

DARFUR 2005 LIVELIHOODS UNDER SIEGE

Final Report

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Contents

Chapter One INTRODUCTION

Introduction
Methodology
Background on Livelihoods in Darfur
References

Chapter Two THE HISTORY AND ORIGINS OF THE CONFLICT IN DARFUR

Historical background to Darfur
The Current Conflict
National and Regional Processes Contributing to the Conflict
Local Processes
Links between local, national and regional processes
Concluding remarks
References

Chapter 3 LIVELIHOODS IN DARFUR

Profile of the case-study areas
Examples of How Systematic Destruction Continues
References

Chapter 4 THE LIVESTOCK SECTOR IN THE DARFUR CRISIS

The Livestock Resource in Sudan
Livestock Resources and Migration Patterns in Darfur
Flock and Herd Structure in South Darfur
Livestock Trade in Darfur
Drought and Conflict-based Production Orientation
Trade-Induced Production Expansion
The Impact of the Conflict on the Livestock Sector in Darfur
Conclusions
References

Chapter 5 LABOUR MIGRATION AND REMITTANCES

Introduction
Labour Migration to Libya
Internal Migration to Khartoum and Gedaref
Conclusions
References

Chapter 6 DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

ANNEXES

- 1 Tribes of Darfur
- 2 Livelihoods In Kebkabiya Area
- 3 Livelihoods in Disr Area
- 4 Livelihoods in El Seraif, Beni Hussein
- 5 Livelihoods in Mellit Area
- 6 Livelihoods in El Geneina area
- 7 Livelihoods in Nyala

BOXES

Chapter 1

Box 1 Five categories of rural production system in Darfur

Box 2 The Six Food Economy Zones in North Darfur (Save UK)

Chapter 2

Box 3 Military regimes and democratic governments in Sudan since Independence

Box 4 Disparities in health and development in Darfur, 1956

Box 5 Who are the Jinjaweed?

Box 6 Famine in Darfur

Box 7 Changes In Land Tenure Since The Fur Sultanate

Box 8 Rebel/ Opposition Groups in Darfur

Chapter 4

Box 11 The making of a lead drover

Chapter 5

Box 1 Oil and the economy of Libya

Box 2 Onward travel to Italy from Northern Libya

Box 3 Example of remittances received in Darfur from Libya

TABLES

Chapter 1

Table 1 Food purchases as a percentage of the households source of food

Chapter 2

Table 1 Distribution of agricultural Schemes in 1955

Table 2 Progress of Pump Irrigation Schemes in Sudan, pre 1920-1963 by Province

Table 3 Disparities in Regional Income^{22,23}

Table 4 Darfurs MPs Distribution by Tribe.

Chapter 4

Table 1 Estimates of livestock population in Darfur

Table 2 Officially recognized stock route

Table 3 Cattle herd structure in the Baggara system

Table 4 Trekking and other costs for various destinations from Darfur

Table 5. Primary and secondary markets in Darfur

Table 6. Value chain for livestock from Darfur (US dollars)

Table 7. Average land and livestock holdings by small farmers in North Darfur

Table 8. Risks associated with pastoral migration routes

Chapter 5

Table 1 Profile of Sudanese labour migrants in Kufra, south eastern Libya

Table 2 Foreign workers employed by the Kufra Agricultural Project and Flour Mill

Table 3 Examples of daily wage rates for foreign workers in Kufra and Benghazi

Table 4 Cash value of remittances sent by Sudanese migrant workers in Libya

Table 5 Cash value of remittances sent by Sudanese skilled and unskilled migrant workers in Libya

Table 6 Household size of Darfurian migrants in Khartoum

Table 7 Type and distribution of work among Darfurian male migrants in Khartoum and Gederaf

Table 8 Challenges facing Darfurians in Khartoum and Gedaref

FIGURES

Chapter 1

1

2

Chapter 2

3 1928 Anglo Egyptian Map of Sudan – extract of Darfur showing tribal boundaries

4 Distribution of tribal affiliation of Darfur MPs in the National Assembly

Chapter 4

1-4. Growth trend of livestock population in Sudan

5 Distribution of TLU's within Sudan states

6 Live animal exports from Sudan

7 Value of live animal exports

8 Volume and value of chilled meat exports

9 Cattle and sheep productivity and off-take models in a Darfur traditional system

10 Schematic diagram of the livestock marketing chain in Sudan

11 Camel and Donkey Trade Routes from and to Darfur

12 El Fasher rainfall record

13 Livestock growth trend in Darfur

14 Normal and Crisis Migration Limits for Jamala and Baggara pastoralists

15 Normal and Crisis Trade Routes

16-19 Price fluctuations before the conflict and after the conflict (North Darfur)

