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Declaration

Declaration

I, Ingrid Witsø, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature *Ingrid Witsø*.....

Date *10.05.2012*.....

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Abstract

On July 9th 2011 South Sudan declared its independence. A referendum was organized in January the same year where the vast majority voted for secession. It was the end of the second civil war with the Sudan. The two wars have had a major impact on the local population, and several millions have been displaced. For many of them, the end of the second civil war is the beginning of a new chapter in life. They start building up their lives in the new country. The challenges of this process constitute the starting point of this thesis. The main objective of this study is to compare the challenges of returnees' integration in Juba and Yei county. This kind of study is important due to the extent of return to post-war South Sudan and because of the impact integration has on those who return and on the new country.

The study is based on qualitative research methods. I did 41 semi-structured interviews and arranged two focus-group discussions with returnees, and interviewed representatives of the government and various organisations in the country. The intention is to do a narrative analysis by presenting the views of these actors on the challenges of integration. In order to categorize the challenges and see how they have an impact on the returnees, I will use a livelihood approach. By using this approach I hope to illustrate the connection between the household's assets, the social factors and the wider context.

In the first part of the analysis, I present the main challenges of integration separately and illustrate that there are similarities and differences in Juba and in Yei county. Issues like education and health are important both places, while infrastructure and language are examples of differences between the research sites. While I present these challenges, I argue that the returnees, the organisations and the government focus on the same issues but have different approaches and priorities. In the second part of the analysis, I state that the various challenges cannot be treated separately nevertheless. Instead, it is necessary to look at how different assets are connected with one another and how they depend on social factors and the wider context. I will also illustrate that the government and the organisations in South Sudan emphasize the coordination of their work, but lose focus on the interconnectedness of integration. Further, it is possible to question if their work is reflecting the returnees' views on what the problems are. Hence, I find in-depth understanding of the key challenges necessary. This understanding must be based on the interconnectedness and interdependence between assets, social factors and the wider context.

List of abbreviations

Across = Association of Christian Resource Organisations Serving Sudan

CPA = Comprehensive Peace Agreement

CSO = Civil Society Organization

DFID = Department for International Development

FGD = Focus Group Discussion

GIZ = Die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

GOSS = Government of South Sudan

IDP = Internally Displaced Person

IOM = International Organization for Migration

NGO = Non-Governmental Organization

NPA = Norwegian People's Aid

NRC = Norwegian Refugee Council

OLS = Operation Lifeline Sudan

SPLM/A = Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army

SSRRC = South Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission

UN = United Nations

UNDP = United Nation Development Program

UNMISS RRR = United Nations Mission in South Sudan. Return, Reintegration and Recovery section

UNHCR = United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WFP = World Food Programme

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Chapter 1 Introduction

This study presents the key challenges of returnees' integration in South Sudan. The main focus is on the difficulties they meet when they construct their lives and create a new livelihood when they settle down in the country. The study is concentrated on returnees in Juba and Yei county which gives an impression of both urban and rural return and integration. It also illustrates differences and similarities in the integration process of refugees and IDPs. The returnees are not the only ones concerned with the challenges of integration. Therefore, I will also include the government and the organisations in South Sudan, and compare their views on the subject with the returnees'. The main argument of this study is that integration is complicated because various factors are connected to one another and depend on each other. Hence, it is necessary to look at this interconnectedness and interdependence to understand the challenges of the integration process.

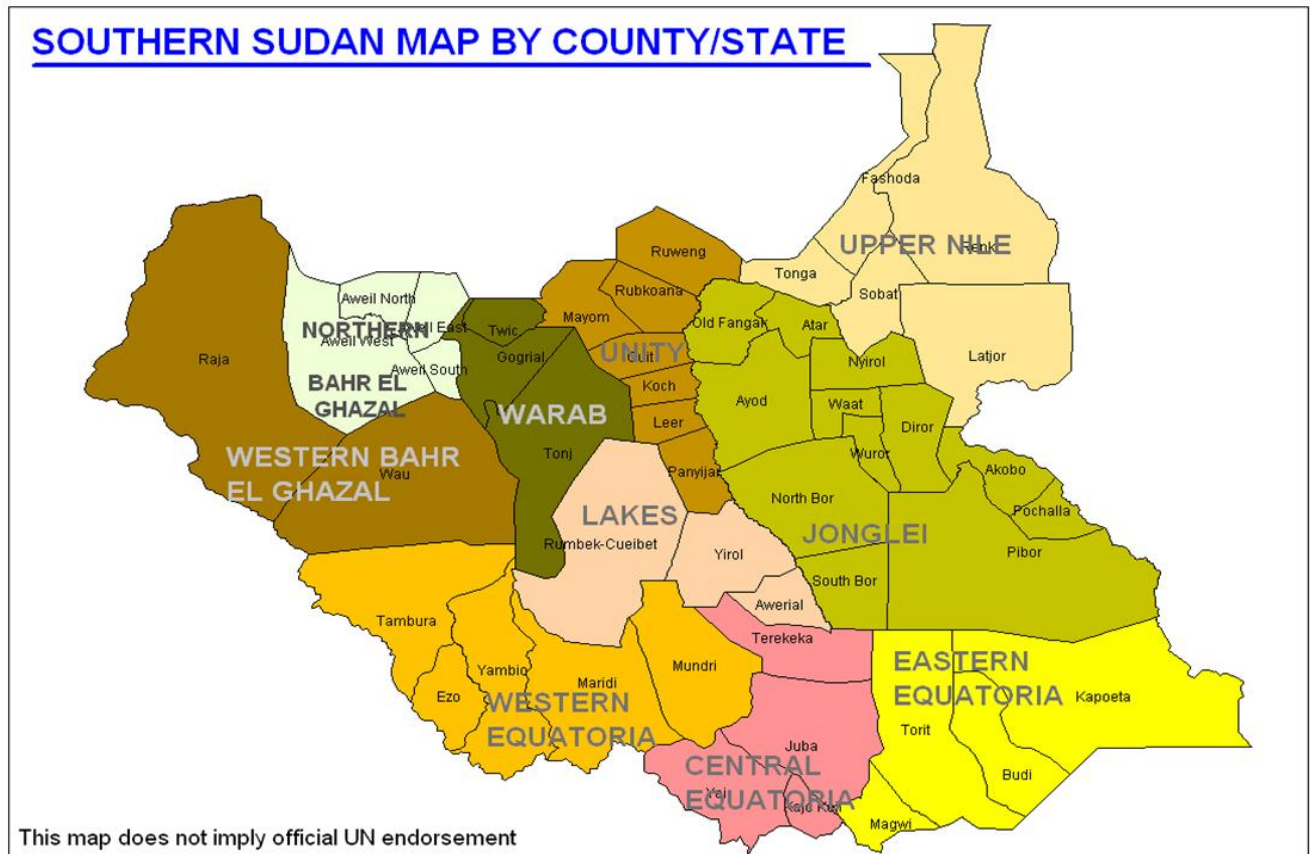


Figure 1 Map of South Sudan (Source: South Sudan Info 2012)

1.1 Rationale

Return and integration are important issues in South Sudan especially after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, CPA, in 2005 and the independence six years later. A lot of people have returned because peace was declared and to take part in the referendum. Even after the independence was declared, people have continued arriving the new country, especially from the Sudan. However, it is important not to forget that people are still coming from other places as well and that some arrived even before the CPA.

The impact and the importance of this return are significant because the number of displaced persons has been remarkably high. Before the independence, the Sudan had the highest number of internally displaced persons, IDPs, in the world. It was estimated to be at least four million (Shanmugaratnam 2010). The IDPs are only part of the picture; to understand the complete situation it is necessary to include the refugees as well. 500 000 South Sudanese fled to other countries (IDMC 2010). However, the situation has changed and a lot of people are returning. Due to the independence and the CPA, the returnees are motivated to go to South Sudan. After the CPA and to the end of June 2009, 1 900 000 succeeded in returning (IOM n.d.). If they are going to succeed in integration, it is necessary to understand the challenges of integration.

Moving to South Sudan changes the life of many returnees and they are facing new challenges. Many of them start building up their lives from scratch. It can be illustrated by how the Director for Monitoring and evaluation at the Ministry of humanitarian affairs and disaster management says that *'reintegration is the difficult task; repatriation is much easier because that is just transport of people'*. He explains that his intention is not undermine the difficulty of bringing people to South Sudan, and that he is well aware of the various dimensions of this problem. Rather, he focuses on the time after arrival and how people struggle to build up their lives again because they have been displaced for a long time and many of them come without much luggage.

He is supported by Haug (2008) who argues that creating livelihood opportunities is one of the most important challenges in the new country. Integration is difficult to many of the returnees because they arrive without resources, networks and education (Haug 2008). In addition, it is important not to forget the experiences these people have, both from escaping the war and from living in displacement for several years. These experiences are leaving their

marks with the returnees. Thus, arriving South Sudan, and start integrating can be challenging and difficult. It is necessary to understand what these challenges are in order for the integration process to be successful. Gaining this kind of understanding is important for making the transition as easy as possible.

Another reason why studies of return and integration is important is that there are so many different actors involved and that it has an impact on so many groups of people. The key actors involved are the local and national government, various organisations like the United Nations High Commissionaire for Refugees, UNHCR, and the International Organisation for Migration, IOM, and a large number of non-governmental organisations, NGOs. All these actors have interests in making return and integration as easy as possible. The reason is that the success of these processes is significant to a lot of people in South Sudan. First of all, it is important to the returnees themselves. To the returnees, integrating is a way of surviving and taking part in the local community where they settle down. Further, it is also relevant to the situation of the residents who are receiving the returnees. The residents have interest in integrating the returnees because they are likely to live side by side for a long time and together contribute to the development of their country. In addition, handling the return is important to local and national authorities in order to govern the new country. Due to the impact the return has on various groups in South Sudan I find it worth studying.

Finally, studying integration in South Sudan is necessary because the country is varied. The geography affects the living conditions in various ways throughout the country. In this study, I choose to focus on integration in Juba and Yei county. The reason why I choose these research sites is that it allows me to explore integration in a remote area and in the largest city in the country. I will compare and contrast the integration process in both places and illustrate that the challenges the returnees face in this process are affected by the location where they settle down. The location is relevant for who wants to settle there and for what kind of resources they find when they get there. In other words, the choice of research sites makes it possible for me to study integration of both refugees and IDPs. It also means that it is possible to see how access to various resources affects the integration process differently. I will present the research sites more in detail in the next chapter.

1.2 Objective

The objective of this study is to compare and contrast the challenges of the returnees' integration process in Juba and Yei county.

1.3 Research questions

In order to reach my objective, I will distinguish between two research questions.

1. What are the major challenges for returnees in being successfully integrated in Juba and in Yei county?
2. What do the returnees, the South Sudanese government, and the NGOs consider being the key challenges for returnees trying to integrate and make a sustainable livelihood?

The purpose of the first research question is to get an in-depth understanding of what kind of challenges the returnees in Juba and in Yei county are facing. An important aspect of this question is to examine the similarities and differences between the two locations and assess the internal differences at each place. It is also necessary to emphasize that this question cover both refugees and IDPs, thus similarities and differences between and within these two groups will be included in this thesis.

I include the second research question because I find it necessary to examine what the different actors consider to be the most important challenges of integration. These actors play central roles in the integration process, and thus I will include all of them to get an understanding which is as broad as possible. When I refer to the South Sudanese government, I also include the South Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, the SSRRC. Similarly, when I speak of the NGOs, I also refer to the UNHCR. I choose to do this, even though UNHCR is not a non-governmental organisation, to make it easier to distinguish all the various organisations from the government. Thus, I use the terms NGOs and organisations interchangeably.

1.4 Structure of thesis

My thesis consists of six chapters. **Chapter 1** is an introduction of this thesis with focus on the rationale, the objective and the research questions.

In the following chapter, **Chapter 2**, methodological considerations and implications are explained. This includes focus on the data collection and data analysis followed by limitations and ethics.

The historical background of South Sudan is presented in **Chapter 3**. There, the focus is on the civil wars and the history of displacement and return. I end this chapter by looking at the peace process and the independence.

The conceptual issues and frameworks are introduced in **Chapter 4**. I will present some key concepts of research on migration. Further, I will focus on how the livelihood framework occurred, developed and has been criticized. Here, I will also present my own modified livelihood approach which I will use in my thesis.

The findings are presented and analyzed in the fifth and the sixth chapter. In **Chapter 5** I look closer at each challenge separately and see how they are relevant in Juba and in Yei county. In addition, I include a comparison of the returnees', the governments', and the organizations' view on the various issues.

In **Chapter 6** I look at how these challenges are related to one another and depend on each other, and state that integration is a complex issue. However, the organisations and the government are more concerned with coordinating their own work by using a cluster-approach than with the complexity of integration. I end this chapter by arguing that creativity helps some returnees and that some do not experience challenges at all, thus I question whether it is better to focus on the solutions rather than the problems.

Chapter 2 Methodology

In my research, I find qualitative methodology most useful in order to handle my objective and to answer my research questions. I will explain this further in this chapter by looking at my research approach, data collection and data analysis. At the end of the chapter I will introduce some limitations of this study, discuss ethics and present the research sites more thoroughly.

2.1 Research approach

The objective of this study is to compare and contrast the challenges of returnees' integration in Juba and Yei county. This objective illustrates that I have not defined a theory in advance which I aim to test. Instead, I intend to examine a social phenomenon, integration, and look at various aspects of it. This way of doing research is often referred to as inductive theory and implies that the theory is generated by the collected data (Bryman 2008). Inductive theory is normally associated with qualitative research.

Another reason why I choose qualitative methodology is epistemological and ontological considerations. These considerations mean that qualitative research is more concerned with how people understand the world and that the world is changing as a result of peoples' actions (Bryman 2008). This understanding of the world and the people fits my thesis due to my second research question. Through this question, I will try to understand and compare the views of various groups on the challenges of integration.

The problem of using qualitative methods and focusing on in-depth understanding and peoples' perceptions is that it reduces the chance of making generalizations. However, I still find qualitative research methods more suitable because my intention is not to speak with as many as possible, but rather to gain a thorough understanding of the specific context in Juba and in Yei county. Through these interviews, I hope to learn more about the relationship between the returnees and the society they live in.

2.2 Data collection

This thesis is based on field work in South Sudan which took place in October and November 2011. During my field work I used focus group discussions, FGDs, and semi-structured interviews. By combining these two methods I was able to have longer in-depth conversations

in peaceful surroundings and have group discussions with less structure and more discussion. In addition, I always tried to pay attention and observe what people were saying and doing, both during the interviews/FGDs and in general. In the following pages I will look more into each of the methods.

Focus group discussion

In order to approach the returnees and start getting familiar with their situation, I arranged a focus group discussion on the river port in Juba. The returnees stayed there the first days after arriving South Sudan while others were waiting for their luggage there. I wanted to get a first impression of how the returnees consider their own situation and the challenges ahead and how they relate to each other. In Yei, I also organized two focus group discussions; one with only returnees and another with only residents. Arranging the focus groups this way gave the returnees the chance of talking freely about their relationship with the residents and similar the other way around. On the other hand, it would have been interesting to see these two groups interacting together to learn more about the power relations between the two groups. However, it was not possible to arrange the FGDs this way. The information I got from the FGD with the residents is not included in this thesis because I have chosen to concentrate on the views of the returnees, the NGOs and the government.

Semi-structured interviews

Qualitative, semi-structured interviews were the research method I used most frequently during my stay in South Sudan. Doing semi-structured interviews implied that I had prepared an interview guide in advance, but that the interviews still would remain flexible. The interview guide is a checklist which I used to make sure that I did not forget any of the questions. This way, it is easier for me to compare the situation of the returnees in Yei with the ones in Juba. I find it necessary to distinguish between household interviews and key informant interviews.

- Household interviews: I did 18 interviews in Juba and 23 in Yei. 17 of the 23 interviews in Yei were carried out in Lasu Payam while six took place in Yei town. 10 of these respondents were men while 13 were women. In Juba, eight of the interviews were conducted at the Juba Way Station while the remaining 10 took place at the reintegration counseling center of the Norwegian refugee council, NRC. Gender equality was more difficult in Juba because not many men were present at the two locations while I was there. Therefore,

I interviewed five men and 13 women. The age of the respondents varied from 18 to 73 years old. I spoke with returnees who had arrived very recently and people who had arrived up to 10 years before the research was conducted. The vast majority of these interviews was carried out with only one person from the household present, thus I will refer to them as individual interviews. The purpose of arranging them as individual interviews was to make the situation as peaceful and comfortable as possible for the participant. In addition, it made it easier for me to have control over the situation and what is being said. The interviews varied from 30 to 75 minutes. The reason for this variation is that the respondents' personality was different and not everybody wanted to share as much.

- Key informant interviews: The key informants in my research are people from the UNHCR, several NGOs, representatives from the Ministry of humanitarian affairs and disaster management, and the SSRRC in Juba and in Yei. I interviewed several of them a second time after my trip to Yei because new topics had come up and more questions needed to be raised due to the stay there. In Yei, I also interviewed the Commissioner for agriculture and the payam chief in Lasu. These interviews are not included in this thesis because they were not well informed about the integration process there. The payam chief came from another county and did not know much about Yei at all because he had recently arrived. The Commissioner had more local knowledge, but did not have profound knowledge on the returnees and their integration process.

Observation

Observation is a research method which most often is associated with social anthropologists who are observing and participating at the same time, usually referred to as participatory observation (Bryman 2008). Using this method implies spending a lot of time at the research site to be able to see through the eyes of the natives. It also involves seeing what people take for granted and thus not express with words. Due to this understanding of the method, I find it difficult to argue that observation is one of the methods used in this study. I did not have time to observe thoroughly according to these kinds of standards.

Even though I do not want to define observation as one of the methods in this study, taking a look at what people are doing and how things are working was important. First of all, I spent some time walking and driving around to get an impression of the research sites and the way people relate to one another there. By doing this, I noticed that many workers in different

businesses were from other countries than South Sudan. I found it interesting that this was almost never mentioned during my interviews.

Further, observation is an important aspect of doing interviews. Not everything is being said, especially if there are some sensible topics. Ethnicity is one of these topics. The sensitivity related to ethnicity was revealed by the body language of many of the interviewed. Thus, it was necessary not only listen to what people were saying but also look at how they were acting. Their hesitation and looks expressed more than what was being said with words.

Observation also became very relevant in one of bomas in Lasu. There, I conducted three interviews. The chief of the boma was present all the time I was there. His presence had a major impact on the information I got from the returnees. They talked without him interfering when they were telling the stories from the time they were displaced. He took more control over the conversation when they started talking about the return and the challenges of integration. He wanted to focus a lot on their lack of tools and water, and emphasized that the relationship with the residents is good. During these interviews, observing the relationship between the residents and the chief became as interesting as the conversation itself. It revealed the power of the chief; his authority affects the returnees and their answers to my questions. It became evident when I got the exact same answers to the questions about the integration process. I learned more about power relations at these interviews than I did during the focus group discussions where there were only returnees present.

Secondary data

Secondary data has been important for my thesis, first of all as inspiration for figuring out what I wanted to write about. It has also been important in order to present the historical context and to find the appropriate methodology and conceptual framework.

Sampling

In order to pick out a place suited for my research and to get in contact with the returnees, I received help from UNHCR, NRC, and the Norwegians people's aid, NPA. These organisations helped me to get in contact with the staff at Juba Way Station and the local leaders in Yei which was necessary for me to find returnees who were willing to participate in my research.

Approaching the research area this way is in social research methods called snowball sampling. It is characterized by how the first contact leads the researcher to others, and thus the number of respondents increases (Bryman 2008). Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling which means that the external validity is low. The result of reduced external validity is that the findings cannot be generalized beyond the sample and the specific context (Bryman 2008). However, making generalizations is not my intention, thus I find snowball sampling useful. Instead, I want to focus on the specific research areas, Juba and Yei county, and what the main challenges of integration are there. Gaining an in-depth understanding of these two locations and thereby being able to compare them is more useful to me.

Even though generalization is not a priority, I still emphasized to make the sample as representative as possible. In order to do that, I spoke with both men and women, the age ranged from 18 to 73 years old. I spoke with returnees coming from the Sudan, Congo and Uganda in order to meet both IDPs and refugees. I did not find time to include returnees coming from Europe and the US. Neither did I include returnees who have been displaced within today's South Sudan. Another issue that had to be taken into consideration when it comes to generalization is the time since the returnee's arrival to South Sudan. In Yei, I managed to talk to both people who had stayed for several years and people who had recently returned. In Juba on the other hand, this was more difficult. The reason is that in order to get in contact with the returnees there, I received help from the NRC and the UNHCR. While I was there, these organisations were mainly working with returnees who recently arrived. Working with returnees who recently arrived also implied working more with IDPs than refugees. Hence, the sample from Yei is more representative than the one from Juba because in Yei, I was able to interview both refugees and IDPs, while all the informants in the capital are IDPs.

2.3 Data analysis

One of the purposes of this study is to do a narrative analysis. This means that I will try to identify what the returnees, the government and the organisations consider being the main challenges of the returnees' integration process in Juba and in Yei county. An important aspect of this analysis is to compare the answers I get and see if there are any major differences between these groups. I will analyze the narratives continuously while I present the challenges. Additionally, I will summarize the narratives in a separate section in order to assess similarities and differences more comprehensively.

2.4 Limitations

There are several limitations to take into consideration when doing research. Here, I will go more in detail on external validity before I discuss the impact of time and language.

I have already explained that the sample from Juba is less representative than the one from Yei and that the external validity is low due to use of snowball sampling. However, snowball sampling is not the only reason why it is difficult to generalize my findings to other parts of South Sudan. Another explanation is that the local context of my research sites is special. Yei is different from many other counties because people there got help from various organisations during the civil wars. Schools and hospitals were built and thus, people there were not as affected by the wars the same way as people in other counties. Juba cannot be generalized to other South Sudanese cities because it is the capital where the government and all the major aid organisations are located. Thus, it is problematic to generalize the findings from Juba and Yei county to the rest of the country.

Another challenge of doing this research is the limited time I had in South Sudan. I spent nearly seven weeks there which is not a lot considering that I planned to interview returnees, the government and NGOs. Meeting representatives from all these groups took a lot of time. On the other hand, I was able to interview several returnees the same day due to the help I got from the NGOs and the local leaders. Further, I had to spend time both in Juba and in Yei. Ideally, I should have spent as much time at both locations, but making the right contacts and getting the process started took a lot of time; therefore I needed to spend more time in Juba than I did in Yei. Another consequence of the limited time is that I did not manage to include interviews with the residents in my research. This was the intention when I planned my field work, but after I arrived South Sudan and started the interviews, I realized that I did not have enough time. Similarly, I wanted to spend time assessing the narratives of the local chiefs and the NGOs located in Yei. Due to time constraints, I had to concentrate on the national authorities and the NGOs' headquarters in Juba.

Language is a limitation because I do not speak Arabic or the other local languages in South Sudan. The result is that I had to bring an interpreter with me to many of the interviews, mainly to the interviews with the returnees. Using an interpreter was challenging because I could never be certain if that person understood what I meant. Neither could I be sure that the

answer of the respondent was understood and translated correctly. On some occasions, having a translator was helpful because he/she understood the local context better than me and asked the right follow-up questions. The representatives from the ministry and the NGOs spoke English, thus I did not depend on an interpreter when I interviewed them. I experienced that these interviews had a better dynamic and it was easier to know when a question was misunderstood and rephrase it.

2.5 Ethics

Ethics is important for social research due to the responsibility for the informants (Bryman 2008). There are four issues which need to be considered when analyzing ethics. These are harm to participants, lack of informed consent, invasion of privacy, and deception (Diener and Crandall 1978 cited in Bryman 2008). Without focus on ethics and these four issues, the research is not likely to be acknowledged. I will discuss each of them briefly here.

Harm to participants

Harm to the participants can take different forms. It can be physical, destroying the participants' development, resulting in loss of self-esteem and stress (Diener and Crandall 1978 cited in Bryman 2008). The possibility of causing this kind of harm to my participants is something that I was well aware of and was trying to avoid. One way I tried to minimize this was to start with interviewing the organisations and the government. By beginning with these interviews, I learned more about the social conduct in South Sudan. More important, working with the organisations helped me approaching the returnees in the best manner possible. This way, the interviews with the returnees were arranged at the right place at the right time. The local leaders were aware of what was going on and thus, the chances of suspicion and exclusion of the returnees were reduced. Another aspect of avoiding harming the participants was to ensure their anonymity by using pseudonyms. This is an important aspect of the informed consent (Bryman 2008).

Lack of informed consent

Informed consent means that the participants in a study must get all the information he/she needs to decide whether he/she wants to participate (Bryman 2008). For my research, this implied that I spent some time before every interview to explain who I am and what my studies are about, that they are participating out of free will, that they do not need to answer all questions if they do not want to, and that they could stop the interview at any time if they

wanted to withdraw. These are important aspects of the informed consent forms (Bryman 2008).

