5
August 9	4	6	-	6	-
Aug. 30 (Revival) <sup>145</sup>	19	14	4	5 <sup>146</sup>	about 14
August 31 <sup>147</sup>	19 <sup>148</sup>	29	4	5	
Sept. 21	9	16	3	7	6
Sept. 28	9	19	2	4	9
Oct 10 <sup>149</sup>	24	26	2	6	
November 11	5	5	5	0	0
Dec. 25 <sup>150 151</sup>	26	70 <sup>152</sup>	9	3	
<b>2009</b>					
Jan. 17 <sup>153</sup>	4 <sup>154</sup>	5			7
March 1	8 <sup>155</sup>	11	3	7	6
May 3 <sup>156</sup>	14	16			
May 10 <sup>157</sup>	15	27		14	
<b>Totals</b>	<b>196</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>Average</b>	<b>13.6</b>	<b>20.2</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>6.1</b>	<b>8.7</b>

<sup>142</sup> Nearly all adolescents are in the choir

<sup>143</sup> Fathers' day. At least 7 men arrived at the end of the service for refreshments

<sup>144</sup> At least 10 people walked in at the end of the service for the social event to support the Luo family, James' sister having died in Sudan the week before, just after his return from Canada

<sup>145</sup> The Saturday night, Michael had rented a room at the Talisman

<sup>146</sup> All 9 young adults came to both revival services; only girls singing; boys drumming and instruments

<sup>147</sup> 14 members of Jordan community church were present

<sup>148</sup> Not the same men as on the Saturday evening; no whites

<sup>149</sup> Thanksgiving service; increased attendance. Pastor Samuel's last Sunday

<sup>150</sup> Jack Purcell community centre rented exclusively on Christmas day for Sudanese Christmas celebration; many visitors from out of town.

<sup>151</sup> Kiirya preaching; presence of former Ottawa pastor, now living in Kitchener

<sup>152</sup> 41 remained by 1900 hours, including 16 men

<sup>153</sup> Service led by the white evangelist James Mason; Out of total adult audience of 9, 4 whites

<sup>154</sup> Males included choir

<sup>155</sup> 5 men arrived at the end of the service, possibly for a Dinka community association meeting

<sup>156</sup> Kiirya expected as preacher; did not come

<sup>157</sup> Mothers' day; 6 visitors from Kitchener; Kiirya preaching

**Jordan Community church - Attendance - 2008**

2008	Adults		Adoles/Young adults <sup>158</sup> (12-25 approx.)		Children under 12
	M	F	M	F	
February 25		67			18
March 17		?			15
March 30	36	26			
April 6	19	37	9	10 <sup>159</sup> (19)	n/a
April 13		67 (5 whites)			26
April 22 (communion) <sup>160</sup>		n/a	14		
April 28	24	40			14
May 18		46			15
May 25		58 <sup>161</sup>		18	14
June 29		42 (29) <sup>162</sup>		18 (31) <sup>163</sup>	14
<b>TOTALS</b>		<b>436</b>	<b>55</b>		<b>156</b>
<b>AVERAGE</b>		<b>54.5</b>	<b>18.3</b>		<b>17.3</b>

<sup>158</sup> Numbers of adolescents and young adults stay relatively consistent – 2-3 male young adults play instruments and lead music. The choir tends to be 4-6 young adult females with occasionally one male (esp. Frederick, sometimes Nixon or Bethel). Many adolescents tend to come from two families – four boys, George from John and Tahitha Waithaka and the brothers, Paul Kihara, David Njuguna and Peter Ngiji, whose father is a Kenyan politician, the mother, Theresa often coming to church. The techies, usually 3-4 people, handling the equipment are also all young adults.

<sup>159</sup> On April 6, we prayed for 15 students who were writing exams, 8 females, 3 males and 4 adults

<sup>160</sup> Leadership team distributes elements – 7 women; 3 males

<sup>161</sup> 8 new people = Deputy Kenyan Ambassador to Brazil; 4 Pentecostals from Woodvale, one wanting to worship in the context of her own culture; a Kenyan couple visiting from North Bay.