20 Livestock price trends in selected markets

21-22 Immediate Impact of the Conflict on Livestock Prices at El Fasher

Chapter 5

1 Annual number of Sudanese arriving and departing from Kufra, southeastern Libya

2 Livelihoods of Sudanese before the border closure and currently (excludes those in transit)

3 The Hawala mechanism

4 Time of arrival of Darfurian migrants to Khartoum and Gedaref

5 Distribution of Darfurian migrant workers in Central and Eastern Sudan by ethnic group

6 Interaction between tribes in Gedaref and Khartoum

Annex 1 Livelihoods in Kebkabiya Area

- 1 Zaghawa in Saburna - sources of food and income before the crisis
- 2 Sources of food and income for Zaghawa IDPs in Kebkabiya
- 3 Changes in livelihood strategies among Arab groups living in the Wadi Shallal area of Kebkabiya
- 4 Changes in livelihood strategies among Arab groups in the Wadi Shoba area of Kebkabiya
- 5 Changes in livelihood strategies among Gimr groups in Kebkabiya

Annex 2 Livelihoods in Disr

- 1 Livelihoods in Disr before the crisis – principle sources of food and income for medium income groups
- 2 Livelihoods in Disr Area – before the crisis and in October 2004
- 3 Examples of the permits required to take purchased goods outside of Kutum

Annex 3 Livelihoods in Seraif

- 1 Livelihood strategies in Seraif – Pre-crisis and currently
- 2 Proportion of food and income provided by livestock sales (live animals) and milk/meat and skins in Seraif (pre-crisis and currently)

Annex 4 Livelihoods in Mellit

- 1 Changes in livelihood strategies among the Zayadia in Mellit

Annex 5 Livelihoods in El Geneina

- 1 Native Administration Structure after the State Governor's Decree of March 1995
- 2 Livelihood strategies for the Masalit before the crisis
- 3 Geographical distribution of labour migration from Dar Masalit

Executive Summary

Purpose

- 1 The purpose of the research study was to investigate the effects of the conflict and humanitarian crisis on the livelihoods of select communities in Darfur, in order to refine strategic humanitarian interventions. The study focused on labour migration, livestock production and trade, and their links with Libya, and central and eastern Sudan.

Study Approach

- 2 The study included a background review of literature and liaison with partners; and field work in Tripoli, Benghazi and Kufra in Libya; in North, West and South Darfur, Khartoum and Gederaf. The study used a range of qualitative field methods to collect primary data, and the analysis was based on a review of impact on livelihood strategies, assets and goals at the local level. In addition, the history and origins of the conflict were reviewed in order to understand their relation with livelihoods, and their implications for subsequent recommendations.

Livelihoods in Crisis

- 3 Never in the history of Darfur has there been such a combination of factors causing the failure of livelihood strategies and loss of assets, including; systematic asset-stripping, production failures, market failures, failures to access natural resources, and failure to transmit back remittances. Under these circumstances regionwide famine appears inevitable. While food aid can partially redress the production failures, a much wider raft of interventions are needed to begin to address the other failures.

Recommendations

- 4 Major structural changes need to be addressed at the international, national and state level. These changes include processes of land restitution and compensation; livestock restitution, reconciliation and compensation; and opening up of transport routes to provide safe passage of people, livestock and goods. Ideally these wider processes of reconciliation should be linked with livelihood support and development inputs.
- 5 Extensive and detailed recommendations cover six broad areas: security, land, livestock, markets, labour migration and international humanitarian response.

History and Origins of the Conflict

- 6 The routes of the conflict date back to the nineteenth century. The report traces the evolution of trade routes, tribal territories, systems of administration, land rights and relations with the central Sudanese authorities, from the Fur Sultanate to the current day. The study identifies a number of national and local processes that have directly contributed to the conflict. At national level these include:
 - a. the economic and political marginalization of Darfur by the central government since the nineteenth century.

- b. the wider regional conflicts, which have contributed to the development and use of ethnically distinct armed militias and also the increased numbers of firearms owned by Darfurians generally. These conflicts involve the north south civil war, and the long-running conflicts within Chad and between Chad and Libya, and the relationship between these countries and Sudan.
 - c. the tactical manipulation of ethnic identities within Darfur by the government of Sudan and political parties including; the mobilization of armed militias, and the political mobilization based on religion and ethnic identity (Mahdism and later islamization and arabism).
- 7 At a local level the marginalization and neglect of Darfur has contributed to:
- a. failing institutions, including the Native Administration, the judicial systems and policing, which latterly appear to have favoured certain groups.
 - b. failing development, including education, healthcare, transport, veterinary and other services, which affect all of Darfur, but historically differentially affect ethnic groups.
- 8 Other local level processes include the competition and pressures on natural resources within Darfur which are partly a result of a history of drought and famine. These pressures have lead to clear ethnic rivalries and contributed to local level conflict. In addition, political polarization between Arab and non Arab groups in Darfur has had external influences from Libyan affiliated popular committees and some political parties (Muslim Brotherhood and Umma Party).