Invasion of privacy

Doing research on return and integration is difficult because it involves personal questions, thus there is a risk of invasion of privacy (Bryman 2008). Some examples are discussions about the returnees' experiences from the time they were displaced and questions related to their financial situation before and after the return. In order to minimize the invasion of privacy, I found it important to assure the participants that they remained anonymous, and respect that there could be issues they did not want to talk about.

Deception

When a researcher present his/her work as something else than what it really is, it is called deception (Bryman 2008). Solving this can be done by making the respondents familiar with the research in order for them to gain a complete understanding. This was challenging because people always had expectations of who I was and why I was there. The reason is the high number of international organisations operating in South Sudan and that I was arriving in the vehicles of some of these organisations when I met the returnees. Thus, explaining that I was a student doing field work was a major task in avoiding deception.

2.6 The research sites

My research was carried out in Juba and in Yei, Central Equatoria State. Juba is the capital of South Sudan and I chose this city because it is the biggest one in the country and because the ministries and the NGOs are located there. Starting out in the capital made it easier to make contacts and to get an impression of the country. There, I was able to conduct key informant interviews and meet people who could set me in contact with returnees in Juba and in Yei. Without staying in Juba and meeting with representatives from different organisations, my research would have been very difficult to organize. The NRC introduced me to returnees at their reintegration counseling center. There, I met some returnees who recently arrived and others who had been staying in the capital for a while. In addition, the UNHCR brought me to Juba Way Station. That is the place where many returnees first arrive when they come to Juba. They are taken there by the IOM and stay there for a few weeks until they have got their luggage. Many of them are transported to other parts of the country.

Yei is a county southwest of Juba. My research there was facilitated by the NPA. The NPA suggested Yei as the second site because it is very different from Juba due to the fact that the majority of the people there live from farming and thus, it is well suited for my research. Another reason why Yei was recommended was safety; Yei was considered to be a relatively safe area in South Sudan. The majority of the interviews there were conducted in Lasu payam to get an understanding of the situation for the returnees at the countryside. In addition, I did six interviews in Yei town which is the largest city in the county. When I discuss the findings from the city I will emphasize that it is Yei *town*, but when I talk of Yei I mean the entire county. Making this kind of distinction may be confusing, but I found it necessary in order to illustrate that there are local variations within the county.

It is possible to question whether it is appropriate to compare a Juba with an entire county. I find it useful because the capital is a large city. By using the entire county, Yei, I am also able to illustrate that there are local differences. Thus, I will argue that the returnees in Juba share some challenges with the returnees in Yei town; the situation in the capital is not unique. Before I discuss these challenges further, it is necessary to present the history of South Sudan.

Chapter 3 Background: War and displacement

In the following chapter I will look more into the history of South Sudan and the conflict with the Sudan. The intention of including this is to explain why people were displaced in the first place. I will illustrate how the wars, combined with drought, forced thousands of people to leave their homes. To give a broad approach to the historical context, I will add a section on Operation Lifeline Sudan, OLS, to show how the international community reacted to this situation. I will end this chapter by looking at the peace process and the independence.

3.1 Independence and the first civil war

South Sudan became an independent state on July 9th 2011 after an election held in January the same year. Due to the election results, South Sudan seceded from the Sudan. These two countries had been one large country since the colonial years ended in 1956 (Johnson 2003). During the colonial years the north was modernized, and when the British pulled out in 1956, Khartoum became the capital and thus economic and political center. The southerners were not integrated in the changes which occurred as a result of the independence. The polarization of the north and the south was strengthened by the way Arabic was introduced as the official language and Islam as the official religion in the country (Johnson 2003). The non-Muslim, non-Arabic speaking southerners claimed to be marginalized by the north. This distance between the north and the south led to the first civil war which started in 1955 and lasted until 1972 (Johnson 2003). The resistance movement from the south, called Anyanya, fought for self-determination.

3.2 Cease fire and the second civil war

In 1972, the two parts agreed on a peace agreement which is referred to as the Addis Ababa agreement (Johnson 2003). It was a respond to the southerners' request for autonomy, and the Southern Regional Government was granted. However, the agreement from Addis Ababa did not last, and the second civil war started in 1983 and went on for 22 years. One of the main explanations why the cease fire from 1972 did not last is the regionalization of the south which took place at the beginning of the 1980s (Johnson 2003). The south was divided into three regions; Bahr al-Ghazal, Upper Nile and Equatoria. Each region was given a governing authority. However, the power gained through the Addis Ababa Agreement was reduced and the southerners were skeptical and dissatisfied with this new arrangement (Collins 2008).

Another development which led to the second civil war was the continuation of Islamization and Arabization of the country (Collins 2008). An important example is the introduction of sharia as official law in the entire country. Sharia is the name of the Islamic law and it involves a lot of regulations of people's everyday life, in particular for the non-Muslims. Collins (2008) exemplifies this by the banning of alcohol. Persons who did not obey this law risked amputations or even being killed. This increased focus on religion, and Islam in particular, was problematic in the Sudan because one third of the population was non-Muslims (Collins 2008). The majority of them lived in the south, and the resistance against the north increased again.

3.3 The history of displacement and return

Displacement has been an important part of the history of the South Sudanese. Here, I will look more into displacement and return since the independence in 1956. Background information on when, where and why people left and returned is necessary for writing a thesis on return and the challenges of integration. It depends on some knowledge on their past, including the time before they left.

In the Sudan, people have both left and returned as a result of civil wars and natural disasters (Ruiz 1998). In the years before and after independence, the people in the south were marginalized. The first civil war started in 1955 and thus, many decided to leave their homes and go to the north or to other countries (Ruiz 1998). People fled from deprivation, looking for new opportunities. The extent of the displacement becomes obvious when looking at the return during the peaceful period between the two civil wars. As a result of the Addis Ababa agreement and due to the situation in their host countries, 500 000 refugees and 500 000 IDPs returned in the 1970s (Collins 2008). Receiving and integrating all these returnees were challenging to the new government in the south, and assistance from the United Nations, UN, and different NGOs was a necessity.

The Sudanese were displaced once more because the situation in the country became unstable and the second civil war begun. The Sudanese People's Liberation Army, SPLA, was the organisation in the south fighting against the north. This fighting did according to Ruiz (1998) lead to displacement of approximately 50 000 persons in 1985 and 1986. However, this was only the beginning. Ruiz (1998) exemplifies how hundreds of thousands of people from different parts of the south became refugees and IDPs due to raiding and attacks during the

last half of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s. Several hundred thousand left to neighboring countries like Ethiopia and Uganda, many moved to the north, while others were displaced within the south (Ruiz 1998).

In addition to an unpredictable political situation, natural disasters played a central role in the displacement. During the first half of the 1980s many Sudanese suffered from a drought (Collins 2008). The drought led to a shortage of food and again many Sudanese left their homes. It lasted until the rain came in August 1988. By then, almost 3 million people from the south had fled the country and ended up in refugee camps or in the cities in the north (Collins 2008: 176). Thus, one-third of the population in the south became refugees or IDPs. The drought came in addition to the political unrest, and thus the number of displaced persons increased rapidly. The problem was that in the areas where the displaced persons arrived, the number of people exceeded the food production and the resources available to the international organisations (Ruiz 1998). As a result, more than 250 000 persons starved to death in the southern part of the Sudan in the 1980s, and many more were displaced.

Shortage of food was also an issue during periods of return (Johnson 2003). An example is the eastern Sudan in 1991 when a lot of people started coming back at the same time. The return became a challenge because the government did not allow organisations to enter the area (Johnson 2003). The international community was well aware of the problem, and the World Food Programme, WFP, intended to do send food and tools but was denied access. Thus, the residents did not have enough food to share with all the returnees.

Return has also been important during the last decade. The reason is that the situation calmed down due to negotiations between the north and the south which resulted in the CPA in 2005. The south got its own interim government which made return more attractive and feasible for the displaced people (Shanmugaratnam 2010). This optimism remained and people continued returning due to the referendum which was arranged in January 2011. The extent of the return is major due to the displacement since the British left in 1956. The civil war have been devastating, and between four and six million people left their homes in the south, some crossed international borders while others became IDPs (Collins 2008). In 2005, no country had more IDPs than the Sudan where more than four million could be defined as IDPs (Shanmugaratnam 2010). It is important to emphasize that the conflict between the north and the south is not the only reason for this high number. The situation in Darfur is another

dimension which has to be included (Shanmugaratnam 2010). However, I do not have the opportunity to look more into this here.

The return the last decade is the one most relevant to my thesis because the vast majority of the people I interviewed had returned within the last 10 years. Thus, I find it relevant to go a little more in detail on this. Return has been important in this period. From the CPA and to the end of June 2009, 1.9 million persons succeeded in returning to South Sudan (IOM n.d.). The majority of these returnees came spontaneously. They returned alone or together with family members without any kind of assistance from any organisation or government. In addition, there is another group of returnees who got help from GOSS, UN and IOM (Shanmugaratnam 2010). The extent of the return of these refugees and IDPs puts an enormous pressure on the various actors like GOSS, local community and NGOs in South Sudan. The issues needing to be solved are related to logistics and the political and socio-economic situation (Shanmugaratnam 2010). While Shanmugaratnam (2010) explains that this is challenging for various actors in South Sudan, I will concentrate on the returnees themselves.

So far I have looked at the reasons why people left their homes. Another aspect which is relevant to discuss is how the Sudanese government reacted to the displacement and how the displaced were treated. The government did according to Ruiz (1998) not try to prevent the displacement from happening or to make the best out of the situation for the IDPs. Rather, the actions of the government contributed to increase the number of displaced and their misery (Ruiz 1998). This happened due to bombing of camps where displaced people were settled and because various agencies were prevented from helping the population. In addition, the government violated human rights by forcing people to leave their homes and by sending children into labor work and slavery (Ruiz 1998). The government did not admit that these incidents took place, but would not let any international organisation investigate the accusations to prove their innocence (Ruiz 1998).

Despite of this neglect, it is important to stress that the Sudan did ask the UN to help with the displacement in 1988 (Ruiz 1998). The answer was that all UN members would assist on relief, rehabilitation and reconstruction. Previous to this request, the situation in the Sudan including the civil war and the displacement got very limited attention internationally. Only international NGOs were there to help. After the UN was involved in 1988, the OLS was

founded and the situation of the displaced persons and the conflict in general came more into focus.

3.4 Operation Lifeline Sudan

Operation Lifeline Sudan, OLS, is a relief effort which was established after a conference organized by the UN in 1989 (Ruiz 1998). The relief effort was a result of cooperation between different UN agencies and other international organisations. One of the main tasks was nutrition due to the civil war and to famine (Johnson 2003). The situation in the south was devastating because a lot of people were displaced as a result of the war. Many of them lived together in concentrated areas, and the lack of food was significant. In order to solve this problem, the SPLA accepted to let the organisations behind the OLS into the affected areas. They could enter safely due to what is known as ‘corridors of tranquility’ (Ruiz 1998).

The initiative got millions of dollars in support from various donors and had a positive impact by helping a lot of displaced persons and others (Ruiz 1998). In addition to succeeding in delivering necessary assistance to the people in the south, OLS was also able to cooperate well with the political movements there (Shanmugaratnam 2008). However, the OLS faced a lot of problems and the results were not only positive. The aid was distributed unevenly, and in some areas it did not reach out at all. Another problem was that the positive result measured in the south was achieved at expense of southerners who had moved to the north (Shanmugaratnam 2008).

The political situation in Khartoum changed during 1989 and reduced the influence of the OLS (Ruiz 1998). The political leaders from Khartoum demanded that the precondition of the OLS had to change. In order to continue the work, the government of the Sudan, the SPLA and the various organisations behind the OLS came to an agreement in 1990, known as OLS II (Ruiz 1998). As a result of the new agreement, the assistance was no longer merely concentrated on food aid and emergency assistance, but broadened to include improvement of productivity and self-reliance (Shanmugaratnam 2008).

The OLS II faced a lot of obstacles (Ruiz 1998). An example is how trains with the aid supply were standing still. The problem was the same with the supplies which were supposed to be transported by water. The barges did not leave the docks. There had been similar trouble during the OSL I, but the challenges turned more severe during 1990 (Ruiz 1998). An

important explanation of these problems was that the government in Khartoum did not want to give OLS access to all the affected areas. The problems continued and in 1995 the UN Resident Representative agreed that the OLS would stay away from what the government considered to be war zones (Johnson 2003). An example is how Equatoria was defined as a war zone for six months from December 1995. This reduced the chance to reach out to people who needed the assistance. In addition to the relationship with the government in Khartoum, the split of the SPLA in 1991 made the work of the OLS difficult (Johnson 2003). It resulted in insecurity on how the work should be planned and organized. Thus, it became difficult to help those who needed assistance in the Sudan. Instead, time and effort were spent on management and administration.

The OLS has played an important role in the history of South Sudan and the displaced. It caught the attention of a lot of people and has faced a lot of criticism. An important part of this critique is that the OLS did not manage to be impartial (Ruiz 1998). Neither did it meet the expectation of being a mean for uniting the international actors, nor did it give them the strength to challenge the governments (Ruiz 1998). Due to the OLS, it becomes evident that addressing and handling the underlying causes is necessary to change the situation and to make the aid superfluous (Ruiz 1998).

It is important to stress that the OLS was not the only international effort in the country (Shanmugaratnam 2008). Norwegian People's Aid is an example of an organisation which has been located there but chose to remain independent. NPA cooperated with the SPLM/A, and focused on development projects instead of emergency assistance (Shanmugaratnam 2008). As a result, the organisation was able to focus more on livelihood revival instead of food aid.

3.5 Peace process and independence

The situation in the Sudan changed at the beginning of the 21st century. One incident worth mentioning in order for this change to take place was the meeting in Kampala in 2003 (Collins 2008). The president of the Sudan, Umar Hasan al-Bashir met the leader of the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army, SPLM/A, John Garang. This meeting became the evidence that the leaders were willing to continue the work for peace which they initiated at Machakos in Kenya the previous year.

The Machakos Conference is described as a landmark agreement (Collins 2008). According to this agreement, the south would get its self-determination and did in return have to accept that the Islamic laws, known as Sharia, would be the law in force in the north. However, the agreement was not good enough because it did not entail information on how wealth and power should be divided between the north and the south, or how the issue of security should be dealt with (Collins 2008). The people were skeptical to whether peace was a real possibility, and the war went on for a few more years. However, the negotiations continued and the agreement from 2002 was included in the CPA with several other protocols. The agreement was signed in 2005.

As the name reveals, the CPA is comprehensive. It contains many important issues which needed attention in order to solve the situation. One of these issues was security. According to the CPA, both the north and the south would keep their armies, but they were given a time frame to get them 'home'. The army from the south would leave the north and similar the other way around (Collins 2008). Another crucial point was the oil reserves. The profit from the reserves was supposed to be shared equally between the north and the south (Collins 2008). Significant was also the question of how south was going to be governed. The solution was that it was run by the autonomous government of South Sudan, GOSS, for six years. After these six years the people would decide whether the south should become an independent state or remain within the Sudan and keep its autonomy. The referendum was held in January 2011, and more than 98 percent voted for separation. The result from the referendum was accepted by Omar Hassan al-Bashir, the President of the Sudan, and in July the same year South Sudan proclaimed independence.

In this chapter I have looked at the history of South Sudan. Including the historical context is necessary for understanding why people were displaced in the first place and why people choose to return. In order to present this as thoroughly as possible, I have also presented the role of the international community by focusing on the OLS. At the end I have looked further into the peace process and the independence which is necessary in order to understand the return process which is going on today.

Chapter 4 Conceptual issues and frameworks

Conceptual issues and framework are in focus in this chapter. It consists of two main parts. First, various concepts and theories on migration will be presented. It is necessary to distinguish between forced and voluntary migration, push and pull factors, and refugees and IDPs. Other fundamental concepts which will be explained more in detail is voluntary repatriation and reintegration. The second concern of this chapter is livelihood framework which often is used in studies of migration. Here, I will look into some of the livelihood approaches which are used most frequently and present the strengths and weaknesses of these kinds of approaches. Finally, I will develop my own livelihood framework which is better suited for my thesis. I need to focus more on displacement and return due to the fact that my thesis is on returnees in a post-war context. It is necessary to consider their past in order to understand how their situation has evolved and continues to develop after arrival to South Sudan. Thus, I will emphasize that integration is a dynamic process rather than a static one-time event.

4.1 Forced and voluntary migration

The difference between forced and voluntary migration is essential to studies on migration. Forced migration occurs when people have to leave their homes because they fear for their own lives or are victims of political persecution (Hassanen 2007). These threats are less relevant when discussing voluntary migration. For people who leave voluntarily, financial gain is more important. However, it is important to note that reality is not black and white; the difference between voluntary and forced migration is blurred (Hassanen 2007). This means that economy, safety and politics are important aspects of both concepts. Discussing the importance of the difference between these concepts is not a priority here because my thesis is on return. However, I find it relevant to include the terms because they can explain why people leave in the first place. Their past is an important part of their lives and an aspect of their challenges in the integration process.

4.2 Push and pull

One main objective of studying migration is to gain more knowledge on why people want to leave and why they decide to return. In order to understand these decisions, it is necessary to distinguish between push and pull factors. Push factors is the term for how something drive people away from a place, while pull factors make a place attractive for people (IOM 2004).

These are often explained by economic, social, or political difficulties or opportunities. It is often a combination of push and pull factors involved in people's decision to leave in the first place.

4.3 Refugees and IDPs

Refugees are persons who have left their homes and entered another country due to risks or persecution in their country of origin (IOM 2004). People who face similar challenges without crossing international borders are called internally displaced persons, IDPs.

This kind of distinction has often been criticized because the IDPs fall outside of the United Nations Convention relating to the Status of Refugees due to the separation of the two groups (Koser 2007). The law is written to make the international community take care of persons who are not protected by their own government. This obligation does not include the IDPs because they remain within the borders of their state. However, they may have the same need for protection and assistance even though they have never crossed an international border (Koser 2007). The situation is changing because the awareness of the problem has increased and because the number of returnees is rising (Koser 2007). The IDPs are gradually getting more attention and this has resulted in more assistance from the international community and an increased focus on finding the root of the problem.

This changed focus has occurred among the government and the organisations in South Sudan. Previously, their main concern has been to take care of the refugees while IDPs have become more included lately. Some of those who have been emphasizing the neglect of the IDPs are Mark Duffield, Khassim Diagne and Vicky Tennant (2008). In 2008 they published an evaluation of the work of the UNHCR where they claim that the organisation is not able to identify what the IDPs need (Duffield, Diagne and Tennant 2008). In the aftermath of this evaluation, the work on return and integration in the South Sudan has changed and the government and the organisations focus primarily on IDPs at the moment.

Another reason why it is relevant to discuss the distinction between IDPs and refugees in South Sudan is the referendum in 2011. In terms of the UNHCR's definition, the independence should imply a change where the displaced persons in the Sudan should be called refugees instead of IDPs. This change of vocabulary has not taken place in practice yet despite of the independence; the returnees arriving from the Sudan are still being referred to as IDPs. The

concepts or the definitions are not the main concern according to the Deputy Minister of Humanitarian affairs and disaster management. Instead of discussing the labels of the returnees, she wants to prioritize getting people 'home' to South Sudan.

4.4 Return migration

Return migration is the process where people move back to their place of origin and cease to be a migrant (Koser 2007). It is difficult to have exact information on how many returnees there are because it is difficult to measure and because of uncertainty as to how to define citizenship. This illustrates the return to South Sudan. The situation in the country has been confusing due to the high number of returnees after the CPA and because some return spontaneously while others receive assistance.

Returnees can have a positive impact on their home country by returning with savings and new knowledge (Koser 2007). Thus, they arrive with new ideas, start new businesses and have contacts in other countries. These contacts can improve the international relations and facilitate import and export (Koser 2007). This is happening in South Sudan when returnees arrive with a lot of education and networks in various parts of the world. Many return from the US and Europe to work for the government and construct the country. However, I have not included these returnees in my study but instead I have focused on returnees coming from Uganda, Congo and Khartoum.

On the other hand, return migration does not always have this positive effect (Koser 2007). Many return because being displaced was difficult and they have therefore not been able to save money or get an education. Thus, their situation is likely to be similar to the situation they found themselves in before they left. Their situation after return does also depend on the circumstances of the place they return to (Koser 2007). The place they left may have changed a lot during the displacement period which can have an impact on the returnees. Examples of this impact are access to land and level of taxes (Koser 2007).

This negative description of return is suitable for describing the situation in South Sudan. The reason is that many of the returnees, especially the IDPs, do not have anything to return to and they do not have the resources or the tools they need in order to build up their lives (Haug 2008). According to Haug (2008), the returnees who have been struggling during their displacement will be most eager to return to South Sudan. The explanation is that they did not

get an education while they were displaced. Displaced persons who got an education, a network and a job are more likely to remain (Haug 2008).

This negative presentation of post-war return in South Sudan by Haug (2008) fits the impression I got by speaking with returnees about their return and integration process. They struggle because they do not have a lot of education or savings, and they have to concentrate on constructing their own lives instead of building the new country. However, I will not spend much time on the effect the returnees have on South Sudan, but rather focus on to what extent the returnees are able to be a part of the new country and build up their lives again in Juba and in Yei. In order to do that, I find it necessary to look further into voluntary repatriation, the meaning of home and reintegration.

4.5 Voluntary repatriation

Voluntary repatriation is an important term in work on displacement. It does not have a clear definition but implies that refugees and IDPs are able to return to their place of origin safely and with dignity (UNHCR 1996). This is often seen as the solution to the problems concerning displacement. An important factor for this focus was the establishment of the UNHCR in 1951 due to the 1951 Convention on the Status of Refugees (UNHCR 1996). One of the most important outcomes of the convention is that it was made illegal for states to force refugees to leave if they are exposed to danger. This is normally referred to as non-refoulement. According to the UNHCR (1996), repatriation has to be voluntary, UNHCR, governments and NGOs need to cooperate in their work on repatriation, and finally, voluntary repatriation is a solution which needs to be promoted and facilitated. This approach to return has remained with the UNHCR and is also used by other actors.

The importance of the return to be *voluntary* cannot be overestimated. This can be illustrated by how voluntariness is described as a cornerstone by the UNHCR (1996). In order for the return to be voluntary, the displaced person needs to have enough information about the situation in his/her country of origin in order to take an informed decision about whether or not to go back. The second precondition is that the situation in the country where he/she is displaced has to allow him/her to make the decision about going home. Thus, both the situation in the country of origin and the country of asylum is relevant for voluntariness (UNHCR 1996). The reason why this approach has been used so much is that the return is

more likely to be successful because it has better chances of lasting in the longer run when people come of free will (UNHCR 1996).

Another aspect of the voluntary repatriation is the focus on safety and dignity (UNHCR 1996). Safety is a wide concept comprising many various aspects. In terms of repatriation, the three main important ones are legal, physical and material safety. It is even more difficult to clarify dignity. Some of the most important elements are that the returnees are treated with honor and respect and are allowed to return unconditionally (UNHCR 1996).

The return to South Sudan in recent years can be described as voluntary because the situation in the country has changed and thus made it more attractive for people to return. The CPA and the independence can be characterized as pull-factors which contribute to the return process. On the other hand, the conflict on the border between the north and the south makes the return dangerous. It is the physical safety of the returnees which is threatened on their way from the north to the south. However, thousands of people continue their journey to South Sudan.

4.6 Repatriation and the meaning of home

The UNHCR's statement that the best solution to the displacement problem is voluntary repatriation is problematic for several reasons. First of all, it is problematic that this is a solution brought in from the outside without the displaced being consulted (Hassanen 2007). The returnees themselves are not asked what they consider to be the best solution. This is a problem because there are many different reasons why people are displaced, and thus it is necessary to consider various solutions (Hassanen 2007).

The idea that voluntary repatriation is the best solution of the migrant question is challenged further by research on the meaning of home. After being displaced for longer or shorter periods of time, many return to their places of origin. Return is challenging because people may have had tough experiences while being displaced and the place they return to is not the same as when they left (Hassanen 2007). As a result, it may be difficult for these people to refer to the place they return to as home. Several researchers have been doing studies on the relevance and impact of the term home for returnees (Hassanen 2007, Black and Koser 1999, Markowitz and Stefansson 2004). These kinds of studies illustrate that time is difficult because the meaning of the concept changes over time and because people associate different

things with it. In other words, it is not only the place where people were born or grew up which is referred to as home; it is not limited to geography.

Further, the place the migrant left is likely to have changed while he/she was displaced (Hassanen 2007). Explanations of this can be droughts and erosion. This is strengthened by the fact that peoples' memory of their home is evolving and thus differing from reality (Hassanen 2007). Thus, '*repatriation can be the end of one refugee cycle and at the same time the beginning of another*' (Hassanen 2007: 26). Despite of these kinds of studies, the UNHCR still considers repatriation to be the solution of displacement.