<sup>162</sup> Counted 42 people that looked like adults, but after all self-perceived young people went up who were writing exams or generally studying, only 29 adults remained. Several Sudanese were there as well.

<sup>163</sup> These 31 people who came up for a laying on of hands and individual prayer by the pastor at the end of the school year included a significant number of people I have classified previously as adults.

### **Appendix D: Christian Sudanese Young adult focus group topics, May 21, 2009**

1. Introductions: Name; country of birth; age coming to Canada; refugee or immigrant; current age; your current dominant use of time

#### **THE PAST**

2. Past role of parent(s) or other family members in supporting your adaptation to Canada?
3. Past role of Christian faith and community for you? Why?
4. Past role of your ethnic or national group? Why?
5. Past role of being Black? Why?

N.B. In all of the above, did it make a difference whether you were a female or male?

Break –about 6:15

#### **THE PRESENT**

6. **How** do the following influences currently affect you, both positively and negatively?
  - a. Your friends at school; at church
  - b. Your parent(s); mother; father;
  - c. Being Black or African
  - d. Your particular ethnicity
  - e. Being Christian
  - f. Being male or female
7. What difficulties do you have with the high level of individualism in Canadian society? Why?

## Appendix E – ‘African’ churches in Ottawa (a possible sample)

Source: <http://www.afrodrive.com/AfricanChurches/default.asp?WCountryID=1> Accessed 2009.10.19

<a href="#">Christ's Chapel Bible Church</a> <sup>164</sup>	Ottawa, ON.
<a href="#">CornerStone House of Refuge Apostolic Church</a>	Ottawa, ON.
<a href="#">Emmanuel Apostolic Church</a> <sup>165</sup>	Ottawa, ON.
Lighthouse Christian Centre	Ottawa, Ontario.
Living Prayer Warriors Fellowship	Ottawa, Ontario.
<a href="#">One Flock One Shepherd Ministries</a>	Ottawa, ON.
Ottawa Christian Fellowship	Ottawa, ON.
<a href="#">Ottawa Church of God</a>	Ottawa, ON.
<a href="#">River Jordan Community Church</a>	Ottawa, Ontario.
<a href="#">The Prayer House Ministries</a>	Ottawa, ON.

Some Sudanese, living in East Ottawa (Montreal Road and St. Laurent area) have also been going to the East Gate Alliance Church which has an “Arabic church prayer meeting two Thursdays a month and a “Building African leadership” another Thursday in the month. There appears to be an Arabic Alliance church sharing the same building.

<http://www.eastgatealliance.ca/about.php> Accessed 2009.10.24

There are also a number of churches worshipping exclusively in indigenous challenges. For example, there are two Ethiopian focused churches, and one Haitian focused church

<sup>164</sup> Mostly focused on Nigerians. First church in Ottawa served by Kiirya as assistant pastor.

<sup>165</sup> Appears to serve primarily the Ghanaian community in Ottawa

worshipping in Creole. Many immigrant-focused churches, like the Sudanese New Ambassador church may not have the resources for its own web site.

## Appendix F – Political chronology of the Sudan

CBC News Indepth: Sudan

Page 1 of 2

INDEPTH: SUDAN  
The Republic of Sudan  
CBC News Online | June 6, 2005

Appendix E.

Sudan was a collection of independent kingdoms and principalities until 1820 when Egypt conquered the region and united the disparate territories. Egypt held the area until a revolt in 1885. A religious leader, Muhammad ibn Abdalla, led his followers in a nationalist uprising. His people, called the Mahdi ("expected ones") ruled until 1898 when a joint British/Egyptian force overwhelmed the Mahdists.

Sudan was under British/Egyptian administration until 1953 when the UK and Egypt agreed to provide for Sudanese self-government. Sudan became independent on Jan. 1, 1956. The country was never to experience long-term peace. The government in the capital of Khartoum was Arab-led and reneged on promises to southerners, leading to a mutiny by southern army officers. This triggered a 17-year civil war from 1955 to 1972. The war would re-start in the 1980s and continue through the '90s.