Affects on Livelihoods

- 9 Rural livelihoods in Darfur are relatively simple to understand, in that all tribes, Arab and non Arab, cultivate crops and raise livestock to varying degrees. Thus, the livelihoods of farmers and herders have converged, although access to land and soil type, rainfall and altitude influence the precise patterns of these rural production systems. Most groups supplement their farming and livestock rearing activities, with labour migration and remittances, collection of natural resources (firewood, fodder and wild foods) and trade. Other livelihood strategies are found but are specific to certain groups, including for example, *tombac* (chewing tobacco) production, artisanry (leatherwork, metalwork etc), the military and a range of illegal activities (smuggling, banditry, brewing, prostitution etc).
- 10 Six case-study areas were drawn from all three States in Darfur, including Kebkabiya, Mellit, Disr, Seraif, Nyala and Geneina. The case-studies reflected a diverse range of ethnic groups, both large and small and reflecting different political viewpoints and experiences of the conflict (including groups supporting the rebel/oppositions, pro-government, and those who were ambivalent).
- 11 The case-studies in Kebkabiya, Disr, Geneina, and Nyala give detailed accounts of the attacks on villages by government forces with armed militia support throughout

2003 and into 2004, which all included direct asset stripping and destruction of household and community assets. This is in breach of International Humanitarian Law which prohibits the use of starvation as a method of warfare – which means that parties to the conflict must not engage in attacking, destroying, removing or rendering useless objects indispensable for survival of civilian populations.

- 12 Beyond the direct impact of the crisis in terms of asset-stripping, are the continuing processes that indirectly cause the systematic destruction of livelihoods. These processes are caused by the actions of key players, including the Government of Sudan, the rebel groups, and even as a result of the failures of international humanitarian assistance.
- 13 The most fundamental problem affecting livelihoods in Darfur is insecurity, as it restricts the mobility of all groups. The insecurity continues as a result of continued ceasefire violations on the part of the GoS and the rebel groups. As a result of this insecurity the towns of Darfur have become besieged and IDPs within have become cut-off from their normal livelihood strategies. For rural based populations it is little better, with people fearing to travel or even cultivate their fields for risk of attack. In SLM/A areas although there is local security, all services and markets are in government controlled areas (Kutum), which were unreachable without risk of rape or attack.
- 14 The limited mobility resulting from insecurity has seriously limited the core livelihood strategies for all groups in Darfur, including; cultivation; seasonal livestock migration; trade and access to markets for buyers and sellers; labour migration and return of remittances; and travel to rural areas for collection of firewood, fodder and wild foods.
- 15 While the Khartoum government has eroded and manipulated the Native Administration, local interests in Darfur have sought to gain authority and power through the tribal systems – increasing the politicization of tribal administration. Certain groups clearly feel that they have been marginalized within Darfur in that they have had differential access to the limited resources that exist, including access to land, health and education and even international aid. Although their situation is very different to the IDPs their livelihoods are also under threat and their humanitarian needs will have to be addressed urgently in the coming months.

Pressure on Labour Migrants and Blocking of Remittances

- 16 Until the recent conflict remittances in cash and in kind from internal and external labour migrants were a regular and stable source of income for Darfurian families and made a substantial contribution to livelihoods. The conflict has caused the sending of remittances to dwindle dramatically, for example, a conservative estimate of lost income from Libya is roughly \$15 million dollars per annum. In recent years Libya was ranked only third or fourth in terms of numbers of Sudanese labour migrants and therefore substantial sums are remitted from other destinations beyond Darfur's borders. However, given the proximity of Libya to Darfur and the recent lifting of

sanctions and likely upturn in the Libyan economy, Libya represents a potentially future rich source of income for Darfurians.

- 17 Labour migration and commerce across the desert through the trans-Saharan routes to Libya has long been a historic feature of livelihoods in Darfur. The oil boom of the seventies and eighties intensified these existing patterns of migration along with Gaddafi's relatively open-door policies. This changed in 1995 with a crackdown on migrant workers in 1995 (including raids and forced repatriation) which continued intermittently to the present day.
- 18 There are estimated to be two million foreign workers, and five million Libyans in Libya. Official estimates of numbers of Darfurian migrant workers were unavailable but were estimated to be between 150,000 and 250,000. A rapid assessment survey in Kufra indicated that Darfurian labour migrants are a relatively mature and skilled labour force with family responsibilities in Darfur. More than half were over 30 years of age, about 75% were married and the literacy rate was double that found in Darfur.
- 19 Migration to Libya is a reflection of pull and push factors. The push factors include conscription and compulsory recruitment in the popular defense forces, limited work opportunities in Darfur; failing livelihoods as a result of recurrent drought and insecurity. The pull factors were the Libyan government policies, the potential for better paid work opportunities; the relative proximity, the relative ease of working illegally, and most importantly the local Darfurian contacts and support networks found there.
- 20 In 2004 further restrictions were imposed on migrant workers, including the requirement of a 'health certificate' following a series of health tests. The tests cost LD70 (\$ 50), are only available to legal immigrants, and must be repeated every 6 or 12 months. Failing the test risks forfeit of identity papers, prison and deportation.
- 21 Before the crisis receipts of remittances in Darfur ranged between \$40 and \$900, but most were thought to be in the range of \$40 to \$400 per annum. Migrant workers in Libya estimated that previously skilled workers could afford to send about LD90 (\$68) per month, while unskilled labours could send about LD30 (\$23).