4.7 Reintegration

The argument of the beginning of another refugee cycle can be used to illustrate the process the returnees are going through after they arrive their final destination. This process is often called reintegration. Reintegration illustrates that repatriation is not the end, but rather how a new life begins after arrival (Hassanen 2007). It is a key concept in studies of displacement and return. In addition, it is important for actors like NGOs and governments working on these issues. Thus, the term is used frequently by a wide range of actors. As a result it does not have a clear, universal definition.

One definition, which is given by UNHCR, describes reintegration as '*the ability of returning refugees (as well as IDPs and others) to secure the necessary political, economic, legal and social conditions to maintain their life, livelihood and dignity*' (UNHCR 2004: 8). This definition makes reintegration one aspect out of four on how to make return successful. The others are repatriation, reconstruction and rehabilitation. Through making the solution four folded, several aspects are in focus at the same time (UNHCR 2004). Repatriation is the concern for the physical return, rehabilitation and reconstruction are dealing with the rebuilding of institutions and structures while reintegration is more about the returnees and their chance of building up their lives after arrival. This is often referred to as the 4 Rs in work on return (UNHCR 2004).

The UNHCR's work on reintegration changed because it became evident that the results from the 4 Rs was not good enough because the approach was too broad (UNHCR 2008). Due to this broad focus, repatriation was given a lot of attention at the expense of reintegration (Duffield, Diagne and Tennant 2008). From 2005 to 2008 the UNHCR put a lot of effort into

bringing the displaced back to South Sudan and back to their place of origin. The intention and the objective were to get as many returnees back to South Sudan as possible after the CPA. This work cannot be underestimated. However, the large number of returnees arriving increases the demand for ensuring basic services and building new structures, in other words, reintegrating the returnees. The work on reintegration was undermined due to the broad focus and the emphasis on repatriation (Duffield, Diagne and Tennant 2008). It is important to note that staff at the UNHCR was well aware of this problem, and as a result it changed.

The UNHCR increased the focus on reintegration and changed their definition of the concept as well. In the new definition from 2008, there is a lot of emphasis on return being a process and that it *'involves the progressive establishment of conditions which enable returnees and their communities to exercise their social, economic, civil, political and cultural rights, and on that basis to enjoy peaceful, productive and dignified lives'* (UNHCR 2008: 6). This illustrates the difficulty of defining reintegration and that the approach changes over time due to experience and new knowledge.

This definition is used by Shanmugaratnam (2010) and compared with the approach GOSS has to the concept. He makes this comparison in order to illustrate that it is challenging to use the concept because it has no clear, unified definition and that it is used differently by various actors (Shanmugaratnam 2010). Two of the main actors in South Sudan are the UNHCR and the government. They use different definitions of the term and end up having slightly different approaches to reintegration. The main difference is that the UNHCR regards reintegration as a process and therefore does not have a defined end or goal (Shanmugaratnam 2010). This focus on process implies that it is possible to consider how both people and places change as time passes by. The returnees change due to the displacement, and the place they return to is different compared to what it was when they left.

These kinds of adjustments and transformations are not taken into account by GOSS the same way because GOSS, through the Land Act from 2009, state that reintegration is return into the *'original community'* (Shanmugaratnam 2010). Describing the home community this way makes it appear as static and without influence from within and from the outside world. In addition, the definition presented by GOSS is too narrow because it focuses simply on IDPs, without including refugees (Shanmugaratnam 2010). It is important to mention that GOSS has

changed their approach after the Land Act. One possible reason is the cooperation with the UNHCR (Shanmugaratnam 2010).

The difference in the use of the concept is not only between the organisations and the government; the organisations use the concept in various ways as well (Pantuliano et al 2008). They have focused a lot on reintegration, but not coordinating their work on the field. The responsibility for planning and organizing this work was given to the United Nations Mission in Sudan's Return, Reintegration and Recovery section, UNMIS RRR (Pantuliano et al 2008). UNMIS RRR has not been able to follow up on this responsibility and as a result, the organisations have had different interpretations of and approaches to reintegration. The approach needs to become more holistic, not merely about ensuring services or physical protection of the returnees, according to Pantuliano et al (2008).

The different understandings of the concept are not the only reason why reintegration has been criticized. It is also necessary to discuss whether the term itself is the appropriate one to use in a given context. In terms of the return to South Sudan, Pantuliano et al (2008) argue that reintegration is not the suitable description of the return to South Sudan because the people have been displaced for a long time in various countries and return with various experiences, behavior and values. Accepting these differences, building trust and new relationships, and ensuring representativeness in local governance is necessary in South Sudan. Through these actions, it is apparent that in this new country it is more meaningful to talk about integration than reintegration, especially in Juba (Pantuliano et al 2008). People need to start over, creating a new environment not rebuilding one which used to exist. This argument is similar to the focus on repatriation and the meaning of home.

The research on the meaning of home and the argument of Pantuliano et al (2008) that integration is more accurate than reintegration in South Sudan illustrate the approach I have in this thesis. After reading about these debates and conducting my own interviews, I find it inappropriate to use reintegration as a concept to define the process the returnees are going through. Several of my respondents have never lived in South Sudan before and are therefore not reintegrating, rather integrating into a society which is entirely new to them. They have lived in Khartoum, Congo or Uganda their entire lives because their parents fled the south before they were born or when they were only a few years old. Secondly, many have been displaced for several decades and experience that the place they left a long time ago has

changed significantly while they have been away. In addition, they have changed as well. Too many are moving to a place they have never been before and too much have changed for those who have been there before. Thus, I choose to use the concept integration instead of reintegration.

4.8 Livelihood approach

The right to livelihood is a key to integration. In order to write about the challenges of return and integration, I find it relevant to use livelihood approach as a theoretical background for my research. This approach is widely used in development studies, and it has met a lot of criticism which I will discuss more in detail later. The purpose of developing this kind of approach is to have a framework to identify the factors which have an impact on people's livelihood. By using the framework and identifying these factors, development activities can be planned and valued (DFID 1999). In this section, I will present how this framework has evolved by focusing on the livelihood approaches of the Department for International Development, DFID, in United Kingdom and Frank Ellis. I will explain how livelihood is related to migration and assess the weaknesses of the livelihood approach before I present my own, modified livelihood approach.

The livelihood approach occurred in connection with changes in development theory and practice during the 1980s and 90s (Solesbury 2003). During these decades, economic growth was losing position to wellbeing and sustainability. Many actors were involved in these changes and in developing the livelihoods approach. Among them, Chambers and Conway were some of the first to use the concept livelihood (Solesbury 2003). They put emphasis on how capabilities, equity and sustainability are three main aspects which are united in the concept sustainable livelihood (Chambers and Conway 1992). Thus, they argue that livelihoods become sustainable when a household can cope with shocks and other stressful factors by ensuring the capabilities and assets without damaging the foundation of the natural resources. Their argument implies that livelihood has to be both environmentally and socially sustainable (Chambers and Conway 1992).

4.9 DFID's livelihoods framework

The concept was strengthened by being adopted by the DFID. The department developed a sustainable livelihood framework which has been used frequently in development theory. The

purpose of constructing this framework was to have a tool for work on poverty (DFID 1999). The key components in the framework are the vulnerability context, the asset pentagon, structures, processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. I will briefly present each of them in the following part.

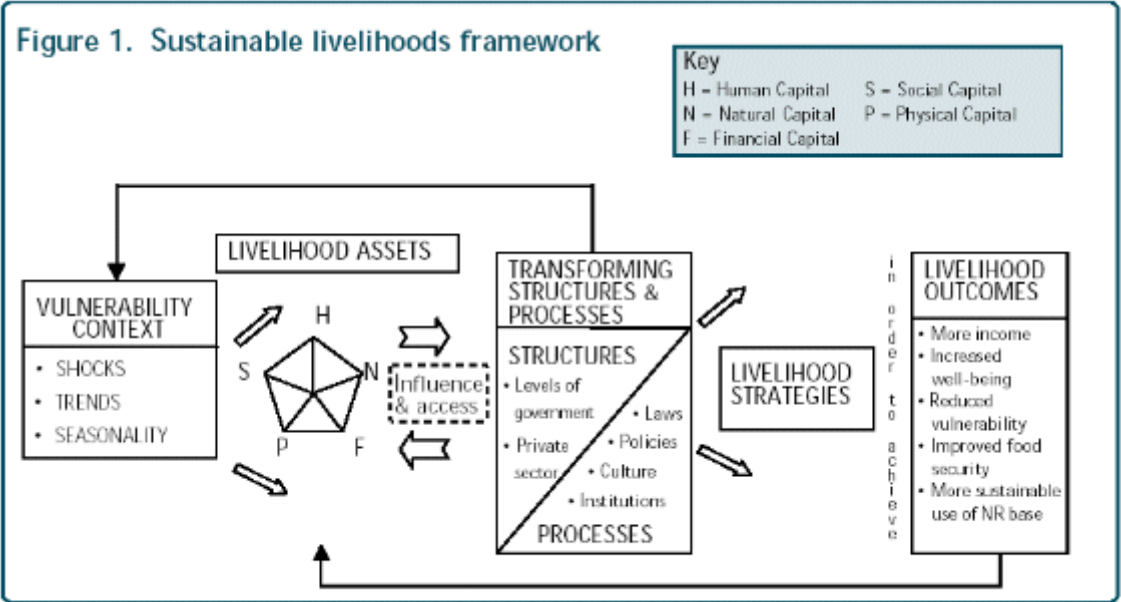


Figure 2 DFID's livelihood framework (Source: DFID 1999)

The vulnerability context is the term used to describe the wider context which people are a part of (DFID 1999). According to DFID (1999), it is necessary to distinguish between trends, shocks and seasonality in order to explain this context. There are trends in terms of for example population, resources and governance. They are often predictable. Shocks are more difficult to foresee and often have a more severe impact. Some examples are nature shocks and economic shocks. Seasonality can be exemplified by prices and employment opportunities. People are affected differently by trend, shocks and seasonality, thus it is necessary to examine and try to understand the vulnerability of the specific household (DFID 1999).

The asset pentagon is included to illustrate the various resources people have or can get (DFID 1999). These assets are human capital, social capital, natural capital, physical capital and financial capital. Together they form a pentagon. This shape is chosen to demonstrate how the assets are related to one another. Access to them varies geographically and over time, and they can be both a result of and ruined by trends, shocks and seasonality (DFID 1999).

These changes will alter the form of the pentagon. When one part of the pentagon is becoming larger, it means that this asset is gaining importance compared to the others (DFID 1999).

The structures are the organisations in charge of policies and legislation, and include both official and private organisations (DFID 1999). They can have a positive impact on the poor if they are constructed in a way that would represent the poor and if the objective is to provide services to those who need it. The structures are necessary to ensure that the processes are working as intended. The processes encompass policies, legislation, institutions, culture, and power relations (DFID 1999). They influence to what extent people are included in the society and thus, the possibilities people have to improve their own situation.

The livelihood strategies are characterized as peoples' actions and decisions which are meant for reaching their livelihood goals (DFID 1999). Livelihood strategies are many and varied, and it is necessary to take geography, time and the individual household into consideration. Thus, looking at the constraints and opportunities, in other words the context, is important in order to understand the choices people make (DFID 1999). Making choices is affected by the access to assets and transformation of structures and processes. A challenge related to the strategies is the fact that a lot of people may have the same or similar strategies and therefore will be competing over the same resources (DFID 1999). In the end, livelihood strategies result in livelihood outcomes (DFID 1999). Some examples are increased income and reduced vulnerability. However, it can be challenging to achieve the different livelihood outcomes at the same time (DFID 1999). In addition, people may have different views on what the desired outcome is (DFID 1999). This can create conflict in the planning of livelihood strategies.

4. 10 Ellis on rural livelihood strategies

Frank Ellis (2000) explains that a livelihood is created by the available resources, attempts of creating a living, and the impact of the surroundings. People are presented as active participants who survive by creating and planning strategies. These strategies can often be characterized as a diversification of peoples' lives (Ellis 2000). The reason is that people have different assets and make use of different activities to have multiple sources of income. Thus, people are more secure when sudden changes occur. Diversification is one of the strengths of the livelihood approach because many aspects of peoples' lives are included at the same time instead of having a narrow focus on one source of income (Ellis 2000). This concept will be relevant when I discuss the challenges of integration in South Sudan.

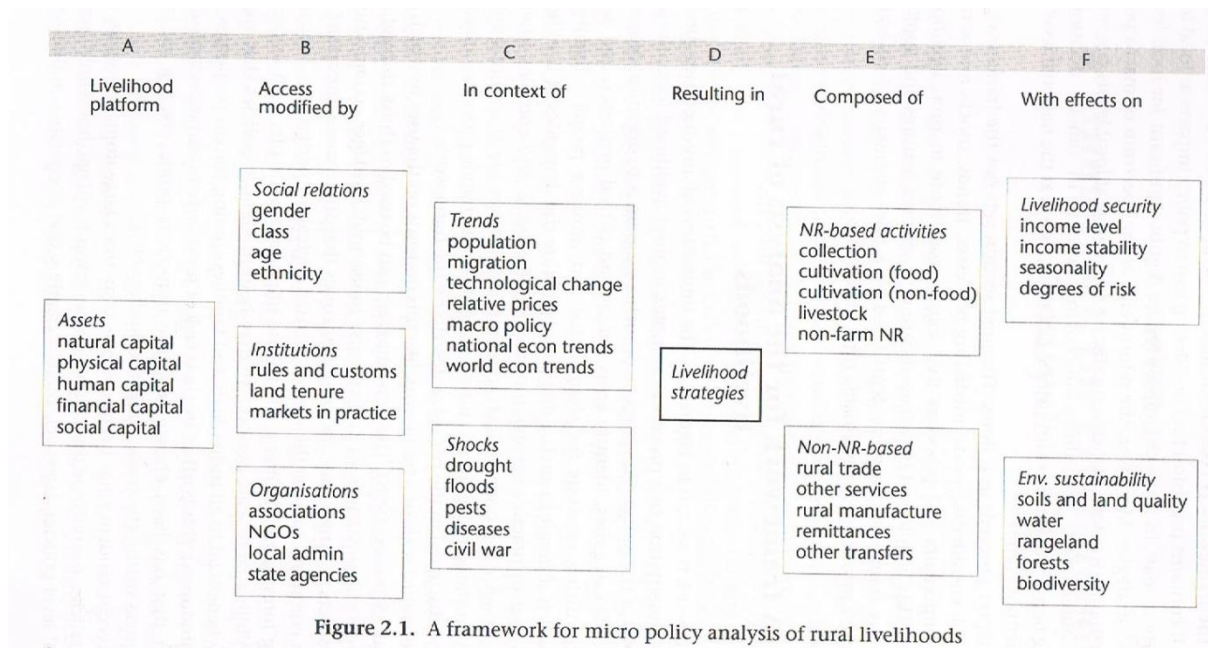


Figure 3 Frank Ellis' livelihood framework (Source: Ellis 2000)

The foundation of the livelihood is peoples' assets (Ellis 2000). Assets are composed of natural capital, physical capital, human capital, financial capital and social capital. The natural capital is explained by Ellis (2000) as natural resources like water and wood. Second, the physical capital is income generated through production. This is exemplified by tools, machines and roads. Human capital is the third aspect, and it is associated with for example education and health. Fourth is financial capital, formed by peoples' access to money which is determined by savings and the possibility for getting a loan. Finally, social capital is depending on social relations; both relatives/friends and the affiliation in the community. Combined, these assets are forming the starting point of peoples' livelihood, and the level of income is to a large extent determined by these assets (Ellis 2000).

However, there are other factors besides the assets which are relevant in gaining a more complete understanding of livelihood. Livelihood is modified by social relations, institutions and trends (Ellis 2000). The reason why these three factors are so important is the impact they have on peoples' ability to make a living and on what kind of choices people make (Ellis 2000). There are other aspects of the context people live in which influence their livelihood strategy. Ellis (2000) distinguishes, like the DFID, between trends and shocks. Thus, context is relevant because it often is out of control of the households (Ellis 2000).

With different kinds of assets, modified by social relations and influenced by trends and shocks, people adjust their lives to the context they are living in (Ellis 2000). Because the context changes continuously, people develop livelihood strategies to survive. The creation of a diverse and varied strategy, consisting of a range of activities, reduces the impact of shocks and thus increases the sustainability. The livelihood strategies influence livelihood security and environmental sustainability, and a livelihood strategy can be regarded as a success only if the interaction between various assets ensures future survival (Ellis 2000). This success depends on flexibility and sustainability between assets. Thus, livelihood approach is a way of describing and problematizing how assets and the context are connected and have an impact on people's livelihood (Ellis 2000). However, there is no definitive answer on how to end poverty. Rather, this approach is meant to recognize the main components, contribute to critical thinking about them and thus, having an impact on policy makers (Ellis 2000).

4.11 Livelihood and migration

Livelihood approaches are often seen in relation with migration. The main explanation is that migration is seen as a solution to improve livelihood, in other words it becomes the livelihood strategy of the poor (de Haan 2000). Presenting migration this way often implies a focus on people who leave their homes rather than on returnees. Thus, the livelihood approach is most useful in understanding why people choose to leave in the first place. However, the framework can also be used to explain return. de Haan (2000) illustrates how this is possible by arguing that some returnees gain from the migration by having more education and therefore being able to start up new businesses and train other people. The migration does not only have an impact on the livelihood of the migrant but also on the community which he/she is leaving and later returning to (de Haan 2000).

Livelihood and migration are relevant in the context of post-war South Sudan. This is emphasized by Haug who states that *'the major challenge in Southern Sudan is how to provide livelihood opportunities for the vast number of displaced and returning people'* (Haug 2008: 173). Further, she links livelihood and migration by saying that building livelihood is difficult for the returnees because they lost their assets during the war and they lack the right contacts in the new country. This exemplifies how livelihood can be used in work on return and integration, not only displacement.

In this thesis, I will look more into livelihood and migration by focusing on the relationship between household, social factors and the wider context. I will develop my own modified livelihood approach to focus more on the post-war situation and the impact displacement and return have on the integration process. Before I present this further, I will look into the weaknesses of the livelihood approach.

4.12 Weaknesses of the livelihood approach

The intention of using the livelihood approach is to be able to help the poor. However, the problem is that there is no definition of or discussion about who is supposed to be regarded as poor (Krantz 2001). Considering who can be characterized as poor is necessary in order to define a target group. Examples of how this could be conducted are use of a poverty line or wealth ranking. Using poverty line means that the poor are identified by a person who is not part of the society (Krantz 2001). This outsider comes in and ‘draws the line’ by using standards such as level of income or food sufficiency, thus the poor have been separated from the rest of the population. By use of wealth ranking it is not an outsider, but the members of the community who make the distinction (Krantz 2001). To identify the poor, they choose the criteria they find most useful. Through these methods, it is easier to reach out to those who need the help. Thus, including definitions of poverty would strengthen the livelihood approach (Krantz 2001).

The explanation why this has not been included is the instability and variability of poverty (Krantz 2001). Poverty changes as time passes by, thus the volatility makes it difficult to identify the poor. Due to this instability, it is by the DFID regarded as necessary to assess the social, economic, political, and cultural situation *before* the poor can be identified. Krantz (2001) agrees that this approach has the advantage of taking the variations more into consideration but emphasizes that this is difficult because it takes a lot of time and costs a lot of money. In order to reach out to the poor, it is necessary to act quickly and include as many as possible. This could be much easier if a tool for defining the poor had been ready and included in the livelihood approach (Krantz 2001).

Another weakness of the livelihood approach is that historical aspects are not included (Adato and Meinzen-Dick 2002). History is important because it has a major impact on the current situation and the opportunities people have today. Adato and Meinzen-Dick (2002) claim that when people in the past struggled to accept external enforcement, it is likely to assume that

this would have an impact on their reaction to current interference. By looking at several development projects they illustrate that social relationships remain important to people while time flies by. The concern about lack of historical context is shared by several other researchers. Two of them are Norton and Foster (2003) who add political context to the historical. In my modified approach I will try to take history more into consideration by emphasizing displacement and return.

The scale and the dimension of the livelihood approach is an issue which is relevant to consider when discussing the strengths and weaknesses of the concept. First of all, this is essential because the framework is designed to be holistic (Norton and Foster 2003). This implies that various aspects of livelihood are supposed to be covered at the same time. The problem of this broad focus is according to Norton and Foster (2003) that it may be hard to prioritize what to work on. By trying to including everything, it is easy to get nowhere.

Second, the dimension of the livelihood approach is important because micro policies are emphasized at the expense of the macro policies (Norton and Foster 2003). The reason is that there are too many factors which are supposed to be included in the framework in order to make it holistic. The result is according to Norton and Foster (2003) that there are no explanations on how to link the micro and macro policies. In order to solve this and make the approach more holistic, it is necessary both to understand how people affect the policy making process *and* the effects policies have on people (Norton and Foster 2003).

Further, Norton and Foster (2003) argue that politics, power relations and authority are not sufficiently stressed in the livelihood approach. This is problematic because these issues are central for understanding how poverty and deprivation is produced and reproduced. One way of solving this problem is to introduce a rights based analysis (Norton and Foster 2003). Focusing on people's rights will increase the focus on political relations and power.

4. 13 My own livelihoods approach

In order to use livelihood approach in my study, I find it necessary to modify the previous models and create my own. The reason is that I want to make it appropriate for the analysis of this study, first of all by putting more emphasis on displacement and return. These factors are significant in my research because it is carried out in a post-war situation where people have started returning due to the CPA and the independence. Thus, it is necessary to increase the

focus on the past to see how the post-war return and integration are a dynamic process return where people are trying to find their place in the community and make a living. The purpose of the model is to illustrate the relationship between the household, its social factors and the context in which the returnees are situated in. I will present the household first before I explain the social factors and the context more in detail later. It is important to stress that this is a constructed model and thus a simplification of reality.

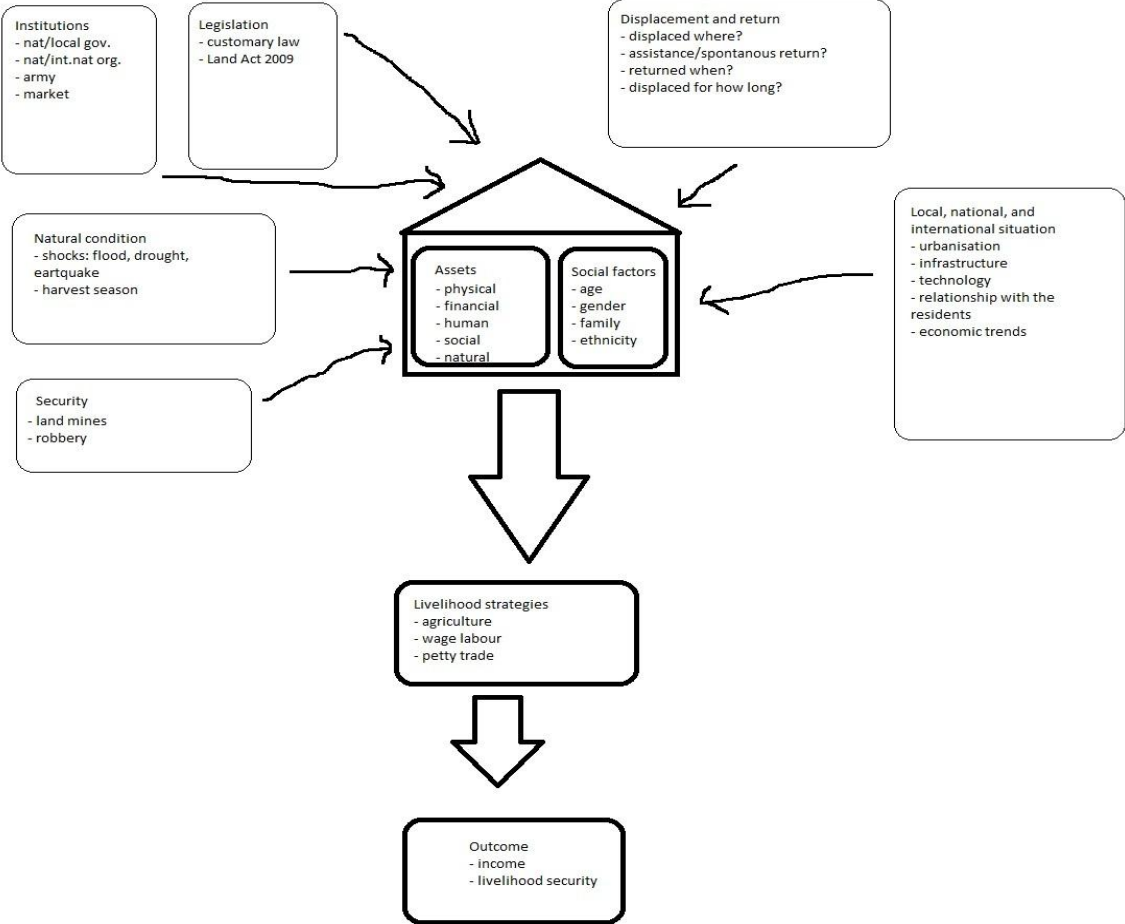


Figure 4 My own modified livelihood framework

As in the previous livelihood approaches, the central role in my modified approach is played by the household. The household is a difficult concept to define, but it is often used about people who regularly eat their meals together. This is a good starting point for my analysis because the term is suitable for both individuals and groups of people. Even though family and relatives are important in South Sudan, several of the returnees explain that they came alone and are not sure if they are able to find their relatives. Thus, including the individual persons is important. In addition, the representatives of the NGOs and GOSS are concerned with the household; they actively target the household in their work.