Here is a timeline of events from Sudan's independence:

**1958:** Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Ibrahim Abboud overthrows the government of Prime Minister Ismail al-Azhari in a bloodless coup.

**1964:** A wave of riots against the authoritarian rule of Abboud forces the military to relinquish power. Parliamentary elections are held in April 1965.

**1965-1969:** A coalition government is formed between the Umma and National Unionist Parties under Prime Minister Muhammad Ahmad Mahjoub. The government is unable to unite the country as it falls into factional fighting, economic stagnation and ethnic skirmishes.

**May 25, 1969:** A second military coup is staged by Col. Gaafar Muhammad Nimeiri, who becomes the country's new leader. He abolishes parliament and outlaws all political parties. He installs himself as president. Nimeiri briefly loses power in July 1971 to the Communist Party, but his rule is restored within days.

**1972:** An agreement leads to a 10-year hiatus in the north-south civil war.

**1983:** President Nimeiri institutes traditional Islamic law (Shariah). He also declares a state of emergency to make sure Shariah is applied widely. Emergency courts are established. Punishments ranging from amputations for theft to public lashings for alcohol possession become commonplace. Nimeiri announces the end of the state of emergency in September 1984. He dismantles the emergency courts and institutes a new judiciary act that continues the practice of Shariah law. Nimeiri's actions spur the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) in the south to re-start its revolt.

**April 1985:** Senior military officers mount a coup and suspend the constitution. They establish a military council to run the country. Soon, the council appoints an interim cabinet led by Dr. Al Gizouli Defalla.

**April 1986:** Elections are held and the new coalition government is led by Sadiq al-Mahdi of the Umma Party. Over the next few years, the coalition would dissolve and reform several times, but always with the Umma Party in charge. Meanwhile, the civil war intensifies.

**February 1989:** Al-Mahdi approves an agreement with the SPLM. But, on June 30, military officers take over the government under then-Col. Omar Hassan al-Bashir. The move is supported by the National Islamic Front party. The colonel installs a Revolutionary Command Council supported by a civilian cabinet. Al-Bashir becomes president and chief of the armed forces. Fighting between the SPLM and the government continues.

**1991 to 1993:** The government institutes a new penal code with harsh punishments, non-Muslim judges from the south are transferred to the north. Muslim judges are installed.

**1990s:** Conditions deteriorate as the SPLM and government troops continue to clash. Four million people are displaced by the fighting; many face starvation. Meanwhile, the SPLM joins forces with the "National Democratic Alliance" (NDA) and starts an insurgency in the eastern Sudan and northern Blue Nile areas.

**1997:** The government signs a series of agreements with rebel factions, except the SPLM. Many rebel leaders become part of the government.

**2002:** The government and the SPLM reach a historic agreement on the roles of the state and religion and the right of southern Sudan to self-determination. It's called the Machakos Protocol, after the town in Kenya where peace talks were held. Both sides sign an understanding for a cessation of hostilities. Discussions continue in 2004 over wealth sharing and some contested areas.

**2003:** A new rebellion starts up in the western Darfur region bordering on Chad. Residents are mostly black and accuse the government of ignoring the development of the region. Government installations are attacked. Soon, Arab militias – allegedly with air support from the Sudanese government – start attacking villages. The Janjaweed Arab militias are accused of forcing hundreds of thousands of farmers to leave the area. There are reports of rapes and indiscriminate killings. More than 150,000 refugees from Darfur are now living in Chad.

**2004:** The United Nations calls Darfur the "worst humanitarian crisis" in the world. Governments from around the world pressure the Sudanese government to disarm the Arab militias. Several ceasefire agreements between the government and the rebels – the Sudan Liberation Army (SLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) – are broken. Aid groups and the U.S. Congress accuse the

<http://www.cbc.ca/printablestory.jsp>

01/08/2005

Appendix G - Arabic map of the Southern Sudan