Closure of the Libyan border and insecurity in North Darfur

- 22 The closure of the national border between Sudan and Libya in May 2003 associated with insecurity in the northern deserts of North Darfur, has perhaps had the most serious implications for the economy of Darfur, and for the well-being of its labour migrants and traders. This has stopped the traffic of migrant workers between North Darfur and southern Libya (effectively trapping several thousand in Kufra), and the well established and the critically important trade routes.
- 23 Communications and remittances have also been seriously affected as there is no longer the possibility of sending hand-carried messages or remittances.

Communications between Darfurian workers in Libya and their families in Darfur are vital for the transfer of remittances and recovery of livelihoods in Darfur.

- 24 Kufra is a trans-national trade hub linking Sudan and Chad, with Libya and Arab States, and is an important transit point for migrant workers of all nationalities. Consequently, this border closure has had a significant impact on economic activity in Kufra as well as the livelihoods of migrant workers.
- 25 The current limited prospects for migrant workers in Libya, combined with the threat of detention, difficulties of return to Sudan, loss of contact with and uncertainty about the fate of their families in Darfur, have created a sense of despair among many Darfurians. Thousands wait in Kufra for the chance to return to Darfur, while they watching the value of their capital erode. Suicide is reportedly increasing, while on the coast many are prepared to risk the dangerous boat journey across to Italy.

Labour migration to Eastern Sudan

- 26 Similarly, Darfur has a long history of labour migration to east Sudan. More than half of the Darfurian labour migrants in Gedaref had lived there for more than 3 years, and the vast majority had migrated for economic reasons, in search of work opportunities and cash income that would allow them to support their relatives and communities in Darfur.

Distress migration to Khartoum

- 27 In contrast, Darfurian migrants to Khartoum were people recently displaced by the conflict in Darfur, and principally women and children (one man for every three women). Displaced Darfurians in Khartoum were facing difficulties because of the fierce competition for limited job opportunities, difficulties in the IDP camps and with the local authorities.

Importance of Livestock

- 28 Sudan is the leading livestock exporting country in the region and livestock used to generate 20% of the national foreign exchange earnings before the discovery of oil. Darfurs' contribution to the livestock export trade and for the domestic consumption of meat has always been significant. For example, before Darfur was exporting 30,000 camels to Libya and about 50,000 camels to Egypt annually. In economic terms, livestock has been the primary target of this conflict. Various sources suggest that the non-Arab population lost between 50-90% of their livestock to the government armed forces. Solving the livestock issues are central to finding lasting solutions to the problems in Darfur. Darfur's economy has been seriously eroded and the traditional backbone of the economy – livestock trade, is failing fast.

Livestock migration routes

- 29 A visible outcome of the conflict is changes in livestock migration patterns with potentially disastrous consequences. Increasing hostility between the Arabs and non-Arabs and the control of some critical areas by the SLA along the traditional migratory routes have resulted in the restriction of access for the Abbala Arabs to the

wet season grazing reserves in the north (Gizou, Wadi Hawa and El Atrun). Camels and sheep belonging to the Abbala Arabs were confined south of the Jebel Mara Mountains during the mission's visit. Similarly, cattle belonging to the Baggara have been confined around the railway line close to Nyala Town (the furthest northern point they could reach) and to Nyala-Kas Zalingi Road in the west. Livestock concentrations in confined areas in the dry season grazing reserves will deplete pasture and water resources and increase the risk of disease outbreaks leading to increased livestock mortality.