Further, using the household as a starting point implies focusing on people's assets. Compared to the previous theories, I make no changes of the assets, and therefore distinguish between physical, financial, human, social and natural capital. In my thesis natural and human capital will be of great significance. The reason is that I find access to land, health and language important to the returnees and their integration process. These resources are the starting point of the integration of the returnees. They depend on them in order to build up their lives again and take part in the South Sudanese society. An important aspect of the livelihood approach is not only to explain the different assets separately, but see how they are interconnected and depend on each other.

The household and the assets are modified by several factors. I choose to distinguish between the internal issues and the broader context. The latter consists of institutions, legislation, security, displacement and return, natural conditions, and the local, national and international community. Before present each of them further, I will take a closer look at the internal issues of the household.

The internal issues are related to social factors. The social factors are including age, gender, ethnicity, and family. These factors are relevant to how well the returnees are able to make use of their resources. In other words, these factors can be seen in relation with how powerful the persons are. I consider each of them important to studies of integration; however, I will not spend a lot of time on gender. Gender is rarely being brought up by any of my respondents, and men and women are concerned with the same issues. It appears as other aspects are more relevant even though nobody claims that gender is irrelevant. It is possible that the respondents would have emphasized gender more if I had asked direct questions about it. Age has to be paid attention to because it is relevant for how much education and work experience people have and for how old they were when they were displaced. Ethnicity is relevant because it can cause conflict between various groups, thus reconciliation is important in order to keep stability. Last, family and relatives are very important. Family members can offer a lot of help but also be a constraint if there are many children needing food, care and attention.

So far I have concentrated on the household itself, its assets, and the social factors modifying them and illustrated that the household is the starting point of the livelihood approach.

However, the situation of the household has to be placed in a wider context because post-war return and integration are dynamic and this affects the development of livelihood strategies. In order to understand the context, several aspects have to be included. I choose to include institutions, legislation, security, displacement and return, natural conditions, and local, national and international situation. These are the ones most relevant for my research and analysis, and I will present each of them in the following section.

The first aspect of the context I want to include is security. Security has become a wide concept, previously been mainly concerned with national security. Here, I will use the term to talk about the personal, physical safety of each returnee. This is important for various reasons. First, the return itself has to be safe in order to get people to move. Further, it is significant for the extent to which people are able to integrate. The chance of succeeding in integrating and being able to participate in the local community is reduced when people fear for their own safety. People need to feel safe, both in their homes and when they are outside.

Second, displacement and return are important factors of the context and central in my modified approach because my respondents are returnees who try to establish their lives. I put more emphasis on this than it was in the models of DFID and Ellis. As a result, my modified approach is more concerned with the past than these theories; I emphasize the past of the returnees to understand the situation they are in after they arrive South Sudan. It is necessary to gain an understanding of the returnees' situation during the war in order to see whether and how this is changing in the post-war situation which is evolving. Thus, by including displacement and return in my modified approach, I want to illustrate that their situation is continually changing and that these kinds of changes are significant in understanding how the returnees develop their livelihood strategies.

The displacement and the return are periods of the returnees' lives which are important for several reasons. The returnees adapt to the local customs and tradition, thus the location of displacement is relevant. Further, the returnees are in a better position to solve their problems the longer it has been since they returned, thus the time since return has an impact. Last, assistance on return can be of importance if the government and/or the organisations are able to improve the starting point of the integration process for the returnees. This illustrates how the displacement and the return play a key role in the success of integration. Through these

issues, the returnees' past will be given more attention which is important to understand the presence.

Social factors, security, and displacement and return are the three topics which I will spend most time on when I analyze the difficulties of integration. However, the context is broader and other issues need to be included. These are legislation, natural conditions, and the local, national and international constraints and opportunities.

The local, national and international situation is important because it can constrain and give new opportunities to the returnees. Thus, this situation has an impact on their leeway. In terms of the local community, the relationship with the residents is important. Some returnees get a lot of help from the residents which makes the integration process easier. On the other hand, many residents have a negative attitude to people returning, and make the situation worse by not including the returnees in the local community.

An important aspect of the national situation is the demographic pattern. An example which illustrates the relevance of the demographic situation is urbanization. Urbanization is relevant because a lot of the returnees settle down in the major cities when they return. In addition, many residents move there as well to find a job. The pressure on basic services will be high in these areas. Further, access to infrastructure and technology is an important aspect of the local and the national situation. This can constrain or give opportunities to the returnees by having an impact on the extent to which the returnees are able to make use of natural resources, reach out to local, national and international markets and thus make an income.

The international situation also needs to be paid attention to. One aspect which I will look more into is how the different actors like UNHCR and international NGOs problematize various issues like health and education which have an impact on integration. The way they regard these issues is important for how they prioritize to spend their time and money and thus, help the returnees. Their funding is also determined by the international financial situation. An international financial crisis can result in less money to development projects in countries like South Sudan.

Institutions are important in most societies, but their form and importance vary. Some are formal while others are rather informal. Examples of important institutions are local and

national government and administration, NGOs, the army, and the market. It is the relationship among these institutions and between them and the citizens which is important. There is a difference in the range of these institutions. Some operate at a local level, like the market, the government and the administration. Others are broader, encompassing larger areas of the country and involve larger parts of the population. This applies to the NGOs, the army, the national government and the administration. However, this is not to say that they have to be national.

In South Sudan, the market is an important institution and it has a major impact on integration of returnees. Access to the market is to a large extent determined by infrastructure and security. Another key factor in the country is the presence of the NGOs and how they impact the possibilities of the government and the returnees to be creative and reach for integration. In addition, the national government and the local chiefs are powerful in South Sudan. In this thesis, the institutions which will be emphasized most are the national government and the NGOs. They are important here because I will compare their view on integration with the view of the returnees. In addition, I will mention the local chiefs and access to the market, but this will not be emphasized as much.

Legislation is like institutions important in most societies and can be either formal or informal. It is vital to the citizens and their livelihood strategies. Formal legislation is closely connected to the government whose responsibility it is to make laws to protect the people. Informal laws are norms and traditions which are followed by a group of people. It can be limited to only a few persons or incorporate the entire population. Legislation has a major impact on the integration of the returnees in South Sudan. Customary law and the Land Act from 2009 are essential to their access to land and having their own property. Previous to the Land Act, land was communal. I will go more in detail about this change in legislation when I assess the importance of access to land in the integration process.

Finally, the natural conditions imply natural disasters like earth quakes, floods and droughts. These kinds of shocks are hard to predict and can therefore have a major impact on the livelihood of the people. Shocks like droughts and floods occur in South Sudan, but it will not be emphasized in this thesis because it is not regarded as important by my informants. Natural conditions can also include issues which are not as urgent. An example is changing seasons. The changing seasons are important because they influence the possibilities of the returnees

on their arrival. The season determine if it is time to sow or to harvest, in other words what kind of activity the returnees may engage in when they arrive. Thus, I will include the impact of natural conditions when I discuss how they are making a living and the time since return.

The household constitutes the starting point for my livelihood approach. It is modified by internal factors and the broader context. The result of the interconnectedness between these factors is livelihood strategies. People develop strategies in order to make an income and secure their livelihood. This is carried out through diversification because people put an effort into various activities in order to make their situation as secure as possible. The strategies can be based on agricultural activity, trade, wage labour, and petty services.

The outcome from these strategies is increased income and livelihood security. People have the best results if they are able to combine a number of activities. In other words, diversification is important to many of my respondents because it makes people less vulnerable to sudden changes in society. Diversification can be illustrated by how people combine agriculture with selling products at the market and thereby strengthen their livelihood security. Increasing this security is an important aspect of integration because the income makes it possible to send children to school and pay for medical treatment to mention a few examples.

In this chapter I have presented various theories on migration and explained that I find the concept integration more useful than reintegration. In the second half of this chapter I have presented livelihood approaches. I presented the approaches of DFID and Frank Ellis before I developed my own modified approach. I find it necessary to use my own approach to focus more on the past by including displacement and return.

Chapter 5 The key challenges of integration in Juba and Yei county

The objective of this thesis is to gain an understanding of the challenges the returnees are facing when they return to South Sudan and start integrating. In the two following chapters, I will look more into their difficulties by presenting and analyzing my own findings. In Chapter 5, I will present each challenge separately, look at how they are relevant in Juba and in Yei, and compare the different actors' views on these challenges. I will start by focusing on the challenges which are mentioned most frequently. These are closely related to the assets in the livelihoods approach. Further, I will assess the challenges which are connected to the social factors and the wider context. At the end of this chapter I will go more in depth on the differences and similarities between Juba and Yei, and between the returnees, the government, and the NGOs. I will take this a step further in chapter 6 by stating that these challenges are interconnected and thus, emphasize how complex the integration process is. I explain this further by linking the findings to my modified livelihood approach more thoroughly.

5.1 A place to stay

One of the first things the returnees do when they arrive South Sudan is to look for a place to stay. Having a place to sleep at night and a place to store belongings, in other words a place to call home is essential regardless of where in the country the returnees want to settle down. However, it is not as challenging everywhere. Here, I will illustrate that it is more difficult in Juba than it is in Yei, but emphasize that land is important to the returnees in Yei due to the fact that many of them are farmers. Further, I will demonstrate that the government and the NGOs are concerned with land as well but focus more on urbanization and allocation of land than the returnees. Additionally, I will stress that none of the actors emphasize the Land Act.

In Yei, finding a place to live is rarely mentioned as a challenge. Many explain that they move back to the place they or some close relatives used to live before they had to leave. A man who returned from Congo four years ago explains that '*I inherited the land from my grandparents when I returned. I got it right away, it was not a problem*'. The time spent on settling down is limited and this is not regarded as a challenge by most of my informants. However, it is necessary to emphasize that there are differences within the county. Finding a place to stay is more challenging in Yei town than it is in Lasu payam. Many of the returnees in Yei town find their old homes occupied by someone else due to urbanization. Another explanation why it is more problematic to find a place there is that several of the returnees

there originate from someplace else. In other words, they do not have a house and a piece of land waiting for them when they arrive.

Land issues are a severe problem in Juba. Finding a place to live is a major challenge for the returnees in the capital. According to a woman there *'it is difficult to be a part of this new country because we do not have a place to settle down with our children. We do not have a place where they can grow up; we do not have a home'*. By comparing this statement with the one from Yei, it is possible to understand how much more challenging access to land is in the capital than in Yei. Access to land is difficult in Juba because of the large number of returnees coming there, and because many of them prefer to stay in the city instead of going back to their places of origin. In addition to all the returnees, there are also residents coming to the capital searching for a different life and new opportunities. Expectations of finding a paid job are one of the most common explanations.

Together, the number of residents and returnees settling down in Juba puts a lot of pressure on the access to basic services, for example they all need a place to stay. Organizing this is difficult because there are so many arriving at the same time. Thus, access to land is much more challenging for the returnees in Juba than in Yei, and as a result the returnees in the capital spend more time on finding a place to settle down than they do in Yei. However, having a place to stay is an important aspect of integration both places because all of them depend on a place to call home.

Finding a place to live is not the only reason why access to land is important to the integration process, it can also be a starting point for making a living. As a result, there is a difference in the size of the area the returnees want when they are looking for a place to settle down. Those who go to Yei are usually searching for a plot where they can do agriculture while the returnees in Juba are mainly focusing on a place to live. Even though the returnees in Yei want larger areas, the problem of finding a place is tougher in Juba due to access of land and the number of people going there. However, this may change over time. The returnees coming now are not only 'competing' with the residents about access to land but also with other returnees.

The returnees are not the only ones considering land to be a key issue in integration. Within the government, people are also concerned with access to land. The representatives there

emphasize that many actually do go to their places of origin, but that there also are others who do not. Some of the returnees prefer to be staying in the urban areas even though this is not their place of origin. Planning where the returnees can stay is difficult because many change their mind on where they want to go on their way to South Sudan. Thus, it is hard to predict how many will arrive at the different parts of the country. This focus illustrates that integration is only one concern and it cannot be organized and accomplished without the return itself.

Another issue which concerns the government, but is rarely mentioned by the returnees, is the fact that land is communal and belongs to the people. The representatives from the government claim that this way of organizing land is challenging because the people want individual ownership. According to them, individual ownership is desired because of conflicts related to land. Conflicts can occur when people return and find their land occupied by someone else, in other words a conflict between returnees and residents. These conflicts are sometimes avoided because the elders among the returnees are aware of the system. Access to land appears to be more difficult to the younger returnees because they are not familiar with the tradition of communal land.

Surprisingly, the representatives from the government do not mention that the land issue has changed the latest years. The explanation for this change is the Land Act from 2009 where customary law no longer is the only way of organizing land issues. Thus, there are three categories of land in South Sudan today. These are public land, community land and private land (Land Act 2009). Customary law remains important because the Land Act recognizes customary communal tenure and the local institutions, but at the same time there is an opening for private and state ownership (Land Act 2009).

Even though the Land Act has modified the question of land, this does not mean that disputes over land are eliminated. It is difficult for the government to enforce the laws because of the post-war, post-CPA conflict which is affected by large scale return of refugees and IDPs and rural-urban migration. Another related problem GOSS is facing is land grabbing. Land is a valuable resource wanted by national and international actors (Deng 2011). Even though Deng (2011) does not use the concept land grabbing, he emphasizes the fact that there are many who want access to the land in South Sudan, and claims that large scale projects can lead to displacement of thousands of people. Other kinds of land issues, which are not

mentioned by the government, are also worth attention. This involves illegal sale of land, a single plot of land being sold multiple times, and plots being occupied by the military (Pantuliano 2009). Even though there still are a lot of problems related to land, the Land Act has started to change the situation. Land is put on the agenda, and the politicians have started the process of improving the access to and reducing the conflicts over land.

The NGOs have a similar approach to land as the government. Their main focus is on the challenge of returnees not wanting to move back to their places of origin which increases the pressure in the cities. Too many want to live in the biggest cities like Juba and Yei town instead of moving to the place where they or their closest relatives lived before the displacement. The vast majority of the NGOs regard this urbanization as a major challenge of integration. The exception is the UNHCR. Their counter argument is that the people decide where they want to go as a result of their tribal belonging, and thus, many who return from Khartoum do not want to stay in Juba. They are Bari and therefore go to other parts of the country according to the UNHCR.

Returnees, the government and the NGOs all agree that land is important for integration, but there are some differences in their approach to the issue. The returnees focus more on how much time they spend on finding a place and on that they cannot get anything done before they find it. They cannot start working or send their children to school before they know where they are going to live. The government and the NGOs on the other hand are more concerned with urbanization and allocation of land. However, it is important to emphasize that the difference is not black and white, but more a tendency. A few of the returnees do, in addition to explain their own search for land, discuss the role of urbanization, the government and attempts to allocate land. The other point from this section is that access to land is much more difficult in Juba than it is in Yei due to the return and the urbanization.

5.2 Making a living

After finding a place to stay, the returnees are concerned with how they will make money. Having an income is important to the returnees' integration process both in Yei and Juba. In the following section I will look further into how returnees are searching for solutions to this challenge and to diversify their livelihood strategy. The NGOs and GOSS on the other hand relate employment to urbanization and state building. Further, I will argue that when it comes

to employment, education and work experience are less important than contacts. The exception is how valuable work experience is in Yei.

In Yei, it is common for the returnees to work at other peoples' farms. This kind of work is often organized among relatives. The family helps those who are returning to get back on their feet. In other words, work like this is most common the first months after return. It can be illustrated by a woman in Yei who explain that '*the first months was tough, we managed by working for my uncle. The work at his farm gave us an income which helped us through the difficult time*'. At the same time as doing this labour work, the returnees are doing agriculture at their own property. When they have harvested for the first time, they are not depending on their family the same way. As time passes by and the production is expanding, the returnees may be able to produce a surplus. The surplus is usually sold at the local market, and the profit is useful for the returnees. However, this is not a reliable source of income. The problem is that farming is depending on the weather. If the weather is good, it is possible to get this extra income. Bad weather on the other hand, reduces the surplus. In years with bad weather, the returnees merely concentrate on making enough food for their own consumption.

Farming is not the only source of income in Yei. Some of the returnees do other things in addition to farming to improve their economic situation. One of them is a woman who is weaving baskets and selling them at the market. These are traditional products in the area, and to be used for storing. The advantage of doing this is that she has another source of income in addition to farming. In other words, she is diversifying her livelihood strategy. However, the low value of these products limits the profit. Therefore, farming remains a necessary source of income.

In Juba, getting employed is a major concern for the returnees. The situation there is different because they do not have a piece of land they can harvest from. Finding a paid job is the solution. Being employed is difficult in Juba because there are so many people, both returnees and residents, coming there looking for work. Finding a job is hard even though there is so much going on in Juba. A lot of new houses are being built and new roads are constructed, but being employed is difficult because there are too many wanting the same jobs. According to the returnees, getting around and getting to know the people and the area are necessary to find the first job. After the first job, the situation is improving. This situation can be illustrated by the fact that none of the returnees at the Juba Way Station have found a job yet. The

explanation is that they have not stayed in Juba for a long time, thus not having the right contacts to get a job. In addition, they need to concentrate on finding their relatives and a place to stay before they can start looking for a job.

Several of the returnees at the NRC's reintegration counseling center are more familiar with the city, have the right contacts, and have found a way to make a living and a place to live. Several of them are earning money from selling charcoal. They make profit by buying big bags, dividing it into smaller pieces and selling it. One of the women at the center says that *'it is easy to get access to charcoal, but it does improve our situation much because the profit from the sale is low'*. In other words, they have the same problem as the woman making the woven baskets in Yei. Other returnees at the center are building houses and working as mechanics. They also confirm that employment was a key challenge for them when they first arrived and that finding the first job takes a lot of time. They put a lot of emphasis on the importance of finding a job because they needed to have an income to support their families.

Employment is a key concern also for the NGOs and GOSS as well. Rather than focusing on the impact employment has on each household, they pay more attention to urbanization and the challenge of finding a job in the cities. According to them, there are too many applying for the same jobs. Thus, they state that it becomes necessary for the returnees to settle down where they are most likely to get a job considering their qualifications. This means that farmers will struggle to get employed in a city like Juba. The argument is supported by a few returnees who, even though they want to, do not move to the city because they have low chances of finding a good job there. This statement illustrates the relationship between employment and integration; making an income is an important part of the integration process.

The chance of making an income is reduced due to the presence of foreign employees, especially in Juba. Many companies in South Sudan hire people from neighboring countries because of the low level of education in the country. The lack of education can be explained by the civil wars. People in other countries have more education, and they are hired because they have more experience than the South Sudanese and will therefore work more effectively. Even though doing business this way saves time and money, it is increasing the unemployment rate among the South Sudanese.

Employing South Sudanese is important according to the Country programme manager of Die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, GIZ, who explains that both the NGOs and the South Sudanese government are eager to build the capacity and train the people in order to take more part in the development. However, there are almost no returnees or no other organisation who emphasize the challenge of having foreign workers in South Sudan. Still, I find it relevant when discussing employment in the country because I saw many foreign workers there and because the competition over jobs is high in Juba and other cities.

In order for this problem to be solved, employers in South Sudan need to prioritize training of South Sudanese instead of importing labour. Getting people employed is important not only to integrate the population but also to build South Sudan according to the GIZ. This is a focus on employment which differs from the returnees'. The returnees are more concerned with how to get a job in order to provide for their family rather than to build the country. This difference does not necessarily have to be problematic as long as the focus is on how to get people employed. Employment and sources of income are important both in Juba and in Yei.

Regardless of the motivation for finding a job, it is relevant to ask if education and work experience make it easier for returnees to be employed. One reason why this question is so significant is that having some basic education could be helpful when looking for a job. Knowing how to read could help because it makes people able to understand job advertisements. In a country where only 27% of the population know how to read and write (GOSS n.d.), people who have some basic education should have an advantage. Here, I will look further into how the job seeking process is influenced by education, and illustrate that the returnees struggle even though they have finished primary or even secondary school. Afterwards, I will do a similar comparison by focusing on the impact work experience has on the chance of finding a job after arriving Juba or Yei.

Among all the returnees I interviewed in Juba and Yei, eight have finished primary school and four have finished secondary school. Two of them have been sent away to go to school, but never graduated from university due to various circumstances, mostly related to their family situation. Out of these 12 returnees, nine have been displaced in Khartoum while two have returned from Congo and one from Uganda. Among the returnees who come from Congo and Uganda, courses and practical training are more common. This means that the returnees attend

English courses, agricultural training or take classes on health and diseases. Seven of my respondents have this kind of training.

Even though many of the returnees have finished primary or secondary school or attending various courses, they struggle to find a job. They face similar difficulties as those who have no education or training. Making a living is difficult to all of them. However, it is important to keep in mind that I did not interview returnees who had graduated from university and could get a job as for example a doctor or a teacher. According to the government, these returnees get employed easily. In this thesis, I rather choose to focus on returnees with no or basic education and training, and their struggle to make a living.

In Juba, the reason why basic education not makes it easier to be employed is the fact that most of the returnees have arrived South Sudan very recently. Before they can start looking for a job, they need to find a place to stay and to find their relatives. Having relatives and friends appears to be of greater importance than education when it comes to employment. The number of people moving to Juba makes it necessary to know the right persons to get a job. Relatives and friends are not the only persons who can make the integration easier. Having contacts within an organisation or the government can also be of great help. In Juba, returnees receive help at the NRC's reintegration counseling center. There, they can get legal advice and sign up for English classes which can be helpful in their integration process. I will return to this argument when I discuss assistance on return.

In Yei on the other hand, making a living is more associated with agricultural training than formal education. Through this training, the returnees know more about how to do farming more effectively and with less risk, thus increase their income and strengthen their livelihood. However, their problem is that they do not have access to all the tools they need to make the most of their new knowledge. One man explains that *'I participated at courses in farming while I was displaced in Congo. It is useful to learn about planting and harvesting, but it does not make much of a difference here in Yei because I do not have all the tools and spare parts I need'*. This is not only the case for returnees who have training in farming, but also for those who know how to repair cars or how to sew. Thus, having the right tools is necessary for being able to take advantage of the training and education and thereby increasing the income and strengthening the livelihood.

So far, I have looked at how making a living is difficult to the returnees even though they have a basic education or training. A similar concern is the fact that working experience does not make much difference. Working experience from the time when the returnees were displaced does not have much impact on the chance of finding a job in Juba. According to the returnees, experience is not as important as having the right contacts. In Yei on the other hand, experience from work at a farm is very useful.

The limited impact work experience has on employment in Juba can be illustrated by the interview with a young man at the NRC's reintegration counseling center. Even though he is only 24 years old, he has already worked for several years as a mechanic in Khartoum. The reason why he started working was that he no longer could afford to pay the school fee. Thus, he had to leave school and start earning money. Despite the fact that he has been working for several years in Khartoum and been getting valuable training there, he is not able to find a job in Juba; neither a similar job nor something completely different. The situation is similar for a 60 year old man who also goes to the counseling center. He has worked at a fuel station for many years in Khartoum. In spite of all this years of working experience, he struggles to find a way to make money in South Sudan. His solution is to start working in peoples' gardens in order to get some money.

Among the women I interviewed in Juba, few express the same frustration over not being able to benefit from having working experience even though they were working while they were displaced. One possible explanation is that most women are unskilled. Typical sources of income for the women are brewing alcohol or washing clothes for others. Selling charcoals is an additional source of income in Juba. It appears as though the women do not emphasize that they have working experience because they are doing petty jobs. However, this does not in any way mean that they do not consider access to money to be a challenge of integration. Both women and men are concerned with earning money in order to buy food and pay school fees and medical bills. Rather, the main point is to illustrate the returnees' difficulty of finding a job despite of their working experience.

In Yei on the other hand, work experience was more appreciated. The explanation is that the returnees who have been working at a farm previously, either before or during the displacement, have an advantage when they arrive. The income from the farm is an important source of income in the county and thus, important to the livelihood strategy of the returnees

who settle there. This is confirmed by the fact that some returnees who have never lived in Yei before and not been given agricultural training while they were displaced choose to leave the county. They go to more urban areas like Yei town or Juba. Their lack of work experience and knowledge about agriculture make it difficult to stay there.

In this section, I have argued that employment is one of the key challenges of integration in Juba and in Yei. I have illustrated that the returnees are concerned with how they are going to afford school fees and medical bills while the NGOs and GOSS focus more on urbanization and state building. At the end, I have emphasized that employments depends more on time and contacts than education and experience.