The collapse of the livestock trade

- 30 The disruption of livestock trade within and from Darfur signals the downward spiral of the economy in the region. The repercussion of this disruption is felt, though in varying degrees, in almost all households of different segments of the population (pastoral, agro-pastoral, traders, middlemen, drovers etc). Important secondary markets like Mellit, where some 20,000 camels and 25,000 sheep were previously processed to Libya annually have been closed for the last ten months. Since then, out of the fifty local *toujars* (traders) in Mellit, about forty of them have left for El Fasher and Khartoum.
- 31 In April 2003 insecurity on the livestock trade routes through north Darfur worsened, with the murder of 10 camel drovers and the 'confiscation' of 3,000 camels. Shortly after the border was closed by the Government of Sudan. The total value of business lost since the route was closed amounts to over 14 million dollars. At least 300 lead drovers and 1,280 assistant drovers have lost their jobs and the possibility of employment as migrant workers in Libya. The volume exported through Tina (north-west Darfur on the border with Chad) to Chad is far less due to its inconvenient location, insecurity and the difficult terrain.

Trade to Muwheli (Omdurman) and Egypt

- 32 The northern route through El Fasher is insecure and a substantial reduction is expected in the volume of sheep to be sent to Muweli, Omdurman, both for export and local consumption. In total, the annual traffic on this route was approximately 450,000 sheep, 48,000 camels and about 3,500 head of cattle. The southern route through Nyala and Ed Daein is out of bounds because of insecurity following the capture of some parts of Ed Daein locality by the SLA, attacks and counter-attacks between tribal groups and banditry. Recent security problems on this route include the interception of some 1,300 sheep by the SLA at Labado, 60 kms east of Nyala.

Crisis trade routes

- 33 Some Arab livestock traders in El Geneina are attempting to establish new trade routes to by-pass security-affected areas in the south. The closure of the southern route follows the capture of some parts of Ed Daein locality by the SLA, attacks and counter-attacks between tribal groups and the prevalence of bandits. These routes are longer, increasing the number of days trekking by 20-40 days, and therefore puts more stress on the animals. This route was on trial and traders were not certain whether it would be successful (profitable).

The Rise in Consumer Commodity Prices

34 The total and partial closures of strategic trade routes have increased prices for basic commodities due to increased transport costs, risks from bandits, the need to obtain commodity supplies from new sources and also as a result of Government embargo. Price increases are felt all over Darfur but are more pronounced in parts of northern Darfur that used to get most of its supplies from Libya (Kufra) and from Omdurman. In addition, large commodity traders that used to distribute consumer goods for village level traders on credit do not practice this system anymore.

Chapter 1

Introduction

It is almost two years since the beginning of the rebel insurgency in Darfur, but the conflict continues, the ceasefire has been frequently violated, and the world's worst humanitarian crisis continues to deepen. At the last estimate, more than 1.6 million people had been displaced as a result of the systematic attacks on villages with associated violence, killings, burning of homes, looting of livestock, and theft and destruction of material assets.

It does not need research to demonstrate that the conflict in Darfur has destroyed livelihoods. This study attempts to go beyond the obvious and immediate impacts of the attacks, to consider the medium- and long-term impacts on how people are able to survive, and their longer-term future. The purpose of the research was to investigate the effects of the humanitarian crisis on the livelihoods of selected communities in Darfur, in order to help refine strategic humanitarian interventions. The study pays particular attention to the impact on remittances sent from Darfurians working in Libya, Khartoum and Gederaf, and also the role of livestock production and livestock trade between Darfur and Libya, and between Darfur and Khartoum. It takes a strategic longer-term view of how the conflict is affecting Darfur, beyond the initial shock and the immediate needs of internally displaced persons (IDPs).

Methodology

Research undertaken in the midst of complex emergencies must adapt to the constant challenges of insecurity, shifting access to different parts of the population, and highly charged political contexts where few actors are neutral, let alone objective. The analytical tool applied for investigating livelihoods is the adapted livelihoods framework used by the Feinstein International Famine Center (FIFC), which is based on the DFID sustainable livelihoods framework¹ and the Collinson framework.² A diagram of the adapted livelihoods framework is shown in Figure 2.

This study fills a gap that is widely recognised by both the international community and the Sudanese authorities, in that it employs conflict analysis and considers the impact of macro factors (such as markets, trade, tribal affiliation and political economy) and on the livelihoods of the different groups in Darfur, and is not limited to IDPs.

The core elements of the FIFC framework used in the analysis include:

1. **livelihood goals**, many of which may be competing, which means that households must constantly re-prioritise and make trade-offs between one goal and another;
2. **the assets or resources** available to households, which may be either directly owned or otherwise accessed. These include:
 - **natural:** land, water (including rights of access to grazing land, water points, common natural resources)