5.3 Education

In the previous section, I looked at the relationship between employment, education and work experience. In the following section, I will continue the emphasis on education. Here, I will go more in depth on the challenge of getting an education in South Sudan *after returning*. The main factors in this debate are school fees, school buildings, teachers and syllabus.

The returnees claim that education is a key challenge of integration and explain that the school fee is the main problem. Several of the younger returnees went to school or university when they were displaced, and they want to continue their education in South Sudan.

Likewise, parents want their children to stay in school in order to get more chances when they start constructing their lives in the new country. Many of the returnees cannot afford to pay for education; the school fee is too high. The problem is the high cost and the unpredictable income. It can be illustrated by a returnee in Yei who complain that *'I cannot afford to send my five children to school, it is too expensive. I am only able to produce enough food for our own consumption; I do not have enough to sell anything at the market and make money which I could spend on the fee'*. The school fee is problematic for returnees in both Yei and Juba.

While the school fee is regarded as the major challenge among the returnees, the government and the organisations have other concerns when it comes to education. First of all, the representatives from these institutions focus on the number of schools. More schools need to be built for all children, including both returnees and residents, to have somewhere to go. As more people return to South Sudan, the demand for new schools is increasing. This problem is very challenging in Juba due to urbanization. In Yei on the other hand, it is less problematic.

The explanation is the same from both the organisations and the government; the situation in Yei has been relatively stable and NGOs have been able to work there continuously for longer periods. Over the years, education has been one of the priorities of the NGOs and thus, schools have been built. This is confirmed by the returnees in Yei who say that finding a school is not the problem as long as they can afford to pay the fee. These statements illustrate that the situation in Yei cannot be generalized to the rest of the country; it is necessary to emphasize local differences.

The number of schools is not the only concern which the government and the organisations are occupied with. In addition, they claim that there are not enough teachers in South Sudan because their education was prevented by the war. This problem is getting more severe as the number of returnees is rising. On the other hand, some of those who return have been trained as teachers while they have been away. They can make an important contribution in the education sector when they return. However, representatives from the NRC explain that these returnees have been displaced in Khartoum and many of them need to learn English before they can be employed as teachers in South Sudan. Access to teachers will remain a challenge until they finish their English courses.

Finally, several of the organisations are concerned with the syllabus. One aspect of this concern is the fact that the syllabus in the neighboring countries is different from the one in South Sudan. The challenge for the returning children is to fit into the South Sudanese schools when they arrive. Similarly, there are different syllabuses *within* the country. The result is that there is no mutual understanding of what the children are supposed to learn. In discussions about syllabus and education, the representatives of the government and the organisations emphasize that English needs to be prioritized. This is especially relevant with regard to the IDPs because many of them speak only Arabic. Among the returnees themselves there is more disagreement on the impact of learning English. Not all agree that language is as important as the government and the organisations say, while others claim that it is, because knowing English would help them get a job and be more integrated in the society.

In this section I have argued that education is important to the integration of returnees both in Juba and in Yei. The returnees state that the school fee is the problem. On the other hand, the NGOs and GOSS claim that education is a challenge of integration due to lack of schools and

teachers. They also emphasize that the syllabus is a dimension worth considering. In the following section I will look more into the impact of language.

5.4 Language

The official language in South Sudan is English. In addition, there are many African languages and many speak Arabic. In this section I will explain that language is presented as a challenge by some returnees, but not all. It is mainly the IDPs who are concerned with language, but also they disagree on whether or not this is important. I will also argue that language is more important in Juba than in Yei. Finally, I will illustrate that the NGOs and GOSS put more emphasis on language than the returnees.

Among some of the returnees, mainly the IDPs, language is presented as a challenge. Many IDPs speak only Arabic, especially the youngest who never learned their parents' mother tongue or English. They did not need to learn anything else in order to be understood in Khartoum. The importance of language can be exemplified by one of the returnees in Juba who says that *'it is difficult to settle down here because I do not speak English. It makes it harder for me to find a job. It is easier for the refugees because they do not speak several languages; we who come from Khartoum have more problems'*. Speaking English gives more opportunities in the public sector because this is the language used there. An example is that English is a requirement for people who want to become teachers in South Sudan. I have already explained that lack of qualified teachers is a problem in the country and that language is a major aspect of this problem. Thus, work in schools is an example of how language is constraining the opportunities of the returnees.

On the other hand, there are many jobs in which language is insignificant. This is confirmed by other returnees, both refugees and IDPs, who say that language is not a challenge and that not speaking English is not a problem because most people understand Arabic. Colleagues and employers understand Arabic speaking jobseekers, and language has no impact on the chances of finding a job. As a result, they do not consider language to be an important factor in their integration process. This argument is presented by both refugees and IDPs. Thus, the disagreement on language illustrates that returnees disagree on the challenges of integration, and that there are disagreements between refugees and IDPs as well as within each group.

Language is discussed by returnees both in Yei and in Juba, but it is more relevant in Juba because the number of IDPs is higher there. The explanation is that among the IDPs there are many who only speak Arabic while many of the returnees from for example Congo and Uganda are multilingual. Among the few IDPs who live in Yei, language is considered to be a challenge like it is in the capital. The returnees express concerns for their children who learned only Arabic while they were staying in Khartoum. Their answers also indicate that age plays a role when it comes to language. The older returnees are multilingual while the younger ones, especially those who were born in displacement, speak only one language. I will discuss age more thoroughly later.

Another reason why language has more impact in Juba than in Yei is the fact that agriculture is the main source of income in Yei. Making a living from farming makes language less important. People are able to plant, harvest and sell¹ regardless of whether or not they are speaking English. In Juba, people are not able to do farming and they have to find other sources of income. There, people depend to a larger extent on wage labour, meaning that they have to get out and speak with people instead of being their own employer. Thus, language is of greater significance in the capital than in Yei.

Language is mentioned by several of the returnees, especially the IDPs, but it never appears as a very important issue to them in the integration process. The importance of language is more emphasized by the representatives from the organisations and the government. According to them, learning English is a key issue in order for the returnees to integrate successfully. One of the reasons for this argument is their focus on returning and integrating IDPs. Through focusing on IDPs, language becomes an important issue due to the fact that many of them do not speak English. Another reason why they consider this as important is that not speaking the official language is considered as ‘bringing’ another culture or identity to South Sudan and further as a lack of integration. Thus, language is associated with identity by the government and the NGOs while the returnees are more concerned with how language has an impact on their chances of being employed.

Language is an important question in the debate about integration. In this section I have explained that the returnees disagree on the importance of this factor. It is more important to

¹ Selling only if they have the surplus to do so.

the IDPs than to the refugees and hence, it is more emphasized by returnees in Juba than in Yei. Further, I have illustrated that the government and the organisations agree that language is a key concern and that the returnees have to learn English to integrate and to build a South Sudanese identity. Thus, they put more emphasis on language than the returnees themselves. In the next section I will look more into how health affects the integration process.

5.5 Health

Staying healthy is difficult for the returnees because the journey to South Sudan is long and demanding. The journey makes the returnees highly exposed to malaria. Other typical medical problems are respiratory diseases and infected wounds. Thus, many get ill before they arrive the country which gives them a tough starting point for the process of integration. '*How can you reintegrate if you are not healthy*' asks the State Director of the South Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, SSRRC, to stress the importance of health in the integration process. In this section I will argue that health is important by focusing on medical expenses, distance to hospital, and number of hospitals and personnel. I will also emphasize that the various actors have different priorities on these issues.

Health is, like education, a challenge to the returnees due to the costs. Paying for medical treatment is expensive, and returnees from both Yei and Juba explain that they do not always have the money they need to pay for it. On the other hand, it is only returnees in Yei who say that paying for transport to get to the hospital is a challenge. The explanation of the difference is the accessibility of the medical treatment. In Yei, there is only one hospital, located in Yei town. The town is a two hour ride away from Lasu where most of my informants are living. The drive to get to town is expensive due to the high gas price. This cost comes in addition to the medical bill. The distance to hospital is one of the most apparent differences between Yei and Juba. In Juba, this is not problematic in the same sense because people live closer to the hospitals. However, it is important to note that there are several minor health clinics in Lasu. Thus, the people do not always have to go to the hospital in Yei town in order to get help.

So far, I have illustrated that the returnees regarded the medical bill and the distance to the hospital to be the key challenges when it comes to health. However, this focus is shared by only a few of the organisations and the government. The County Secretary of the SSRRC in Yei is, like the returnees, concerned with the bad roads in the county and the distance to the hospital. His argument is supported by representatives at the NRC who say that health

facilities are too far away and that it is too expensive for a lot of people, including the returnees. It is likely that the distance to hospitals would be more emphasized if I had interviewed more of the organisations which are located in Yei, not only the staff at their headquarters in Juba.

The majority of the NGOs and the state representatives on the other hand are more occupied with increasing the number of hospitals and health personnel. According to the GIZ, there are only a few hospitals in the country which are good enough. These are located in Juba and in Yei town. There is a need for new or improved hospitals all over the country. Building the hospitals and getting the right equipment is not enough. According to the UNHCR, staff is needed in order for these hospitals to be run. One temporary solution to the problem has been to get doctors and nurses from neighboring countries to help out by working in South Sudan. The Deputy Minister of Humanitarian affairs and disaster management links the situation of health personnel and hospitals to the return process by saying that securing health services is difficult because the population in the country increases rapidly. Due to the high number of returnees coming to the country, the demand for health services is rising.

Health is central to the integration of the returnees in Juba and Yei. In this section I have illustrated that the returnees focus on the expenses of medical treatment. In addition, those in Yei focus on the distance to the hospital. The NGOs and GOSS on the other hand are more concerned with increasing the number of hospitals and personnel. Despite of these differences, all agree that health is an important challenge of integration. However, it is possible to question whether the differences are too immense and crucial for the time and effort put into the work on integration to have the desired effect.

5.6 The situation of the family and relatives

So far, I have been looking at challenges which are related to the households' assets. I will continue by presenting the challenges which are more related to the social factors and the wider context. First, I will look at the importance of having family and relatives. The situation of the relatives is a factor with impact on what kind of challenges returnees face when they integrate and on the extent of these challenges. In this section I will argue that on one hand, relatives can be of great help and on the other hand, they can make the integration process more challenging. Further, I will argue that this issue gets less attention from the NGOs than the returnees.

First, family and relatives can be of great help to the returnees. Many describe how they get help with finding a place to stay, access to land and help with food or work. This is of great importance in the first years after the return, which I have already explained is the most challenging years for many returnees. In Yei, this is important because the returnees can work at their relatives' farms when they first settle down. This income is crucial until they can harvest for the first time after their arrival. Many also live with their relatives while they are building a place of their own. In Juba, many of the returnees have to live with their extended family because of the lack of land to build a place of their own. In addition, having relatives or friends is important in order to get information on how to get a job. This way, the challenges of integration will be greater for those who cannot find or have lost their relatives.

Finding relatives is a great challenge for many of the returnees in Juba. Especially at the Way Station, this is mentioned repeatedly. One possible explanation can be the short time since their arrival. Finding their relatives can be necessary in order to decide where to go and try to settle down. Most of the returnees express a wish to live close to their closest relatives and friends. Settling down close to someone familiar can make the experience of moving feel less like a major transition and thereby easier to integrate. In other cases, the problem is *not* that the returnees do not know where their relatives are, but that they do not have the money to go there. In these cases, they miss out on support which could make the integration process easier. The interviews with these returnees leave a broader approach to why many are staying in Juba. Wanting to stay in a city because this is what they have been used to is not the only explanation of why people end up there. It is also important to consider their financial situation and the time they need to find their relatives.

The importance of getting help from the family is confirmed by the government. The Deputy Minister of Humanitarian affairs and disaster management states that '*the extended family has an obligation to help the returning relatives, but the hardship of life makes it difficult*'. This way she puts an emphasis on the responsibility of the residents, but also at how giving this help is very hard for many of them due to their own situation. The significance of relatives is rarely mentioned by the NGOs, they rather talk more of the relationship between residents and returnees in general. The conclusion is very similar, the residents can be important for the returnees to integrate in South Sudan. The NGOs do not specify that these residents are

related to the returnees. However, based on the interviews with the returnees, I find it likely that they are related in many cases.

On the other hand, death of close relatives is a burden² for many of the returnees. Both in Juba and Yei, returnees are given the responsibility of some relatives' children. It is common to send children to their uncles and aunts when the parents die. For many of the returnees, these children become an extra responsibility in addition to the kids they have on their own. The kids need food and their school fee is expensive. Further, it is also a matter of having room for all of them. One man I met in Yei explains that *'it is difficult to start up again here because I do not have enough food, we are too many. I have to take responsibility for my own children and for my brothers' wife and children. It is very tough'*. The obligation to take care of them makes integration very difficult for him.

Taking care of the children is more difficult for the parents who have lost their partner. In most of the cases it is women who have lost their husbands. In these situations, having relatives become important. Most of these women move to their husband's family or their own parents, thus their family in law or their parents will take care of them. However, I met a few women who have become head of the household after losing their husbands. In most of these cases, the women have recently returned and ended up in Juba. They become the head of the family because they have not had time to find their family members yet or because they have nobody to take care of them. For men and women ending up in this kind of situation, integration becomes very difficult because they do not have anyone to look after their children while they are trying to find a job.

The impact the death of family members has on the remaining relatives is not mentioned by the government or by any of the organisations. This does not necessarily mean that family situation is not regarded as important, but rather that there are many other important concerns as well. Thus, this can be used to illustrate that the returnees 'place' integration at a micro level by focusing on their own and their family's situation. Thus, they start talking about the death of family members and the responsibility for other relatives' children without me having to ask specific questions on this issue. The NGOs and GOSS on the other hand,

² None of the returnees themselves characterized this as a burden, but the challenges it caused made it appear as a burden in practice

operate at another level, focusing more on the state building process and the South Sudanese identity. These are issues which achieves less attention from the returnees.

In this section, I have assessed the impact of the relationship with family and close relatives. This relationship can have a positive and a negative impact on the integration process. Many South Sudan offer a lot of help to relatives who return to Juba and Yei. In other cases, death within the family can be an extra burden to the returnees.

5.7 The relationship with the residents

The relationship with family and friends is not the only social relation which is significant for the returnees, it is also necessary to look at the interaction with others who remained during the war; the residents. In this section I will illustrate that this relationship affects the returnees in various ways; some characterize it as a good relationship while others say that it makes integration more difficult. Thus, it is similar with the influence of family and relatives. I will state that the relationship is relevant both in Yei and in Juba.

The relationship with those who remained in South Sudan during the war appears to be important to many of the returnees. Both in Juba and in Yei returnees explain that after arrival they have been receiving help from the host community. The residents help the returnees to find a place to stay and/or assist them to make an income. People giving a hand like this is often related to or friends with the returnee. This is confirmed by how the returnees prioritize to find their relatives over finding shelter and jobs. Still, there are cases where the returnees and the residents have no previous relationship. In these situations, it is often the chief of the village who supports the newly arrived.

Not all returnees agree that the relationship with the residents is good. The relationship is sometimes characterized as challenging and an obstacle of integration. One aspect of this is the negative attitudes the residents have towards the returnees. A returnee in Yei says that *'they call us cowards for leaving when it was war and coming back when it became peaceful again'*. This statement illustrates how the residents portray themselves as heroes for remaining and fighting for their country and their freedom. This negative attitudes increase the distance between the returnees and the residents and make integration more difficult.

In Yei, negative attitudes are often mentioned by the returnees who arrive from Khartoum. Not only are they being called cowards, they are also met with suspicion due to the fact that they have been in the north. Several of them explain that they are being called Arab, Arab minded and soldiers of the Sudan. These names are shouted after them when they are walking in the streets. They claim that the residents do not leave them alone, always stopping them to ask questions. Some of the returnees describe this as harassment. This constitutes an additional aspect to the challenges of integration for the IDPs compared to the refugees who have returned to Yei.

This harassment is not emphasized by the IDPs in Juba. Many of them have no relationship with the residents so far, thus have not met these kinds of attitudes yet. Still, they can come to experience stigmatization as the interactions with the residents increase over time. Another possible reason why the IDPs in Juba are less harassed than those in Yei is the great variety of people moving to the Juba, both returnees and residents. Among the returnees, many move to the capital even though they originate from somewhere else which means that returnees with different backgrounds move there. At the same time, residents from different parts of the country looking for a job and more opportunities are moving to the capital. In addition, people from neighboring countries come because they can earn more money in South Sudan than in their home country. In other words, Juba attracts different groups of people and the urbanization is affecting the composition of people there. The result is that the relationship between the returnees and the residents is different than in Yei. The IDPs are not met with the same attitudes as in Yei because they do not stand out in the same way.

Even though my respondents who live in Juba have not experienced any harassment, it does not mean that the relationship between returnees and residents is perfect and that the residents there give the returnees a lot of help in the integration process. An issue which causes tension between these two groups is access to land. Returnees who have been away for longer or shorter periods of time risk finding their land occupied by someone else when they return. Land disputes affect inter-communal relations and integration. This can be exemplified by the conflict which took place in the capital in March 2012. It was a land dispute which took at least five lives (Sudan Tribune 2012). Land disputes have been going on for a long time in Juba; the residents disagree with the returnees on access to land. This was the most deadly land dispute the last seven years (Sudan Tribune 2012).

One reason why none of my respondents in Juba have experienced land disputes is that many of them did not live in Juba before they were displaced and have not inherited land from their relatives. Some originate from somewhere else while others were born in displacement and thus, arrived Juba for the first time in their lives. This means that they have no land which could be occupied by the residents. Hence, land disputes do not have a major impact of their relationship with the residents. Another explanation of why none of my respondent in Juba has experienced land disputes is their limited time in the country. They have not had the time to get familiar with the host community yet. In addition, many of them are staying at Juba Way Station or at other locations where they have no contact with the residents and thus, avoid these kinds of conflicts. Also the returnees who have stayed longer in Juba, those I met at the NRC's reintegration counseling center, say that they have limited contact with the residents. This can be explained by how the government has been expanding the city by allowing the returnees to settle down in an area called Gudele. The city planning is contributing to separate the returnees from the residents by placing them in different parts of the country.

In Yei, there is more interaction between returnees and residents, and thus access to land can become more relevant. Here, I will emphasize that there are internal differences within the county in terms of how land influences the relationship between the two groups. In Lasu, the relationship between residents and returnees is not affected by land disputes because people have access to the land they need. This improves the relationship between them. In Yei town on the other hand, land issues are more common and several returnees explain that their land was occupied by residents. They need to spend more time to get their land back which makes the integration more difficult. One man in Yei town says that '*residents have taken over my land so I have to stay with my nephew until the situation is solved. Access to land is challenging, especially for the returnees arriving now*'. He says that access to land will become more problematic as time passes by and more people return. Due to the high number of returns, some returnees may find their land occupied by other returnees, not only by residents. Thus, the relationship with the residents will not be the only one which affects the integration process.

The importance of keeping a good relationship between the residents and the returnees is emphasized by the representatives from the government. They claim that the residents, especially the extended family, have an obligation to help the returnees. They are reluctant to

talk about disagreements between the two groups, but do not deny that it happens. The explanation why these kinds of disagreements occur is according to both GOSS and the NGOs that the returnees wish to settle down in the urban areas even though they do not originate from the area. The major increase in the population in the cities is creating conflicts between the host community and the returnees. Access to land is too limited compared to the number of people wanting to stay in cities like Juba. The UNHCR stresses that the disagreement does not make the relationship violent. Instead of violent confrontations, it is rather the residents who claim to have more rights than the returnees because they have been staying there all along. However, the example I presented earlier of the land dispute which cost at least five lives illustrates that the relationship between the two groups can be fatal.

The relationship with the returnees is important to the integration of returnees. In this section, I illustrated that the returnees may benefit from this relationship. In other cases, returnees claim to be harassed and explain that the relationship makes integration more difficult. Both approaches are confirmed by the government and the NGOs. I have also exemplified that land disputes may have fatal consequences for returnees and residents. In the following section I will look more into the impact of age.

5.8 Age

The age of the returnee is an important factor to consider in understanding the challenges of integration in Juba and in Yei county. In this section I will illustrate that younger and older returnees meet different challenges due to their age. Hence, both young and old express that their situation is more difficult. At the end, I will emphasize that there are some returnees who claim that age makes no difference to the challenges of integration. I will also exemplify disagreement among the NGOs and GOSS by focusing on how the representatives from various organisations and the government support each of these views.

Age matters to integration because many of the returnees are so young that they have never been to South Sudan. Others were so young when they left that they have no recollection of the place. Many have parents who have lived in displacement for several years, and they are therefore born and/or raised in other countries. Both in Juba and in Yei, I met returnees who had arrived the south for the first time in their lives. Due to the fact that it is their first time, they do not know what to expect. There is a lack of knowledge on traditions and norms; hence they do not know what kind of assistance to expect from their relatives and other residents.

Additionally, it means that they do not have knowledge on the laws related to land, in particular customary law. Thus, it is more difficult for them to know how to find a place to stay if they do not get land or advice from a relative or another resident.

Age is expressed as challenge more frequently among young IDPs than among refugees at the same age. One of the explanations is that many of the IDPs were so young when they were displaced that they never learned English or the mother tongue of their parents. It is not only the IDPs in Juba who say that age is a challenge of integration. It is a problem to those in Yei as well. Several of these young returnees have never experienced anything else than life in big cities. Moving to the countryside in Yei where their parents or their husband grew up and getting used to the rural lifestyle concentrated on farming is perceived as a major challenge. Adapting to farming is not easy for people who have experienced nothing but big cities the first 15 to 20 years of their lives. For some of these returnees, the only solution is to settle down in the urban areas of South Sudan instead of the place where their parents used to live. Thus, knowledge and lifestyle illustrates that age is a factor in the integration process.

As opposed to many other issues, age is not one of the challenges of the integration process in which the returnees themselves are very focused on. One obvious reason is the fact that none of them can experience what it is like for people who are younger or older than themselves to integrate. Due to this lack of emphasis from the returnees, age is something which I find more important indirectly through what they are doing and saying when talking about other issues.

However, some of the returnees are concerned with age, have been reflecting on the topic and express their thoughts on this matter. One of them is a woman who stays in Juba after being displaced in Khartoum. She explains that *'it is harder for us who were born in Khartoum because we do not know the area. This makes it harder for us to get access to services'*. Her point of view is supported by a woman who stayed in Khartoum the 15 first years of her life. She says that people who lived in the south before the displacement know what to expect, they know what the challenges are. Integration is difficult for her because she did not know the area or the people when she first arrived. Their conclusion is that integration will be more difficult for the youngest returnees, especially those who are born in displacement. Also in Yei I met a few who have made up their mind about age and integration. A woman living in Lasu explains how her sister's children who were born in Khartoum came, saw the place and left. According to her *'they went to Juba because they are used to having a different life than*

they find here in Lasu'. Thus, age is not merely relevant for what kind of challenges the returnees are facing but also for what kind of solutions they choose.

Different lifestyle is also used as an argument by some representatives from the government to illustrate that younger returnees struggle more than the older returnees. Those returnees who have been living most of their life in another country have to get to know the local traditions and norms. Adapting to these new surroundings does therefore become more challenging for the youngest of the returnees who have limited or no experiences from this society. The returnees born in Khartoum are given a lot of attention because many of them are leaving the big city for the first time in their lives. The State Director of the SSRRC explains that *'the young returnees do not know their grandparents' culture; they have to start from zero learning the culture, the environment and the behavior'*.

Also among the NGOs, people emphasize how it is the youngest returnees who face most challenges when they integrate. According to the GIZ, the youngest returnees are struggling most to integrate because many of them have no memories of the place they are moving to. In addition, they are used to having access to various facilities when they are being displaced, especially the IDPs. When they arrive South Sudan, there is not much which is familiar to them. This view on the impact of age is supported by Association of Christian Resource Organisations Serving Sudan, Across. According to the organisation, young returnees are not remembered by anyone when they arrive and they do not speak any other language than Arabic. Further, young returnees struggle more because they have adapted more to the culture where they were displaced than older returnees. Thus, they have a harder time fitting in because they wear different clothes, eat different food and have another kind of furniture.

On the other hand, there may also be factors which make it more difficult for the older returnees to integrate. One of these factors is diseases. Diseases like malaria are affecting both younger and older returnees, but health is a concern which is stressed more frequently by the older returnees. Loss of sight and broken backs are some of the health problems which are related to age. These kinds of problems make it more difficult for the older returnees than the young ones to work and support their family. Further, age is a problem for some of the older returnees when they are trying to find a job even though they have no particular health problems. Several explain that due to their age they are not attractive employees. Finally, one explanation of why age is relevant is the experiences people have had during their

displacement. A woman who has returned to Yei says that it is more difficult for those who are old when they left because many of them became alcoholics while the children got to go to school.