- **physical:** livestock, stores and stocks, equipment
 - **financial:** money, debt, credit, claims/obligations, investments
 - **human:** health and nutritional status, adult labour and care providers, skills and level of education
 - **social:** household social networks, social institutions, social exclusion, norms, trust, values and attitudes
 - **political:** appropriate in the context of conflict;
3. **livelihood strategies**, which are what people actually do, or the means by which they achieve their goals. Livelihoods usually comprise multiple strategies; and
 4. **the policies, institutions and processes** that affect the way in which households maintain or gain access to their assets and keep control over them. The manner in which households use their assets is shaped or influenced by ‘transforming structures and processes’ – which may include, for example, the processes of climatic and environmental change, rural urban migration, Arabisation and Islamisation, and wider economic pressures of exchange rate hikes or inflation. ‘Institutions’ is a term used to refer to customs, rules or common law that have been an important feature of a particular group or society for a long time. The native administration in Sudan is a good example of an institution. The term can also be used to mean established body or organisation.
 5. The study analyses livelihood goals, strategies and assets at the micro and meso level – the level of the household and local community. Livelihood goals are in a sense the objectives of the household which influence the combination of assets and strategies that are subsequently mobilised. The household’s resources must be managed to reduce risk, prevent erosion of assets and promote further accumulation of assets where this is desired. Household assets are both a resource and a source of risk or vulnerability – for example, when assets are deficient (such as a lack of adult labour), or there is no access to credit or a lack of social networks or when the accumulation of assets gives rise to the risk of robbery with violence or communal conflict. There may also be a significant cost to the household in terms of maintaining assets – for example, in maintaining residence on the land to ensure land rights, or in long-distance migration with livestock to ensure access to water and pasture.

Policies, institutions and processes, on the other hand, are identified and analysed more at the macro level. In the context of Darfur, this means reviewing the salient political, social and economic features of the evolving conflict and looking at how these have affected livelihoods. This has elements of a political economy analysis of conflict¹, and is vital if the more strategic and longer-term impacts on livelihoods are to be understood.

Commodity chain analysis has been applied in relation to livestock production and trade, and also to labour migration and remittances. It has been used to consider how these areas

¹ According to Collinson, political economy analysis ‘is concerned with the interaction of political and economic processes in a society: the distribution of power and wealth between different groups and individuals, and the processes that create, sustain and transform these relationships over time. When applied to situations of conflict and crisis, political economy analysis seeks to understand both the political and the economic aspects of conflict, and how these combine to affect patterns of power and vulnerability. According to a political economy approach, vulnerability should be understood in terms of powerlessness rather than simply material need’.

have been affected by the war economy, and in order to identify governance structures and exchange relationships within commercial networks, beginning with primary production and moving up from the local to the international level.

Phased approach

The study included a background review of literature and liaison with partners (June–July 2004); field work in Libya (July 2004); field work in Darfur, Khartoum and Gederaf (September to October 2004); and briefings and preparation of the final report (October–December 2004).

Independent research in Libya has not been possible for US based academics since the imposition of sanctions in the early nineties, and to our knowledge this is the first study of its kind investigating Sudanese labour migration. An invitation from the Libyan Red Crescent enabled three members of the Tufts team to visit Tripoli, Benghazi and El Kufra in the south east. During the visit the team was able to meet with;

- Representatives of relevant libyan government offices (including local governor, customs officials, immigration and veterinary offices),
- Libyan Red Crescent staff, including medical staff responsible for health certification of Sudanese migrants.
- Libyan agricultural projects employing Sudanese workers
- Sudanese associations (formal and informal)
- Darfurian traders
- Focus groups of selected Darfurians (ethnic groups, livelihood groups, recent arrivals, long-term established workers etc)
- Faculty at University of Benghazi, and the University of El Kufra.

To coincide with the visit to Libya, four Professors from the University of El Kufra conducted a rapid assessment survey on the social and economic status of Sudanese living in Kufra. A non-random sample of 385 sudanese were interviewed from a range of locations in Kufra area. The results have been included in this report.

Study team

The field study team included four members from Tufts University (one faculty member, two experienced practitioners with research experience and an expert in livestock production and trade), three from Ahfad University (one faculty member and two research assistants) and one expert local consultant from Darfur. Of the six core team members, three were Sudanese, although four team members had previous experience of living and working in Darfur.

Selection of study sites

Within the limitations imposed by issues of security and access, case-study sites in Darfur were selected to provide a wide geographical distribution and thereby diversity in livelihoods based on natural resources. They were also chosen to provide a balanced

range of ethnic groups, both large and small and reflecting different political viewpoints. The team travelled from El Fasher to Mellit, Kutum, Disr, Kebkabiya, Seraif (Beni Hussein), Seraf Umra, Assernei, El Geneina, Gokur and Nyala. Case studies are included of the following locations:

- North Darfur: Kebkabiya, Mellit, Disr and Seraif
- South Darfur: Nyala
- West Darfur: El Geneina, Gokur village, Arab settlement.

The study used qualitative research methods for collecting primary data during field work, including key informant interviews, focus group discussions and a range of participatory rural appraisal techniques (including semi-structured interviewing, proportional piling, historic timelines, mapping migration routes, ranking and scoring, transect walks, 'chapatti' or Venn diagrams, and direct observation).

The team identified and sought out a range of key informants in each location, including local leaders within the native administration, traders and local experts in livelihood-related issues (e.g. government and NGO workers). These key informant interviews were complemented by a range of focus group interviews, with groups representing different ethnic groups in each of the case-study areas. These groups included IDPs, pro-government groups, groups based in areas controlled by the Sudanese Liberation Movement (SLM) and displaced people living in abandoned villages.

Interview numbers have been substituted for all names of key informants and focus group members, in order to protect their privacy.

Background on Livelihoods in Darfur

This section provides some background context to livelihoods in Darfur, focusing on the background environmental and climatic factors that determine food security, and briefly reviewing the standard approaches to food security monitoring and early warning in the region. The history of conflict and its inter-relationship with failing livelihoods is taken up in the next chapter.

The three states of North, West and South Darfur make up Darfur region and cover a vast area of 510,000 sq km (one fifth of Sudan), stretching from the Sahara in the north to the equatorial forest in the south. Darfur shares borders with the Sudanese states of North and West Kordofan and Bahr El Ghazal and with the neighbouring countries of Egypt, Libya, Chad and Central African Republic (Figure 1).

The region's ecological diversity in part results from its wide-ranging zones of rainfall:³

1. a desert zone north of 16°N, with less than 100mm of rainfall annually and variability in rainfall of 35–60 per cent;
2. a Sahelian zone 12–16°N, with 100mm–150 mm of rainfall annually, 9.5–12 arid months and 25–35 per cent variability;

3. a Sudanic zone, 9–12°N, with 6.5– 9 arid months, 500mm–900mm rainfall annually and 25–30 per cent variability.

The region's location in the transitional zone between the Sahelian and the desert zones means that its natural resource base is fragile, especially in its northern areas, and this exposes it to environmental and production hazards. There is a single rainy season (mostly July–September), during which rainfall variability is more important in relation to food production than the total amount of rainfall.

The region consists of upland and lowland areas. Volcanic mountains, basement complex plateaux and outcrops of Nubian sandstone occur especially in Jebel Meidob in the north-east and Jebel Mara in the centre of Darfur. The altitude of Jebel Mara, at up to 3,000 metres, has a significant effect on the amount of rainfall there and its reliability. The lowlands include the northern desert, stabilised goz sand sheets in most of the east and part of the south of the region, important alluvial soils in the north and west (including the wadi networks) and extensive drainage basins in the south.³

Population density varies according to these ecological and climatic zones. North of 16°N, population density is very sparse (Figure 1), while the state of West Darfur is densely populated. The last official population census was carried out in 1993, but this is generally considered to be outdated. Most publications from UN agencies cite the population figures published by the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS, 2001), which assume a population growth rate of between 2.38 per cent (for West Darfur) and 2.48 per cent (for South Darfur). Their mid-year 2004 estimate for the total population of Darfur region was 6,556,000. Substantial numbers of people have left Darfur as a result of the crisis, either as refugees to Chad (approximately 190,000), or as labour migrants or as displaced people to other parts of Sudan or to neighbouring countries including Egypt and Libya, other Arab states and Europe. The actual numbers of displaced people and labour migrants is unknown.

Darfur is geographically remote from the rest of the country (El Fasher is more than 1,000km from Khartoum), and is especially remote from the areas of highest grain production in Central and Eastern Sudan.⁴ This remoteness contributes to a relative lack of access to markets outside the region. Transport costs from Central Sudan to Darfur were estimated to be upwards of 33 per cent of the final selling price of grain in 1987. According to one report: *'Within Darfur, the poor infrastructure similarly affects the regional grain market network. Although in good harvest years the regional marketing system appears to be well integrated, in poor years supplies to remote markets in north Darfur quickly dry up. Markets such as Cuma and Malha were particularly badly served in previous periods of drought. Costly and difficult transport discouraged local traders from serving these small markets, particularly during the rainy season when market supplies were most needed.'*⁴

A study in the late 1980s found that 53–65 per cent of households' total budget was spent on food.⁵ More recent work by Save the Children's (SCUK) Household Economy unit shows that this trend varies in different food economy zones within Darfur, but that

generally poor households rely less on purchased food sources than on their own production, as compared with better-off groups (Table 1).

Table 1 Food purchases as a percentage of households' source of food

Food economy zone	Poor	Middle
Agro-migrant zone	35 – 45%	45 – 50%
Mixed cash crop	30 - 35%	
Pastoral	20–25%	45–50%
Tombac (chewing tobacco)	50–60%	30–35%

Critical elements of rural livelihoods and the food security of the region include the annual grain harvest, livestock production and market systems. Rural production systems are a function of altitude, rainfall and soil type, which are obviously inter-related. The soils cultivated in Darfur include the sandy goz soils and the more fertile and therefore important alluvial soils (including wadis). Poor households tend to have less or no access to wadi or alluvial soils. Swift and Gray (1988) identify five main rural production systems, with local variants (Box 1).³ The food economy profiles compiled by SCUK go a step further and take into account the full range of food and income sources that characterise each food economy zone in North Darfur (Box 2). These include markets, trade, labour migration and artisanry, as well as the coping and crisis strategies that people use during times of drought and political instability. (As well as farmers, there is also a significant urban population of traders, government officials and other professionals in the region).