She gets support from the Deputy Minister of Humanitarian affairs and disaster management who says that displacement is difficult because people have to leave everything they know, everything becomes different when they move and they are traumatized. Being displaced is easier for the younger because they have good experiences there and it is easier to cope for them. They take advantage of these experiences when they are integrating in South Sudan. In other words, age is significant because experiences and memories make integration more difficult for the older returnees.

Finally, there are also some returnees who state that there is no link between age and the ability of integrating in South Sudan. They explain that people have difficulties regardless of age and thus, the individual aspects are more important. It is more relevant to consider each household's financial situation, medical history and other, similar factors. This view is not shared by many working in NGOs or the government. The exception is the Director for monitoring and evaluation at the Ministry of humanitarian affairs and disaster management who is of the same opinion. He says, contrary to the Deputy Minister, that traumas are shared by all the returnees, thus all returnees need to be treated equally regardless of age. According to him, trauma is a major challenge to a successful integration because there are no NGOs working on this issue.

In this section I have argued that age is a relevant factor to consider in understanding the challenges of integration in Juba and Yei. Some of the respondents state that it is more difficult for the younger, while others disagree and claim that it is harder for the older. There are also a few who argue that age makes no difference for the integration process. This disagreement is found both among the returnees and among GOSS and the NGOS. In the following section I will continue the focus on social factors by looking more into the impact of ethnicity.

5.9 Ethnicity

South Sudan is a diverse country with more than 60 ethnic groups (Globalis 2011). In this section I argue that ethnicity is a factor of the integration process even though the returnees do

not want to talk about it. I will also illustrate how ethnicity can be seen as a tool in integration and the state building process rather than as a challenge.

The importance of the multi-ethnicity is the only topic which it is difficult to get the returnees to talk about. It is a sensitive issue and both in Juba and in Yei the returnees are reluctant to talk about it. Even though people are not willing to engage in debate on ethnicity, the topic is highly relevant for understanding the history of South Sudan and the integration process there today. Ethnic diversity has previously been used to explain the civil wars and why the resistance against the north failed. The split within the within the SPLM/A, caused by disagreements between ethnic groups, weakened the opposition. Similar conflicts can have serious consequences for the future of the new country and thus, people do not want to talk about it. In addition, ethnicity can be seen in connection with competition over resources in the area. These factors have an impact on the situation of South Sudan today and the possibilities of the returnees who are arriving. Thus, ethnicity is important even though people do not want to talk about it.

The returnees do not want to portray ethnicity as a challenge; the only internal conflict they emphasize is the relationship with the residents which in from time to time can be characterized as conflictual. In Yei, the returnees focus on disagreements with soldiers who are staying in the area in discussions on ethnicity. These soldiers interfere and take away resources when they see that people manage to create a surplus. However, ethnicity is not the explanation of this conflict. Others answer that '*we are all natives*', meaning that they all belong to the same ethnic group. This way, they are under-communicating the fact that there are six ethnic groups in the county. In Juba, the response is similar. There, people claim that ethnicity is not an issue even though a lot of people are living in the capital and there are many ethnic groups present. They say that they can live side by side with anyone. However, ethnicity may be problematic because the customary community institutions and the chief system are ethnic in character. As a result, ethnicity may become significant in a conflict over land when people from different ethnic groups are involved.

Among the NGOs, ethnicity is regarded as a relevant factor of integration because the returnees want to move where their ethnic group is located. According to the UNHCR, this need for belonging prevents even more people from wanting to settle down in Juba, they prefer to go where their group is located. Thus, ethnicity becomes a tool rather than a

challenge of the returnees' integration. The importance of finding the ethnic group is confirmed by Across due to their argument that even though people seek their ethnic belonging, conflicts within the ethnic groups can arise. Internal conflicts are often conflicts between returnees and residents which I have already discussed. Thus, ethnicity is not the cause of these conflicts. Conflicts *between* different ethnic groups on the other hand, are not emphasized by the NGOs. When discussing the ethnic diversity with the government representatives, the focus is on how ethnicity not is a challenge, rather a useful tool in the foundation of the new state. In order to 'create' a South Sudan they are building on the diversity.

In this section I have explained that ethnicity is an issue which many of the returnees do not want to talk about. I still find it important due the ethnic diversity in South Sudan and because it is regarded as relevant by the NGOs and the government. I have also illustrated how ethnicity not only can be seen as a challenge of integration but also as a tool in integration and state building.

5.10 Security

In the following section I will look closer at the relationship between security and integration. When I discuss security in this thesis, I refer to the physical safety of the returnees. I will illustrate that only a very few of the returnees are concerned with this issue while it gets more attention among the government and the UNHCR. The government relates security to the return while the UNHCR sees it in connection with integration.

The security, or the physical safety, of the returnees is a concern which is rarely mentioned by my respondents. Neither in Juba nor in Yei, is this an issue in which the returnees emphasize in discussion on integration. However, there are a few exceptions, and when the topic is brought up they consider it to be of great relevance and importance. One of these exceptions is a 30 year old woman who is staying in Juba. She regards security as an essential concern because people have been experiencing break-ins. Thus, she says that '*I am worried when I am in my own home; I am scared that someone is going to break in*'. Being scared of staying at home and not feeling safe in the local community make it difficult for her to integrate in South Sudan. Another woman, who also stays in Juba, has similar concerns and explains how dangerous it is to move around at night due to thieves and drunken people with weapons. However, these problems are not limited to the returnees; experiencing robbery could happen

to anyone staying in Juba. The difference is that the returnees may spend more time figuring out what kinds of precautions are necessary when they are new in town.

Security is an important issue to the government. The representatives of the Ministry of Humanitarian affairs and disaster management link security more to return than to integration. The Deputy Minister explains that transporting the returnees back home is difficult because trains have been attacked and people have been harassed. As a result, the returnees are transported on the Nile parts of the trip. However, neither of the representatives of the government associates security with integration. Nor among the NGOs is security brought up as a challenge in this matter.

The exception is the UNHCR. Within the organisation, security is considered to be one of three main issues in integration of returnees. The other two are health and education. Insecurity is not a problem all over South Sudan; the problems are most severe in the north due to rebels and tribal fighting. The fact that these kinds of problems are mainly concentrated in the north of the country can be the explanation of why almost none of my respondents present security as a challenge, all the returnees live in Juba or in Yei which are located far south in the country. The solution to these problems is according to UNHCR a more equal distribution of resources. South Sudan has major oil resources which give a significant income. An equal distribution of this income can increase the stability in the new country. A stable environment is necessary for the returnees to settle down in the first place and also to integrate. Thus, security is an important factor of integration regardless of where the returnees choose to settle down.

Security is, like ethnicity, an issue which is not emphasized by many returnees. However, I have illustrated how important it is, both for the return and the integration process. People need to feel safe to choose to return and to be able to build up their lives again. This argument is supported by a few of the returnees and a few representatives from GOSS and the UNHCR, while the majority does not mention security at all.

In the following sections I will look at how displacement and return are affecting the challenges the returnees face when they integrate. There are three aspects which I find relevant to consider. These are location of displacement, assistance on return and time since return. I will argue that the first and the last have a major impact while I find it a bit more

difficult to see a strong correlation between assistance and integration of returnees in Juba and in Yei.

5.11 Location of displacement

This thesis is based on interviews with returnees who have been displaced in Congo, Uganda and in the Sudan. By choosing this sample, I gain information from a large number of returnees, and I can compare the answers of IDPs and refugees. Here, I will illustrate that the location of displacement has an impact on the possibilities of making an income during the displacement and that these money is important to the integration process. Further, I will emphasize that the location also is essential for where the returnees go when they return and for what kind of challenges they meet when they get there. This means that there are some differences in what kind of challenges IDPs and refugees face. This is supported by GOSS and NGOs who focus on cultural differences.

First of all, the location of displacement is relevant for the returnees because it determines the opportunities of the refugees and the IDPs and what they were allowed to do while they were displaced. This has an impact on what kind of experiences they got and their chances of making an income there. An example is the law against brewing alcohol in the Sudan which is mentioned by many of the women who have been staying there. Several of them explain that they did it anyway because they needed the money to support their families. Making an income was a challenge in Khartoum. The women say that when they were caught they were sentenced to two or three months in prison. Serving time and being denied the possibility of earning money was hard on these families, not only during their stay in the Sudan but also for their return. Having some money when they arrived would have made it easier for them to find a place to stay and to pay medical bills, in other words, they could have spent less time before they could take part in the society. This law illustrates how the location of displacement had an impact on the possibility of saving some money for the return, money which could make the integration easier.

None of the returnees coming back from Congo and Uganda mention brewing when they talk about their time there. The most logical explanation is that these are Christian countries and hence, do not having the same prohibition. However, the challenge of making an income while being displaced is mentioned by the returnees from these countries too. They explain that there were not many jobs available and that many competed over the same jobs. Thus,

both refugees and IDPs struggled to be employed while they were displaced and to earn money to bring on the way to South Sudan. However, it is necessary to take the location of displacement into consideration in order to understand the reason for this problem and how it affects them and their family.

Secondly, the place where the returnees were displaced is relevant for their situation after they return. First of all, it is relevant for where they go when they come to South Sudan. In Yei, the majority of the returnees come from Congo and Uganda. One reason is that they originate from or have family in Yei and therefore choose to settle there. They are used to farming, some got training in farming while they were displaced, and thus it makes sense to settle in this county. For those who have the knowledge, the possibility of doing farming is good in Lasu because access to land is not an issue like it is in the more urban areas of the country. A few of the returnees in Lasu say they believe there are more possibilities for people in Juba but there is no point in them going there because they do not have education or training which would help them make a living there. They have knowledge on how to live from agriculture and therefore, it is better to stay in Yei. If they had been displaced somewhere else, there is a chance that they could have been given another education, and this way better chances of finding a job in the urban areas in South Sudan. Thus, location of displacement is significant for the integration process of the returnees.

There are some returnees from Khartoum settling down in Yei. Those who end up in Lasu are mainly women who got married to men from the area. An example of one of these returnees is a 25 year old woman who finished secondary school while she was in Khartoum. She is not able to find work in Lasu because she does not know how to do farming. According to her *'integration is difficult for me because there is nothing here I know how to do, I did not learn anything about farming in Khartoum'*. Another reason why she and other women struggle is that they came together with their new family, which means there was nobody there to help them when they arrived. Therefore, they face similar problems as those who originate from the county. They would for example have to look for a place to stay and a way to make a living. However, not all the IDPs in Yei have these problems because their family in law already live there and are able to help them. In other words, the place they have been displaced is not the only factor influencing what kind of challenges they meet.

On the other hand, most of these women have other problems than other returnees who settle in the payam. This is related to the fact that they are not from the area, and they have to get to know everything and everyone. This includes lack of knowledge on how to do farming and lack of knowledge on the local languages. They find it more difficult to integrate because they cannot work in the fields and because they depend on people to speak Arabic. Some claim to be met with suspicion. People are suspicious because they come from the north and speak Arabic. Thus, taking into consideration the fact that these women have been displaced in Khartoum is relevant for understanding what kind of challenges they meet when they try to integrate. In other words, location of displacement is significant.

Many of the returnees in Juba have been displaced in Khartoum and struggle to integrate. Before I started interviewing these returnees, I heard from both organisations and the returnees in Yei that the returnees from Khartoum settle in Juba because they do not know farming, and that integration is easier for them because their education will help them get a job there. Based on these discussions, it may appear as the returnees coming from Khartoum are better off.

However, the interviews with the returnees in Juba make the situation seem to be a bit more nuanced. Many of them are in Juba not because they want to be there, but because they have no money to go somewhere else or they do not know where their relatives are, meaning that they do not know where to go. This way, it appears as though the IDPs face many of the same problems as the returnees from Congo and Uganda. Finding a place to stay and making money to afford food, school fees and medical bills are the main struggle for the returnees in Juba as well. It is also similar in the way that the returnees say that the first period, meaning the first months or year, is the worst of the integration process. The reason is their lack of knowledge on the area after spending a lot of time away. In addition, they have to get to know people in order to find a job. Due to these similarities, it seems as though location of displacement is not a very relevant factor in explaining what kind of challenges returnees face.

On the other hand, many of the IDPs face some other challenges than those who stayed in Congo and Uganda. One of the most important one is related to language. Many of the IDPs, especially the youngest, speak only Arabic. They do not speak English and many have never learned their parents' mother tongue. However, the returnees disagree on whether or not this

actually is problematic. Some say it is because it limits their chances of finding work. Others disagree and claim this is not a problem because most people in South Sudan speak Arabic. While the returnees themselves disagree on this issue, the organisations and the government are strongly united and state that language is an important challenge for the returnees and they need to learn English. Having one shared language appears to be of greater importance for the official institutions than for the returnees themselves. If the NGOs and the government are right, it means that the location of displacement is a relevant factor for explaining what kind of challenges the returnees are facing due to the fact that these locations determine what language the returnees learn. Being able to communicate with others in the community is necessary for the integration process.

Another explanation of why the location of displacement has an impact on integration is that the cultural differences appear to be greater between the Sudan and South Sudan than between South Sudan and other neighboring countries like Congo and Uganda. Language, which I just discussed, is one of these aspects. The IDPs are speaking Arabic while the other returnees are holding on to the local languages from the south. Another difference is the dress code; people in the Sudan dress more conservatively than in South Sudan. Returnees who have been growing up with or adapting to the traditions and norms in Khartoum are standing more out in South Sudan. This does not have to be a challenge at all, but it is mentioned by some of the returnees. Most often, it is discussed in Yei because there are few IDPs there and the lifestyle there is very different. Getting used to farming is an important change for those coming there who have been living in a large city like Khartoum for several years.

The location of displacement and the cultural differences are in focus also among the government and the NGOs. In Yei, the SSRRC County Secretary stresses various behaviors by saying that *'the returnees have adopted a different kind of behavior, and this can be challenging. The East Africans and the Muslims are different from the people of South Sudan; the culture is different'*. In a similar manner, the Reintegration Manager in Across claims that *'there are different mindsets among the returnees depending on where they have been displaced'*. He explains that people coming from the north are mellower and that it is possible to tell where people are coming from by looking at how they interact with each other. These statements illustrate the differences between people who have been displaced in various countries. People adapt to the place where they are displaced, and as a result traditions, norms and values vary among the returnees. These differences become relevant when the returnees

from different countries meet in South Sudan. They have to adapt to one another and to the residents. The cultural differences are important to take into consideration in order to understand the challenges of integration. Thus, the location of displacement is a relevant factor of integration.

In Juba, the returnees rarely pay attention to cultural differences. One reasonable explanation is the high number of returnees coming there and the fact that they are coming from many different places. In addition, there are many residents and foreign workers moving there to earn money. This mix of people can contribute to make the cultural differences less challenging for the returnees in Juba than it is in Yei. I have already explained how returnees from Khartoum stand out in Lasu because there are so few of them. They would not be that different from the majority if they settled down in for example Juba. Thus, the location of displacement is not the single factor in explaining the challenges which the returnees are facing; the place where the returnees decide to settle down is another aspect. Considering these two at the same time is relevant in order to know if the returnee will stand out in the new community or not.

In this section I have argued that the location of displacement is important for what kind of challenges the returnees meet in their integration process. First, I illustrated that it has an impact on possibilities of making an income during displacement and hence, on the chances of integrating after arriving Juba or Yei. Secondly, I focused on how the place of displacement is crucial for where the returnees settle down and for what kind of challenges they face there. The location can be used to stress the difference between IDPs and refugees due to cultural differences.

5.12 Assisted vs. spontaneous return

In the following section I will assess the difference between assisted and spontaneous return. Some of the returnees are given help from organisations like the UNHCR and IOM or from GOSS. There are different kinds of assistance that are given, but among those I interviewed the most common is to get help with the transport, food for three months, tools and seeds. There are also returnees who come on their own without any kind of assistance. This is often referred to as spontaneous return. I spoke with returnees of both these categories in Juba and in Yei. Here, I will argue that most returnees face the same challenges, regardless of

assistance. However, I will add that the assisted returnees have better access to information about integration projects which can make the beginning of the integration process easier.

Transport is one aspect of the help which is given in order to assist the returnees. Previously, returnees from neighboring countries like Congo and Uganda have been prioritized. Today, the organisations and the government are focusing on transporting the IDPs to the south. For these returnees, parts of the journey are on the Nile while the rest is by bus. Plane is too expensive, and in some areas it is dangerous to travel on the road. The returnees are given assistance all the way to their place of origin. Getting this kind of assistance is important for the returnees because it is a long journey, difficult and expensive to arrange. Therefore, those returnees who are receiving this help may save some money which can be valuable when they arrive South Sudan.

Savings do not merely depend on whether or not the returnees have received assistance on their return, but also the extent to which they have been able to earn money while they were displaced. Location of displacement is more important than assistance on return because it determines whether the returnees are able to earn money in the first place. Further, access to money is one of the key challenges to most of the returnees I interviewed, regardless of assistance. Having money to pay for education and health services is one of the most common challenges among both assisted and spontaneous returnees. One explanation is that the prices for these services are much lower in most of the countries they have been displaced which means they are not used to or expecting the price level in South Sudan. In addition, money is important to both groups because most returnees spend some time before they find a job and start making money which I have explained previously. Thus, time since return is as important as assistance on return.

Second, food for three months is given to help the returnees through the first time after their arrival. I have already discussed how the first period is the most challenging for the returnees, thus this kind of contribution can be of great importance. Among the returnees who returned spontaneously, having enough food is a great challenge in the beginning. Also returnees who received assistance focus on food as a challenge. They are complaining that the scheme do not work out as intended because the food they got did not last for three months. An example is a returnee who has just arrived from Congo together with his family. He explains that *'we did not get enough food from the UN, we are 11 persons in the family and it is not enough for all*

of us'. His argument is supported by the SSRRC County Director in Yei who claims that integration is difficult because the returnees do not get the starting package of food at all. The reason is that they are supposed to get in in Juba, but instead they are being told that they will get it when they arrive Yei, which is not the case. Thus, food becomes a challenge for both assisted and spontaneous returnees.

Third, seeds and tools are given to make it easier for the returnees to manage when they arrive. The tools are mainly for agriculture and cooking. Similar with the food, this kind of assistance can be significant the first time after they return by giving the returnees a starting point for making a living. They do not need to spend time or money on getting these items. Returnees who arrive spontaneously have to get hold of seeds and tools before they can start doing agriculture. However, neither of the two groups can harvest immediately after they return, hence food is challenging in the beginning regardless of assistance on return.

So far I have been presenting what kind of help the assisted returnees get from the organisations and the government. Still, there are other matters which are of great relevance for the returnees' integration process, matters they have to solve on their own. Here I will look more into how all returnees have to find a place to live, make an income, be able to communicate with others and pay for health services regardless of whether or not they received assistance on their return. Thus, I will argue that the challenges of integration depend on other factors than assistance.

First of all, getting access to land and finding a place to stay are often presented as challenging. The returnees explain that they cannot start looking for work and education before they have a place to live. Finding a plot is a task the returnees have to do themselves regardless of whether they returned spontaneously or got some assistance, this kind of help is not offered. An exception is two returnees who receive help with finding shelter in Yei town. There, Across is helping returnees to integrate in the local community, building houses is a part of that work. However, this is defined as a reintegration project, not as repatriation. This means that the house building project does not illustrate the difference between assisted and spontaneous returnees because Across offers this help to returnees who arrive on their own and returnees who get help on their return. Thus, assisted returnees have no advantage in terms of finding a place to live compared to returnees who return spontaneously. What is more important in this matter is where the returnees want to settle down. As I have already

argued, finding a plot is much more challenging in Juba and Yei town than it is in the more rural areas of Yei. Thus, location becomes more significant than assistance on return.

Another main challenge of integration is employment, and it is difficult for both assisted and spontaneous returnees in Juba and in Yei. Finding a job is difficult for many returnees and necessary in order to build up their lives again. The importance of this is emphasized by returnees, the government and the NGOs. This is considered to be a key challenge by many returnees regardless of assistance on return. The main reason is that the returnees have to find a job themselves; the assistance some returnees get on the return is not aimed at getting them employed. In other words, challenges can be mutual despite of differences in the help given previously.

Similar to employment, language is a challenge regardless of assistance on return. Language can be problematic, especially for the IDPs. Many of them speak no other language than Arabic which can be an obstacle in the search for a job. Some of them claim that it would be easier if they knew English. They are supported by the government and the NGOs. In terms of language as a challenge, it becomes more relevant to take into consideration where the returnees have been displaced than whether they have been getting help to return.

Health is the last example I will use in order to illustrate that returnees face similar challenges regardless of whether or not they have received assistance on their return. Diseases like malaria and typhoid are quite common among the returnees and cause problems for persons who try to integrate. Spending time on being ill is not something they can afford; looking for a job and building a house take a lot of time. In addition, medical treatment is expensive and having cash is a problem for most returnees. If the returnees are affected by a disease, getting well is problematic and has to be prioritized, regardless of previous assistance. Similar with employment and land, health is an important issue for most returnees and illustrates how the chances of succeeding in integrating have to be explained by other factors than assistance. Assistance is not the key factor which determines what challenges the returnees face in the integration process.

So far, I have argued that assistance on return does not make much of a difference because all the returnees struggle to make an income to pay for medical treatment, and that language can be problematic regardless of assistance. However, the assisted returnees have an advantage

because they have easier access to information about integration projects. They get this information from the actor who helps them in returning. This can be illustrated by the help the returnees get at the NRC's reintegration counseling center in Juba where returnees can sign up for English courses and get legal assistance. Spontaneous returnees are welcomed at the center, but the staff there explains that there are fewer of them coming there because they do not know that the place exists. Assisted returnees get information about places like this from NGOs or GOSS *before* they arrive South Sudan. Getting this information is more difficult for those who arrived spontaneously. Thus, assistance on return can help the returnees in the beginning of the integration process in Juba and in Yei.

In this section I have looked closer at the difference between assisted and spontaneous return among the returnees in Juba and in Yei. The most common assistance is transport, food, tools and seeds. I have argued that most returnees meet similar challenges regardless of whether or not they have received any help. Most of them struggle to find a place to stay, make a living, and to pay for education and health services. However, assisted returnees have better access to information about integration projects than the spontaneous returnees. In the following section I will look more into time since return.

5.13 Time since return

The last aspect of displacement and return I want to include in this thesis is time since return. The time since the returnees came to their final destination illustrates that integration is a process because their challenges change as time is passing by. Further, I will illustrate that the views on whether it was better to arrive today compared to five to 10 years ago are varied. I will also emphasize that time since return is relevant because it affects the returnees knowledge on what to expect from the local community. However, this is also influenced by time spent in displacement.

First of all, the time since return is relevant for what the returnees have to prioritize. The returnees argue that the first thing they have to do is to find a place to live. This is important both in Juba and in Yei. In Yei, having land implies both a place to live and access to a plot to do farming while it is mainly about the former in Juba. However, returnees both places cannot do anything before they have found a place to stay. They do not start looking for a job or send their children to school before they have found somewhere to live. The result is that the first

period after arrival is spent to look for this place. Sometimes this is synonymous with trying to find relatives, but this is not always the case.

The time since return also has an impact on to what extent the returnees are affected by the challenges. The first time after the return is the worst for many of the returnees. Finding a place to live and a source of income is difficult. In Yei, the situation changes for the returnees after their first harvest. They have to work for others, do labour work for family or friends until they have harvested for the first time. Then, they are able to manage on their own. In Juba, the situation is similar. The returnees are going through a tough time until they find a job and can start earning money. During these first months having relatives or friends in the area can be of great importance. They can assist in finding a job and a place to stay. Hence, both in Juba and Yei time since return is a crucial factor in the integration process because the first period after return is the most difficult.

Another aspect of time is whether it was easier to arrive several years ago compared to what it is today. Returnees who arrived some years ago state that it is easier for the returnees coming now. The reason is that today, it is easier to get help from other family members who have already returned and secondly, the peace has lasted some years which means that institutions are being built. On the other hand, the returnees who recently came to South Sudan say that it is easier for those who returned some years ago because they have established a network and have found a place to stay. However, they are not able to answer what it was like to start the integration process five to 10 years ago compared to what it is today. They did not get enough information about the south while they were displaced, and most of them do not want to make any speculations on this issue. However, their answers reveal that it is necessary to consider the impact of time since return in order to understand the challenges of integration.

Time since return is relevant according to the government. The representatives from the Ministry of humanitarian affairs and disaster management state that there are both pros and cons of arriving today compared to five to 10 years ago. It is challenging to integrate today because it is getting more and more difficult to find a job and to find a place to stay due to the number of return. On the other hand, it is easier because there are more facilities and because the returnees can get help from their extended family.

The arguments are similar among the NGOs; some say that it is getting easier while others say that it is getting more challenging. The representatives from GIZ and UNHCR state that the situation is improving because the security is better, militia is replaced with government, the infrastructure is improving and there is more assistance for the returnees. On the other hand, the Reintegration Manager in Across explains that the situation is getting worse as more returnees arrive, it is getting more and more challenging to get access to land. It appears as there are both advantages and disadvantages of arriving now in the aftermath of the independence and arriving five to 10 years earlier, for example right after the CPA. In any case, time since return is a factor which has an impact on what kind of challenges the returnees are facing.

Time since return is affecting what kind of expectations and knowledge the returnees have about the local community. This is most obvious among the returnees who recently arrived South Sudan. Many of them stay at Juba Way Station. There, they are waiting to be transported to other parts of the country or to find a place to stay in Juba. During their stay at the Way Station they get food, water and a place to sleep. This means that they have limited contact with the rest of the community. These returnees are mainly concentrated on finding a place to live and finding their relatives. They do not have any contact with the rest of the population in Juba, and it seems like they do not know what to expect yet. They cannot say anything about the relationship with the residents because there is no relationship so far, and they do not know what kind of help they can get from family and friends. Thus, it is difficult for them to know what kind of challenges they are facing. Almost all of the returnees staying at the Way Station come from Khartoum. Because of their limited time in South Sudan they have not met returnees from other countries and thus they do not know if they are facing similar or different challenges. As time passes by, it is likely that they will find a place on their own, gradually gain more knowledge on the local community and know more about the difficulties of integration.

The limited time since their return is not the only explanation why the returnees at Juba Way Station have limited knowledge on the place where they have arrived. It is also influenced by the fact that most of these returnees have been displaced for a long time. Among all the returnees I interviewed, including both Juba and Yei, the amount of time they have been displaced varies; some had been away only for a few months up to a couple of years while the majority returned after spending 10-20 years being displaced. This amount of time is relevant

because it has an impact on ‘how well’ or to ‘what extent’ the returnees have integrated into the society where they arrived. Being born in Khartoum, Uganda or Congo is not enough, the person would also have to grow up there. The time spent in displacement is not mentioned by the returnees, the government or the NGOs. Rather, they touch upon it by discussing the impact displacement have on younger returnees growing up being a refugee or IDP and arriving South Sudan many years later. The impact of time in displacement would probably be addressed more thoroughly if I had asked more specific questions about it.

The importance of displacement and the return cannot be neglected if the challenges of integration are to be understood. Here, I have stated that it is important to take location of displacement, assistance on return, and time since return into consideration. Location of displacement and time since return are of great importance to the integration process, but the connection between assistance on return and the challenges of the returnees is less obvious. However, by focusing on displacement and return I wanted to argue that it is important to consider the past of the returnees in order to recognize the challenges of the integration in Juba and in Yei.

The main argument so far in this chapter is that there are many factors which contribute in making integration difficult for the returnees. I have presented them separately, more or less, in order to understand their range and effect. I have included presentations on their impact in Juba and in Yei, and how the returnees, the government and the NGOs consider them. I will end this chapter by discussing the differences and similarities in the challenges in Juba and in Yei, and among the different actors more comprehensively.

5.14 Juba compared to Yei

The main objective of this study is to compare and contrast the challenges of integration in Juba and Yei county. Based on this comparison, I will illustrate how returnees in Juba face similar and other challenges than those in Yei. I will start by focusing on the similarities, and continue with the challenges which are only related to Juba and finally to Yei. While I compare the situation at the two research sites, I will also emphasize that refugees and IDPs face similar and different challenges.

The similarities in the challenges of integration are significant and well worth spending time on. First of all, returnees both places struggle to have enough money to pay school fees and

medical expenses. This problem is especially challenging in the first period after their arrival because many of them have very little money left when they arrive. In addition, the returnees struggle to pay these bills in the beginning because they spend time getting a job and an income. Access to money and making a living are difficult both in Juba and in Yei. People spend some time settling down and it takes a while before they start getting profit, regardless of whether it is from doing agriculture or from a paid job. Having basic education or work experience does not make much of a significant difference in terms of making a living because people lack the tools they need and because the competition over jobs is so high. Even though the sources of income vary between Juba and Yei, people both places struggle to make the most out of their knowledge and skills in order to make a living. For most of these returnees, their situation changes as time passes by.

The first period after arrival is also influenced by the situation of their relatives. Family or other relatives can be of great help to find a job or a place to stay when the returnees arrive. On the other hand, it can make the returnees' situation worse if they get the responsibility of some relative's children. Thus, both in Juba and in Yei, the situation of relatives is important. Further, the integration process is influenced by the age of the returnee. There are advantages of being younger and of being older at both research sites. The younger returnees struggle due to the fact that they have limited or no recollection of the south. They do not know where they are going, nor do they have a network to return to. On the other hand, the older returnees have other problems which complicate their integration process. They suffer from other diseases which make it more difficult to do agriculture or to get employed. Thus, age is a relevant factor both in Juba and in Yei.

Other issues which are important at both research sites are ethnicity and security. These issues are not emphasized by the returnees. Even though these topics are not brought up during the interviews, it is necessary to include them because they have played an important role in the two civil wars and are vital to the return and the integration today. Finally, displacement and return are important for integration in Juba and in Yei. The location of displacement determines what kinds of experiences the returnees have from being displaced and therefore has an impact on the opportunities after arrival, either it is to Juba or to Yei. Further, I am not able to find any strong correlation between assistance on return and the challenges of integration at either of the places. The exception is that the assisted returnees have better access to information about integration projects. Time since return is important to all

returnees due to their priorities, knowledge of the society they are coming to and because their challenges are reduced over time.

So far, I have argued that there are many similarities in the challenges of integration in Juba and in Yei. It is important to emphasize the differences as well. First, I will discuss the issues which are more relevant for the returnees in the capital before I return to aspects which are more significant in Yei county. Access to land is important for returnees regardless of where they want to settle down, but only the returnees in Juba consider this as a key challenge of integration. Many of them struggle for a long time before they find a place to settle down. Many of them do not know where it is possible for them to live and others do not have the money they need to settle down. Another reason why the returnees in Juba struggle so much is the high number of people settling down there, not only returnees but also residents and foreigners searching for work. In other words, urbanization is of great relevance. It is easier for returnees in Yei who move back to their own property or inherit a plot from their relatives. The exception is Yei town where more people want to live and it is more difficult to find a place. In general, access to land is more difficult in Juba than in Yei, but it is necessary to take local differences into consideration and emphasize that there is urbanization in Yei as well.

Another issue which is mentioned by returnees both places but most relevant in the capital is language. The reason is that more IDPs are coming there and many of them speak only Arabic. Some IDPs in Yei face similar problems, but there are very few of them. In Juba, returnees claim that learning English would help them find a job. This does not have the same relevance in Yei because most of the returnees there are farmers. Learning English will not increase their production or productivity. This illustrates issues which are more critical in Juba than in Yei and thus, the local context has to be taken into consideration in order to understand the challenges of integration.

On the other hand, there are challenges which are more relevant to the returnees in Yei. One of them is infrastructure. Infrastructure is important in Yei because it affects access to hospital. The road to Lasu is in bad condition, there is no railway or other alternative transport possibility. Thus, it is difficult for people to get the medical treatment they need. The returnees in Juba do not have these kinds of problems and do not mention infrastructure. They live closer to the facilities they need and do not have the same problems getting around. In this respect, it is important to keep in mind that I have compared a city with an entire county

and that local differences exist. Infrastructure and access to hospital is not a challenge to the returnees in Yei town because they have everything they need close by.

The second issue which is more central in Yei than in Juba is the negative aspect of the relationship with the residents. Harassment of returnees is more frequently stressed in Yei, in particular by the IDPs. There is a greater variety of people, including both returnees and residents, in Juba than in Yei. This makes it harder for the returnees to stand out and be considered as different in the capital. In addition, it is also important to remember that many of the returnees I interviewed in Juba have stayed there for a short period of time, and increased contact with the residents may have the same outcome as it has in Yei. Interaction between residents and returnees is necessary if these kinds of negative experiences are going to take place. Therefore, the comparison of Juba and Yei would be enhanced by use of more similar samples in terms of time since return.

Returnees in Juba and in Yei face a lot of similar challenges when they try to integrate after being displaced. Their main focus is on constructing their livelihood which implies finding a place to stay and a job, having access to education and health services, and developing a good relationship with the residents. This is important for the returnees when they are developing a livelihood strategy to make it possible for them to survive in South Sudan. There are some differences like infrastructure and access to land. These kinds of differences are reflecting the fact that I am comparing a large city with a rural area. Thus, the local context needs to be taken into consideration even though there are a lot of similarities.

5.15 The returnees, the NGOs and GOSS: differences and similarities

Differences and similarities in the views on integration is one main reason for doing this study. This encompasses differences and similarities among the returnees, the government and the NGOs. They are the main actors of integration in South Sudan and it is necessary to understand their approaches and perspectives in order to recognize the key challenges of integration in Juba and Yei and how these can be solved. In this section I will argue that these actors agree on the main topics of integration but have different reasons for why these topics are important and different priorities for how to solve the problems.

Returnees, NGOs and the government share a lot of thoughts on integration and the challenges which make it difficult. This mutual understanding is associated with the key

topics in the integration process. This can be exemplified by the fact that they all state that education, health, employment, and settlement are four major issues which need to be included in a debate on integration. They agree that the returnees cannot integrate if they are not healthy. Further, education is regarded as important by all actors for the returnees to build up their lives again. All agree that it is impossible to take part in the local community without having a place to live and a source of income. In other words, employment and settlement are important to the integration process. This shared focus on health, education, employment and settlement illustrates that the returnees, the NGOs and the government are concerned with the same topics when they discuss the key challenges of integration.

Even though the different actors focus on the same issues, there is diversity in the reasoning of why they are important. The various actors approach the topics differently and use different aspects of each topic to explain why integration is challenging. The returnees are more concerned with their own situation and ensuring their families while the government and the NGOs focus on building a country as well as worrying about the integration of the returnees.

Education and health can be used to exemplify this difference. All agree that access to education and health services are important, but they have various approaches to how this access should be ensured. The returnees are mainly concerned with the fees of the services. According to them, the school fee and the expenses of medical treatment are making the integration more difficult. It is most challenging the first months or year after arrival before they start making money. They do not have a lot of savings because it was difficult to earn a lot of money while being displaced, and many have spent a lot on getting to South Sudan. The government and the NGOs on the other hand do not mention these costs; instead they put emphasis on having enough qualified personnel and building more schools and hospitals. This illustrates how the returnees have different priorities than the government and the NGOs even though they all agree that education and health are important challenges of the integration of returnees. In-depth analysis of each challenge is necessary in order to figure out what the different actors mean when they talk about them.

There is a similar difference in their approach to access to land. The returnees operate at a micro level through focusing on how they depend on and often struggle to find a place to stay. Primarily, it is their own and their family's situation which they are paying attention to. The government and the NGOs on the other hand take this a step further by focusing on how

urbanization makes it difficult for returnees and residents to find a place to stay. Due to the problems caused by urbanization, the government has to take responsibility for allocation of land. The representatives from the government turn this into a political matter by arguing that distribution has been difficult because land has been communal. While the returnees are more concerned with their own situation, the NGOs and the government look at the political dimensions and touch upon the legislation which has impact on settlement. However, it is necessary to emphasize that also some of the returnees see their situation in relation with the urbanization and legislation. They emphasize that urbanization and legislation are issues which make it difficult for them to find a place to stay. These returnees are the exceptions because the majority does not pay attention to these issues.

After finding a place to stay, getting an income is a key concern for all the actors I interviewed. All agree that finding a way to make a living and thus being able to support the family is important to the integration of returnees. Despite of this mutual approach, it is mainly the organisations and the government that relate this to the urbanization in South Sudan. They put an emphasis on how the large number of returnees and residents moving to the largest cities makes it difficult for people to find a job and make an income. Further, GIZ takes employment to another level by saying that employment is significant not only for integration of returnees but also for building the country.

The majority of the returnees on the other hand, are more concerned with how to find a job and make an income. They need money to buy food and to pay school fees and medical bills. In addition, they emphasize that they have to spend some time getting to know the area before they find their first job, and how the solution is to meet the right people. Only a few of them focus on how their problem of finding a job is related to urbanization. Similarly, not many are concerned with how employment is connected to the construction of the new country. The limited focus on these two issues does not mean that they disagree with the reasoning of the NGOs. Rather, they have to spend their time and energy worrying about their family instead of trying to determine the cause of the problem.

On the other hand, neither of the actors focuses on the fact that there are many foreign workers in the country. The exception is GIZ where the Country Programme Manager emphasizes that it is necessary to strengthen the capacity of the South Sudanese people by giving them an education which would make them more qualified for the available jobs.

Education has to be prioritized in order for returnees and residents to be more attractive than foreign labour. The fact that this is not mentioned by the other actors does not have to imply that they do not find it important; rather the challenges of integration are so complex which make it difficult to include everything in one interview.

Disagreements among the returnees occur, but only occasionally. One of these exceptions is the age of the returnee. On one hand, younger returnees can have more problems because they do not know the area when they arrive; on the other hand it can be more problematic to the older returnees because they have other diseases than the younger and therefore struggle more to find a job. Another topic in which the returnees disagree is language. Speaking only Arabic is according to some of the returnees, especially the IDPs, a problem because it makes it difficult for them to find a job, thus it is difficult for them to integrate. Others disagree and claim it does not make a difference due to the fact that most employers speak Arabic. Another explanation of the different perceptions on language is that some people experience to be harassed because they are speaking Arabic while others are left alone and have no negative experiences. The government and the NGOs agree on this point and state that learning English is important to the integration of returnees. According to them, employment is not the only reason why language is important. Language is also an important factor of a person's or a population's identity. Having English as the official language, spoken by the entire population is crucial for the South Sudanese identity. These examples illustrate that returnees disagree on what their major challenges are, and that the NGOs and GOSS have other approaches to factors like for example language than the returnees.

Finally, the government and the NGOs do not always agree. An example is the opinions of time since return and its impact on integration. The government representatives have a comprehensive approach and weigh the pros and con of both arriving today and arriving some years ago. Among the organisations there is a greater variety in what people consider to be most challenging. One perception, shared by the UNHCR and the GIZ, is that integration is easier for the returnees arriving today because the area is safer and South Sudan is governed by an elected government instead of the militia. On the other hand, returning and integrating can be regarded as easier some years ago because the competition over land is increasing as the number of returnees is rising. This argument is supported by Across, among others, and is a contrast to the conclusion of UNHCR and GIZ.

There are several important actors to take into account in order to understand the key challenges of integration. In this section, I have focused on the returnees, the NGOs and the government. They have similar starting points when they talk about the main challenges of integration in South Sudan. There is consensus to some extent due to the shared focus on health, education, employment and settlement. However, the returnees are more concerned with their own situation, while the others include the wider context and the construction of the country and the South Sudanese identity. It is also relevant to emphasize the existence of disagreements among the returnees and among the NGOs and the government.

In this chapter I have presented the main challenges of integration in Juba and Yei county. I started with the challenges which are mentioned most frequently by the returnees, the NGOs and the government. These are closely related to the household. I continued with challenges which are discussed a bit more rarely and are more related to the social factors and the wider context. I have argued that there are similarities and differences in what kind of challenges the returnees face in Juba and in Yei, and illustrated how the various actors have similar and different opinions on these challenges.

Chapter 6 Successful integration? Interconnectedness, coordinated work and creativity

So far, I have treated each factor of integration more or less separately. The reason for this choice is to explain each of them as thoroughly as possible. However, assessing them in isolation is a simplification of reality. Integration is a complicated issue which depends on the relationship between various factors. In order to analyze the integration process in Juba and Yei county, I find it useful to distinguish between assets, social factors and the wider contexts. It is the relationship between these factors which is significant to the integration of returnees at these research sites. Assets are the starting point of the process, but it is constantly influenced by social factors and the wider context. The two latter factors have an impact on to what extent people are able to make use of their resources and thus, on their livelihood strategies. The strategies are based on the activities people participate in, and influenced by peoples' assets, social factors and the wider context. Hence, the interconnectedness and the interdependence of these factors are crucial to the challenges of integration.

In this chapter, I will illustrate the need for focusing on this interconnectedness by giving one example from Juba and one from Yei county. First I will tell the story of Charlie and his integration process in Yei. Afterwards, I will have a similar approach by telling the story of Monica who is trying to integrate in Juba. Further, I will demonstrate how the NGOs and GOSS focus a lot on coordination and hence, neglect the interconnectedness of the challenges of integration. At the end of this chapter I will question the starting point of my thesis by focusing on how creativity makes integration easier for some returnees and by referring to the two returnees who explain that they have not faced any challenges after they arrived.

6.2 Assets, social factors, and the wider context in Yei

In this section I will present the connection between assets and the wider context in Yei. I will use land as a starting point and see how it is related to other assets, to the social factors and to the context of the county. I will exemplify this by telling the story of one of my respondents, Charlie. He is 24 years old and returned to Yei in 2007 after spending 15 years in Congo. He is not married and has no children of his own, but he takes care of his younger siblings and his brother's children. In total, they are 10 persons in the household. He stayed in Yei the first four years of his life, before he fled. He got his grandparents' land when he returned, and is now supporting his family by working in agriculture.

Having land is important to the returnees in Yei because it implies having a place to stay and having a possible source of income. However, it does not mean that the livelihood strategy is finalized and the returnees are fully integrated. There are other issues which need to be handled as well because there are other assets. Some of them are education, training, language and health. Dependence on these assets makes it clear that access to land itself is not enough.

First of all, access to land appears less relevant to people who suffer from various kinds of diseases. Returnees are highly exposed to a great number of diseases due to the tough circumstances on their return. If their medical condition is serious, getting well will be more important than getting access to land or else, the disease can make the returnee incapable of doing farming if he/she already has access to land. Thus, it is necessary to consider the two assets at the same time; the relationship between them is central to understand the integration process.

The relationship between land and health can be described by the impact health has had on Charlie and his ability to make use of the land he inherited. Diseases have been problematic to Charlie and his family, and have been influencing their integration process. After their arrival, they have been suffering from malaria and typhoid. This is challenging because they need to spend time and money to get well instead of focus on settling down. Charlie explains that *'I want to work and make money to send the kids to school. This has been problematic because of the diseases, and things have been more difficult than we imagined'*. Due to the diseases, they have had to make other priorities than they had planned. Access to land is not enough to explain the challenges of integration; it has to be seen in connection with health.

Other assets closely related to land and integration are education and work experience. In Yei, people without education or work experience from agriculture are unlikely to have the best results if they get land for cultivating. Additionally, persons with higher education are not guaranteed to benefit from this knowledge if they settle down in Yei where most people live from agriculture. Still, there are some exceptions like teachers and medical personnel. In other words, it is necessary for the returnees to consider education and the prospects for making an income when they decide where they want to settle down. A few of the returnees in Yei explain that they have settled down there in order to benefit from their skills and be able to make a living, even though they actually wanted to go to Juba. The agricultural training

Charlie got while he was displaced is important for his decision to move to Yei. Knowing what to do with it is as important as knowing that he would get his grandparents' land. This knowledge is based on the agricultural training he got while he stayed in a refugee camp in Congo. As I previously illustrated with health, the use of and benefits from land are depending on other assets. Thus, the challenges of integration cannot be explained by either land or education alone.

Language has a similar impact as education and work experience. Before deciding where to go, the returnees take their language into consideration because this may have an impact on their chances of providing for the household financially. Thus, assessing the impact of land alone is not sufficient; other assets need to be included and the relationship between them understood. However, Charlie does not mention language as a factor of or a challenge of his integration process. Language is less relevant due to the fact that he is living from agriculture. He does not need to learn English to get a job like some of the returnees in Juba claim they have to. I will focus more on language later when I present Monica's integration process in Juba.

Land is not the only asset being connected to the others; the other assets depend on each other as well. This can be exemplified by the relationship between health and education. The returnees are not able to get an education if they are not healthy. Many need to prioritize getting well after the journey before they can continue their education. This is not only due to their medical situation, but can also be explained by the costs of education and medical treatment. It is difficult to afford both at the same time. Thus, there is interdependence between the assets, they cannot be treated separately. It is necessary to analyze these relations in order to explain the challenges of integration and the livelihood strategies of the returnees. I have already illustrated this by the situation of Charlie's family. The children were not able to go to school when they first arrived, due to diseases. They have to get well before they can attend school, and Charlie have to make prioritize pay for their medical treatment instead of paying the school fees.

Further, the social factors are related to assets and to the integration process. An important aspect of the social factors is the relationship with the relatives. This is related to the assets in several ways. First, it can influence the access to land because returnees can get land from their relatives. Second, assets and social factors are related because death within the extended

family can have an impact on how the returnees spend their time and resources. When children lose their parents, they are placed with their closest relatives, often their uncles and aunts. The responsibility of these children makes people prioritize differently to ensure that the children have what they need.

Charlie is fortunate because he received land from his grandparents, thus the situation of his relatives is closely linked to the household assets. This is also connected with the integration process which can be illustrated how Charlie says that *'I was lucky to inherit this land, it has made it much easier to settle down in South Sudan and start building up our lives again'*. On the other hand, he is left with the responsibility of his younger siblings and his nephews and nieces because his brother, sister in law, and parents died. In order to take care of them, he is working at the farm, producing food for their own consumption and selling it when he has a surplus. He is constantly trying to increase the surplus because there are so many to feed. Thus, it is necessary to sell some products to increase their income and diversify their livelihood strategy. As a result, the chance of participating in activities in the local community is reduced. Additionally, he cannot afford to send all the children to school; six of them have to help him at the farm instead. He emphasizes that he gets a lot of help from them, as some of them are starting to grow up. The social relations of the household have to be considered in order to assess their challenges of integration; access to land is not enough alone.

In a similar manner, it is impossible to consider the impact of the assets without placing them in the wider context. In other words, the challenges people face in integrating and in constructing a livelihood strategy cannot be understood without including the society they live in and their relationship with the rest of the country and the rest of the world. I want to continue using land as a starting point. Land cannot be understood only by whether or not people are healthy and qualified for making use of it. It is also necessary to consider whether or not people are able to get hold of the land they need in the first place. In the case of South Sudan, this is regulated by the Land Act and customary law. Previously, getting a plot has been difficult because land has been communal, but this has started changing due to the Land Act from 2009. In other words, it is necessary to emphasize the connection between legislation and land to understand the challenges of integration. Thus, the wider context has an impact on peoples' assets and integration process.

Legislation is not the only factor which determines whether or not the returnees are able to make use of the land. Security is another factor with an impact on the possibility of using the land at all. One threat against security in South Sudan is landmines. It is difficult to determine for sure how many there are but one number which illustrates the significance is that since 2005, more than 2,2 million objects have been destroyed or removed (UN News Centre 2011). In areas which are not cleared from this, it is difficult to make use of the land. However, it is important to emphasize that landmines are unevenly scattered throughout the country and thus, affecting people unequally. Landmines are not mentioned as a challenge by my respondents, but this does not mean that there are none there. Thus, evaluating the impact of land in the integration process is impossible without taking security into consideration. It is necessary to look at interconnectedness between these factors.

Charlie is not concerned with the questions about legislation and security. The main explanation is that there is no law which makes it difficult for him to get access to land and further, he considers it to be safe to stay in Yei. On the other hand, he is still concerned with the wider context, and this has impact on his assets and the challenges he faces in the integration process. I will illustrate this connection by looking at the relationship between assets, infrastructure and technology.

When the returnees get access to a plot where it is safe to do farming, it may be useful to consider infrastructure and access to the market. The degree to which the returnees are able to get to the market and sell their products can have a major impact on their livelihood. Through this kind of accessibility, their livelihood strategies are diversified and strengthened. The chance of producing a large surplus and being able to sell some products is also affected by technology. Technology has an impact on the household because it is important for whether or not the people are able to make use of their education and training and for whether or not they are able to make the most out of the land they have available. In other words, technology could increase the returnees' chance to produce a surplus large enough for sale. Thus, infrastructure and technology are closely connected to returnees' assets by influencing how well they people are able to maximize their resources.

Tools and technology are two of Charlie's key concerns. He is linking this to his personal assets by saying that he is not able to make the most out of his land because he does not have the tools he needs. This way, assets are depending on the wider context. The relationship

between tools and land is also connected to education. These factors are related to one another because he took courses in farming mechanization while he was displaced, but he is not able to benefit from this knowledge in Yei because he does not have the right equipment. This illustrates that access to land is not enough; it must be seen in relation with the other assets and with the wider context. This interconnectedness is central to the challenges of integration.

Finally, displacement is an important part of the context, and it is closely related to the assets. First, the location of displacement is important to what the returnees bring when they return; this includes their physical belongings and their knowledge and skills. In other words, the location of displacement determines the returnees' assets. According to Charlie, there is a connection between where people have been displaced and what kind of education they have. This has an impact on their chances of making a living and therefore on integration. He explains that it is easier for the returnees coming from Khartoum to integrate. The reason is that they got more education while they were displaced, thus it is easier for them to get a paid job. He has these strong opinions on education level, IDPs and the situation in Juba even though he has never been there. His ideas appear to be based on the general perception of these issues in Yei; many of my other respondents in Yei share his views on IDPs, education and integration.

Even though Charlie does not have firsthand experience with the situation in Juba, he makes it clear that it is necessary to distinguish formal education from the courses he took in farming. The explanation is that they have different impact on the chance of making a living. It is more difficult for him to integrate than it is for the IDPs because they got to go school and university, and are today able to work as mechanics, doctors and nurses. *'The courses I took cannot help me find a paid job, that's why I chose to settle down in in Lasu'*, he explains. This difference in education illustrates that there is a connection between where people have been displaced, their level of education and their chances of diversifying their livelihood. Thus, the assets people have are depending on the wider context, and the integration process cannot be understood without including the past.

Secondly, time since return is relevant for how the returnees have managed and developed their assets. As time passes by, control over the resources increases and the knowledge about their local community is strengthened. This is confirmed by Charlie who claims that the first year after arrival was the most difficult of the integration process. He explains that he spent

some time in the beginning getting to know the neighbors. There have been a lot of changes since he left in 1992. In addition to time since return, it is of importance that he spent many years away and that he was only four years old when he returned. Time since return is relevant for the challenges of integration and has to be seen in connection with age of the returnee and the amount of time spent in displacement. This illustrates the interconnectedness between the wider context and the social factors, and demonstrates how complex the integration process is.

6.3 Assets, social factors, and the wider context in Juba

The interconnectedness between assets and context is central to the integration process in various parts of South Sudan. By using land as a starting point in the previous section, I wanted to illustrate the interconnectedness in Yei, a rural area where land plays a central role in people's livelihood strategies. Land is important in Juba as well but merely as a place to live, not to do farming. Instead, people search for paid jobs to support their families and as a consequence, other assets like education, training and language become more relevant. I will illustrate this further in the following section by referring to the situation of one of the returnees I interviewed in Juba, Monica. She is 32 years old and arrived Juba in 2011, only two months previous to the interview. She spent 29 years in Khartoum and arrived after the independence together with her husband and their three children. Due to their limited time in South Sudan, she and her husband are still looking for a job and their children do not go to school yet.

In Juba, education and training are two assets which become more important than access to land when it comes to income and livelihood strategies. There are no plots to do farming, and by having education and training, people should be better qualified and have better chances of finding a job. However, reality is more complicated and integration is more difficult. Having education and training is not the only concern when applying for jobs. Speaking the 'right' language is an asset which can have an impact on whether or not the returnee is able to make use of his/hers education and training. This demonstrates the relationship between the assets and how the interdependence among them is relevant for the integration of the returnees.

In order to illustrate the relationship between various assets, I will look at Monica's work experience and her struggle to find a job. She worked at a petrol station while she was staying in Khartoum, but this has not helped her to get a job after she came to Juba. One explanation

why she cannot find a job is that she speaks no other language than Arabic. This demonstrates not only that there is a connection between various assets but also that these are depending on the location of displacement. The fact that she has been displaced in Khartoum is an important factor in explaining what kind of languages she speaks, and thus it is necessary to consider the wider context in addition to the assets.

The complexity of the challenges of integration is starting to appear, and it is not sufficient to consider the interconnectedness of only the assets. They are also connected to the social factors of the household. This makes age an influential factor in terms of the assets and in the integration process. The assets are influenced by age because younger returnees may struggle to get familiar with the area and get a job while older returnees may struggle with their health and hence with making a living. Monica relates the social factors and the assets by focusing on how her age makes it difficult for her to find shelter and a job. The social factors matter because both she and her husband were very young when they first left for Khartoum. She says *'we were so young that we do not remember much of Juba and we do not have a network here. We have to spend more time to find a suitable place to live and to make a living because we do not know the area'*. In other words, the age of the returnee has to be related to their assets, their livelihood strategies and the integration process.

As I illustrated with land in Yei, the wider context is also important for use of assets and for successful integration. First of all, the local situation affects the chances of making use of education and training in Juba. This can be exemplified by how urbanization results in a high number of people coming there, looking for jobs and an increased competition over jobs. Due to urbanization and increased competition, education and training are not enough to get a job and start integrating in the capital. Thus, a factor which becomes more important to the integration process is contacts. Knowing some people in the local community can make a difference for people applying for jobs. Many of the returnees claim that contacts are more important than education and work experience. The main reason for this statement is the high number of people wanting the same jobs.

Urbanization is a challenge to Monica because of the high number of people, including both returnees and residents, moving to Juba. The competition over the jobs is tremendous and getting the first job is worst. In the job seeking process, Monica has a disadvantage because she is not familiar with the people or the area yet. Thus, urbanization is connected with age

and time since return. There is also a relationship between urbanization, education and work experience. The reason is that the chance of being able to use education, skills and working experience gained during displacement depends on the number of people moving to a given city, in this case Juba. To Monica, the urbanization makes it difficult to find a job even though she has been working at a petrol station while she was staying in Khartoum. Her struggle can be explained by the high number of people moving to Juba and looking for a job there. Thus, it is not sufficient to consider only the available assets; there are various aspects of the local community which need to be included. The integration process does not take place in isolation from the context.

Further, it is important to add that her struggle to find a job is not merely related to the local situation. It is necessary to have a broader approach and emphasize the relation with neighboring countries. Previously, I have argued that foreign labor is a challenge to the returnees' integration in South Sudan, and in particular in Juba. Employers in Juba often hire people from neighboring countries due to level of education and experience. Thus, it is more difficult for returnees like Monica to find a job. This exemplifies the need to look at the international context in order to understand the challenges of integration. Hence, integration is complicated because many factors are interconnected.

The context is broad; various aspects have to be included to see the interconnectedness between the context and the assets. An important dimension is displacement and return. As in the case of Yei, displacement is important because location of displacement and time since return are relevant for what kind of assets the returnees have. The location determines what kind of resources they are able to bring with them from displacement. Time since return is significant because access to resources improves over time and because the knowledge about the local community increases significantly during the first period after arrival.

The broad context is important to Monica because of the location of her displacement. She stayed in Khartoum for 29 years. *'In Khartoum I did not need to know any other language than Arabic; it was the language people were speaking there. Therefore, I never learned English or my parents' mother tongue, and it makes it more difficult to find a job here in Juba'* she explains. Monica says, like Charlie, that the displacement has an impact on the integration process by influencing the job seeking. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that the effect of the displacement also is related to the age of the returnee. Monica was only

three years old when she was displaced. Her situation would most likely have been different if she was older when she left and got to know the parents' mother tongue first. This is also influenced by the fact that she was displaced for many years. If she had returned earlier, she would have had less time to adapt to the traditions and norms in Khartoum and thus, spend more time in South Sudan learning the local languages and getting familiar with Juba sooner.

The reason for focusing on land, education and training has been to illustrate how assets can be seen as a starting point for integration and livelihood strategies, but that it is important to consider the connection between different assets, the social factors, and the dependence on the wider context. Integration is not a single event, but rather a complex process influenced by various factors. The purpose of illustrating the interconnectedness of the challenges is to stress the influence this has on the returnees' creation of livelihood strategies and thus on their chances of succeeding in integrating.

The returnees start their integration process by making use of the assets they have available and taking into consideration how these are modified by internal and external factors. Evaluating these factors may happen both consciously and unconsciously. Some of the returnees explain that they wanted to settle down in Juba instead of Yei, but through analyzing their own situation they conclude that they have more chances of using their knowledge and making a living in Yei. Others appear to make these kinds of decisions without weighing pros and cons the same way, rather doing it more instinctively. Even though it happens consciously or not, the main point is that the interconnectedness between assets, social factors and the wider context is significant both in Juba and in Yei.

By focusing on land and later on education and training, I also wanted to illustrate that integration in Juba is different from what it is in Yei and hence, that they develop different livelihood strategies. The explanation is that assets and context vary geographically. Assets like education and language become more relevant to the returnees in Juba because they cannot make a living from agriculture like the returnees in Yei due to access of land. At the same time, it is necessary to keep in mind that the society has a major impact on the challenges the returnees face. Thus, it is necessary to coordinate the work on integration. The government and the various organisations in the country have to be organized in order to help the returnees the best way possible. I will look further into this in the following section.

6.4 Coordinated, well-organized work

Coordination of the work on integration in South Sudan is significant. In this section I will argue that this is important both for the returnees and for the construction of the new country. I will show how this is carried out through a cluster-approach. The challenge of this approach is to remain focus on the interconnectedness of the various factors of integration. Finally, I will question how well-organized the work is by focusing on the communication with the returnees and the extent to which they are involved in the planning of this work.

An important factor for whether or not the returnees are successfully integrated in South Sudan is the impact of the work carried out by the government and all the different organisations working in the country. The reason why this is so important is that together they constitute a very high number of actors working on the same issue. Integration is a very important matter to them, and they spend a lot of effort trying to make the integration as easy as possible for the returnees. They have a lot of financial resources which are used for building schools, giving English courses and securing health care to mention a few examples. There are two reasons for this effort. First, it is necessary in order to take care of the returnees. Second, it can be explained by the fact that helping the returnees is important for building the country. A large part of the population in South Sudan is returnees, and they need to be integrated both for their own sake and because they are an important resource in the construction of the new country.

The positive impact of the government and the organisations is threatened by lack of coordination. One of the main explanations is the high number of these actors. It includes national and local government, various UN agencies like the UNHCR and United Nation Development Program, UNDP, and many national and international NGOs. In addition, there are supposed to exist several civil society organisations, CSOs. However, I was not able to find any of these organisations. The government and the NGOs are not working together with them and could not tell me where to find them, thus CSOs are not included in this thesis. It is necessary to emphasize the high number of actors working on integration and returnees in South Sudan because they are so many that their work needs to be coordinated and well-organized in order for it to be effective and efficient. Thus, it is necessary both to have control over which actors are working in the different parts of the country and who is working on which issues. Without this coordination it is likely that the same effort will be implemented by different actors, and the goals and objectives become difficult to reach.

The representatives from GOSS and the NGOs are well aware of these issues. An important explanation is the criticism these actors have faced, which have been concerning lack of coordination and cooperation. As a response, these issues are taken more into consideration today and are being emphasized by both governmental and non-governmental actors. The work on coordination is organized through work on different sectors. This means that different actors working in the same sector are meeting regularly. An organisation working on for example education is meeting the other actors working on the same issue. Work and cooperation like this is referred to as cluster-approach. The clusters are a crucial dimension of organizing the work, thus each cluster meet weekly. All the different clusters also meet regularly but on a less frequent basis, normally monthly.

Bringing all the different clusters together at the same time is important because of the interconnectedness of the challenges of integration. Engaging the different clusters separately is not sufficient because as I previously argued, the returnees' problems cannot be solved without seeing the complexity of various assets, social factors and the context the returnees are living in. An example is that securing education to the children cannot be solved without taking other issues like health and the broader context like security into consideration. As a result, it is problematic that many of the organisations are concentrating their work on specific sectors. Many of the organisations have been specializing in different fields. Focusing on one or two issues gives them in-depth information and knowledge on the topic(s), but at the same time the organisations risk losing the overview and fail to understand the complexity in the situation where they are working.

So far, I have argued that it is necessary to coordinate the work of the government and various organisations. Further, it is necessary to question whether or not their work is planned in a way that keeps the main focus on the challenges which the returnees are facing and expressing. Integration is not likely to be successful if the government and the NGOs decide to work on other issues than what the returnees find important. In this thesis, I have argued that there is coherence to a large extent; the returnees, the government and the organisations are focusing on the same issues. They are concerned with access to land, improving the relationship with the residents, and ensuring basic services like education and health care. In other words, they all agree on what the main issues are.

The major differences are their approach to the different issues and the motivation behind various efforts. While the returnees are concerned with their own standard of living, the other actors are in addition concerned with building the community and the state. I have already illustrated that this is obvious in both Juba and Yei county due to the fact that the returnees focus on school fees and medical expenses while the NGOs and GOSS emphasize the need for more trained personnel. These differences do not necessarily need to cause problems as long as their objectives are similar; all want the returnees to have access to education and medical treatment in order for the integration process to proceed as smoothly as possible. However, it is important to be aware of these differences to make the most of the efforts which are put into the work on integration.

The intention of including this discussion is not to portray the returnees as self-absorbed and ego-centric, but rather to put emphasis on the fact that they have a complete different starting point from the government and the organisations. Many of the returnees do not stand a chance to concentrate on anything else than their own survival, thus they will have other concerns than the other actors. This difference may have an impact on whether the initiatives are appropriate and actually manage to make the integration process easier for the returnees.

In order for the returnees to be able to integrate, the work by the government and the NGOs need to be well-organized and based on communication among the various actors. The communication with the returnees is not mentioned by any of the organisations or the government when they talk about how the work on integration is organized. They are very eager to explain how they organize the work in clusters and have meetings regularly, but none of them mention meeting with the returnees, or the residents for that matter, in this discussion. The exception is UNHCR who put emphasis on the role of the government by stating that GOSS has to be transparent and open to the people. However, they do not mention how the UNHCR or any of the other organisations are supposed to relate to the returnees and the rest of the population. It is merely a description of how the communication between the government and the returnees should be.

The lack of focus on planning and communication could be explained by the focus on coordination and coherence of NGOs and governments in development theory. In addition, these actors in South Sudan are concerned with coordination due to the criticism they have faced, which leaves less time to integrate the returnees in the planning processes. On the other

hand, doing development bottom-up has become the standard in development practice. Thus, it is strange that the representatives from these institutions do not focus on the role of the returnees and arenas where they can all meet, define and suggest solutions together when they discuss how work on integration is planned and organized. Finally, the fact that this is not mentioned during the interviews does not necessarily mean that this is not a priority of the organisations and the government. It can also be interpreted as an expression for how complex the situation is and that I did not ask specific questions on how they identify the needs of the returnees. Instead, I chose to have an open-ended question about how the work on integration is organized. This question wording gave the NGOs and GOSS the possibility of emphasizing their cooperation with the returnees and the residents but instead, they chose to focus on the coordination of their own efforts. Thus, the relationship between the NGOs and GOSS become more important than the involvement of the returnees.

In this section I have argued that the coordination of the work of the NGOs and GOSS is important. I have presented how this is organized by a cluster-approach and emphasized the importance of all the different clusters meeting at the same time. This is significant to keep focus on the interconnectedness of the factors in the integration process. At the end, I have argued that if the work on integration is going to be organized the best way possible, returnees, NGOS and GOSS have to agree on what the major challenges and best solutions are. Thus, the returnees have to participate in the planning and implementation processes.

6.5 Being creative

In this thesis I have focused on the challenges the returnees face when they return to South Sudan and start integrating. I find it important not to make this thesis too focused on the negative and dismal aspects. There are optimism and hope as well. Positivity is found among people who argue that the chance of succeeding in integrating is depending on creativity. In this section is will illustrate how creativity is found both in Juba and in Yei, and that it is mentioned by returnees, NGOs and GOSS. I will emphasize that this attitude is the exception.

Being creative is important because of the high number of returnees coming to the South Sudan. In Juba it is especially important because of the urbanization. An example from the capital is the returnees who have started to sell charcoal to get an income. As a result of the difficulty of finding a paid job, they have to search for other options. This way, they can make a living without being formally employed. In Yei county, creativity means finding additional

sources of income to farming. An example which can illustrate this is the woman in Lasu who weaves traditional baskets and sells them. Due to this activity her livelihood strategy is diversified and she has improved her income security which is useful when crops are failing.

These two examples illustrate how creativity can strengthen the chances of returnees to integrate in South Sudan by increasing their sources of income and diversifying their livelihood strategies. Thus, it is important not only to focus on the challenges the returnees are facing, but also the possible solutions. Creativity is presented as a solution by several of my respondents, including returnees and representatives from the NGOs and the government. They argue that the returnees have to take more responsibility themselves; people cannot wait for the government and the NGOs to do the work for them.

However, the focus on creativity and that any returnee can be an important actor in changing the situation is the exception rather than the rule. The majority of my respondents are more negative and many are affected by the experiences they have had while they were displaced and during their return. The high number of international organisations there can explain why some rather prefer to wait for someone else to take responsibility. As I previously argued, this puts an extra pressure on the need for involving the returnees in the work on integration carried out by the organisations and the government. If the returnees – and the residents – are included, it is easier to create engagement and increase the legitimacy among the beneficiaries.

6.6 Not many challenges

In the previous section I explained that some of the respondents are quite positive and believe that through creativity the returnees will be able to integrate. Here, I will look further into positive attitudes by focusing on returnees who say that they have not faced any challenges after they returned to South Sudan. Thus, I will argue that there are differences among the returnees even though they have similar starting points.

Two of the returnees explain that they returned and integrated without problems worth mentioning. The first is a woman who has settled down in Yei. She got married to a man from Lasu, and she moved there after being displaced in Khartoum. Arriving there was easy because his family already lived there when they arrived. Thus, she did not have to struggle to find a place to live, making an income and affording food, school fees and medical treatment.

These kinds of issues are according to her more difficult for other returnees, and she describes her arrival to Yei as easy. However, she admits that she has spent some time to get used to the lifestyle because she was not used to staying in the countryside. Still, she emphasizes that other returnees are much worse off, having more severe problems.

A woman in Yei town also says that she did not find it challenging to settle down in South Sudan. She has also returned from Khartoum but her situation is different because her husband remained in the Sudan. He has not moved to South Sudan because he is working at a factory in Khartoum, and by continuing working there he can send money to his wife in Yei. This money is spent on sending the children to school, paying for food and other necessities. Neither did she have any problem of finding a place to live because the land belongs to her husband. She is living there together with her mother in law who helps her around the house. Unlike the previous woman, she does not make any comparison to other returnees in the area. The reason is that she mainly stays at home taking care of her children, thus she does not meet a lot of people.

These women share many similar features with the other returnees I interviewed, both with those from Yei and those from Juba. They have been displaced for a long time, seven and 12 years. They do not have more education than the other respondents, and they have children to take care of. There is one factor in each of these households which are relevant for understanding the women's positive attitude. For the first woman it was the situation of the family, they were waiting for her when she arrived. In the other case, it is the financial transfer from the north. These interviews illustrate how there are differences between households even though they starting points appear to be quite similar. This is important to keep in mind in order to understand the challenges the returnees are facing.

6.7 Solutions, not challenges?

After meeting with these two women, I find it relevant to question if my starting point is wrong. Would it have been better to ask what it takes for returnees to integrate in South Sudan? Could focus on possible solutions have made my respondents more positive to integration of returnees? I asked myself these kinds of questions several times during my fieldwork and after I started writing the thesis. All along, my answer has been that it is necessary to understand the challenges in order to find the right solutions. The solutions do not exist separately from the problems, and the problems must be seen in relation with one

another, they do not appear independently. Further, it is important to analyze whether different actors have the same or different perceptions of what the problems are to be able to find the best solutions.

However, it is important to keep in mind that by using this approach the discussions with people will be characterized by negativity, worries and uncertainty. Thus, it is necessary to pay extra attention when people say that their situation is improving and that they are managing to integrate. Unfortunately, the returnees put more emphasis on getting help from family and friends than on the assistance from GOSS and the NGO when they are talking about how they construct their lives after returning.

In this chapter I have used my modified livelihood approach to demonstrate that challenges do not exist in isolation, they depend on each other. I have illustrated that assets, social factors, and the context are integrated and connected to one another. Another dimension I have included in this chapter is the coordination and planning of the work of the NGOs and the government. At the end of the chapter I have explained that integration may be easier for creative returnees and that some do not experience challenges at all. These returnees are the exceptions; therefore, I find it necessary to focus on the challenges of integration after all.

Chapter 7 Concluding remarks

This thesis is concerned with post-conflict integration Juba and Yei county. The intention was to compare the challenges the returnees face in their integration process at these research sites. I have also attempted to compare the different actors' views on these problems, meaning the returnees, the NGOs and the government. Finally, I have tried to illustrate the complexity of integration and the interconnectedness between various factors by using my own modified livelihood approach. The following chapter will contain some concluding remarks and concerns for the future.

7.1 Key challenges of integration in Juba and Yei county

In this study, I have taken a closer look at the key challenges of the returnees' integration process in Juba and Yei county. My study indicates that there are both differences and similarities in challenges of integration at the two research sites. I have illustrated that education and health are difficult both places. Paying for these school fees and health services is the key issue and thus, the returnees are focused on finding a way to make a living. On the other hand there are differences between the two locations. Infrastructure is more problematic in Yei, and access to land is more challenging in Juba. These differences make the returnees prioritize differently in Juba and in Yei. In the capital, many returnees spend a lot of time finding a place to stay. This is avoided by most returnees who settle down in Yei. There, the returnees have to spend more time and money on getting to hospital due to distance and bad infrastructure.

Another point from this study is that the refugees and the IDPs at these locations share a lot of the same experiences after they returned and thus, they put emphasis on the same challenges. Both groups are concerned with employment, education and health. However, there are some differences between them as well. I have illustrated this by focusing on how the IDPs are more concerned with language than the refugees due to the fact that many IDPs speak only Arabic. In addition, I have also argued that there are differences within each of the two groups. Not all IDPs agree that language is important to the integration process. A similar example is that the IDPs in Yei are expressing that they are harassed because they come from Khartoum and that they struggle because they have to get used to living at the countryside. These kinds of challenges are not found among the IDPs in Juba. Thus, the key challenges of integration vary between refugees and IDPs, and within the two groups.

By comparing the challenges in Juba with those in Yei, and the IDPs with the refugees, I found similarities and differences. Due to this finding, I will emphasize the need for future work on integration to be concerned with both urban and rural integration as well as including both refugees and IDPs. I have illustrated the shift from focus on refugees to IDPs, and argued that this development has been necessary. However, I will stress the importance of not letting this development go too far by leaving the refugees to depend on themselves. Similarly, it is important not to let the attention on urbanization and city planning come at the expense of rural return and integration. Thus, if integration in South Sudan is going to be successful, it is necessary to focus on both rural and urban integration and include both refugees and IDPs.

7.2 Returnees, NGOs and GOSS have similar and different approaches

The relationship between the returnees, the NGOs and GOSS has been in focus due to the second research question, and I found it relevant to compare their views on integration. These actors agree on the major topics of integration by claiming that education, health and employment are some of the main issues. It is important to all of them that children can go to school, that people have access to health care and find a way to make a living when they return. In other words, all of them express a wish for the returnees to be able to build up their lives, secure their livelihood and take part in the local community.

However, the returnees, the NGOs and GOSS have different reasons of why these issues matter and present different solutions to these challenges. The returnees emphasize access to money through focusing on school fees and expenses of medical treatment. The NGOs and the government on the other hand are more concerned with having enough qualified personnel and building schools and hospitals. These examples illustrate how the returnees have another view on what the main challenges and the best solutions are than the organisations and the government. This is also evident because the returnees focus more on their own households' survival while the other actors stress the impact of urbanization and the returnees' importance in the state building process. I have also argued that there are disagreements among the returnees and among the NGOs and GOSS. The returnees disagree on age and language while the organisations and the government disagree on time since return.

The fact that the NGOs and GOSS have another approach to the challenges of integration than the returnees can become problematic because it is the former who has the money to pay for efforts which can make integration easier while it is latter who are going through the

integration process. If the work on integration is going to make this process as pleasant as possible, it is necessary to include the refugees and the IDPs in defining the main challenges and suggest solutions to how to how these can be solved. At the moment, the NGOs and GOSS do not put a lot of emphasis on how they involve the returnees in their work. The returnees could be active participant at various stages of the work on integration; they could take part in defining what the problems are, suggesting possible solutions and making sure that the projects proceed as intended. The advantage of engaging the returnees is to increase the legitimacy of the efforts by involving the beneficiaries. Inclusion of returnees is a precondition for efficiency and effectiveness in development projects, and the government and the NGOs in South Sudan need to put more emphasis on and effort into this involvement.

7.3 The integration process is complex

The main argument from this thesis is that the integration process is complex and the challenges of the process cannot be understood without looking at the interconnectedness and interdependence between various factors. I have used my modified livelihood approach to illustrate the relationship between assets, social factors and the wider context. The assets constitute the starting point of the integration process. Returnees start building up their lives again by using the resources available to them. These assets have an impact on each other and are influenced by social factors like age and family situation. This is further complicated by the wider context which involves aspects like security, legislation, displacement and return. Thus, integration is a complex process influenced by the present situation and by the past. It is necessary to assess these factors simultaneously to understand the challenges the returnees are going through when they settle down in Juba and in Yei county.

The complexity of integration is not focused on by the NGOs and GOSS. Instead, they prioritize to work on coordination of their own projects. Coordination is important in order to harmonize the efforts of all the actors working on the same topics and thus, maximize the impact of their work. They organize their work by using a cluster-approach where they concentrate on a single or a few topics at a time and benefit by gaining in-debt knowledge on these issues. Each cluster come together weekly to help the returnees in South Sudan more effectively. However, the problem is that all the different clusters meet much less frequently and thus, the chance of seeing how the different challenges are connected to one another is reduced. They need to meet more often if they want to see the complexity of integration.

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