While these household economy zone classifications are extremely useful in relation to food security monitoring, they tend to suggest there is a certain homogeneity within food economy zones and heterogeneity between them. While there are distinguishing characteristics (cattle herding is confined to the south, for example, and camel herding to the north), it is important to understand that farming and herding are practised throughout Darfur, and rarely undertaken as separate activities. In other words, nearly all farmers rear livestock, while nearly all herders cultivate crops.

The distinction between farmer and herder is usually one between sedentary agro-pastoralists and more mobile pastoralists, the roots of which lie in ethnic identity or tribe. It is this critical aspect of livelihoods that until recently has been consistently missed or ignored in the assessments and monitoring of food security. For example, the existing food economy profiles make passing reference to the tribes in a particular zone, but do not explain the distinction between sedentary farmers on the one hand and pastoralists on the other. This level of analysis has not improved during the recent crisis, and now the passing reference by the international community is to the 'most affected' groups (Fur, Zaghawa, Masalit and possibly Tunjur) and a listing of Arab groups, with no mention of their relative size or their social, economic or political importance. In the context of the current crisis it is imperative that identity is reintroduced as a critical dimension in the analysis of livelihoods. For this reason, this study uses ethnic identity as a key variable for investigation.

Box 1

Five categories of rural production system in Darfur³

1. Goz/wadi farming in North Darfur (31.6 per cent of total farmers)

The staple crop is millet planted on large areas of sandy goz soil, as well as on smaller areas of alluvial wadi soils. Households grow part of their annual consumption requirements. Watermelon is the main intercrop, which provides a useful cash income. Goz soils predominate in the north-east, while in Kebkabiya alluvial soils are common. Livestock have traditionally been part of this production system, with camels, sheep, cattle and goats all owned in small numbers by farming households.

2. Goz/wadi farming in South Darfur (34.5 per cent)

This follows the same pattern as in the north except, because of higher rainfall, there are higher and more stable yields and more varied crops. In the past, the practice of shifting cultivation, with movement of residence, was common. However, local population growth and immigration from North Darfur has led to continued cultivation of the same area. Millet is the dominant crop, while minor crops include sorghum and groundnuts (an important cash crop). On alluvial soils millet is less widespread. Gum arabic has remained a resource for about one in three households. Livestock production is important, especially of cattle and goats. Hired herdsman are used.

3. Jebel Mara mixed farming (7.2 per cent)

The high altitude of Jebel Mara has an effect on its rainfall, which averages 450mm–500mm. As a result, the area produces a grain surplus, except for particularly dry years. Farmers have a mixed agricultural economy, with extensive millet and sorghum cultivation at lower altitudes combined with irrigated citrus cultivation on the Jebel itself. Groundnuts and wheat are also grown, and there are vegetable gardens in the valleys (onion, chillies, okra). Livestock is widely owned, although ownership is precarious because of civil disturbance. Terracing and the concentration of water run-off, as well as some permanent streams, allow simple irrigation to be carried out.

4. Camel, sheep and goat pastoralists (5.74 per cent)

Camel, sheep and goat pastoralists are concentrated mainly in North Darfur: the Zaghawa tribe in the north-west and the Meidob in the north-east. The famine in the 1980s caused much greater livestock losses in North Darfur than in South Darfur: 53–54 per cent of the livestock died, and 32–33 per cent remained.

5. Cattle pastoralists (8.6 per cent)

Cattle pastoralism is common in South Darfur, and was previously significantly nomadic, practised mainly by Rizeigat groups. Small stock, i.e. sheep and goats, is also kept. A significant number of herders is hired in the pastoral system, which therefore becomes a livelihood strategy in itself. Cattle pastoralists in South Darfur used to migrate long distances, trekking north with the rains from the Bahr el Arab river to wet season pastures and cultivation areas, followed by a return some months later to dry season wells and pastures along the Bahr. Widely and increasingly, cattle pastoralists also cultivate crops (millet, sorghum, groundnuts, okra).

Box 2 The six food economy zones (FEZs) in North Darfur (SCUK) (summary descriptions apply to baseline years)

The goz food economy zone⁶

Location: A wide area including Um Kedada, Mellit, Sayah and most of El Fasher and northern Dar El Salam administrative units. El Fasher, Mellit and Um Kedada towns are the main urban centres and the main markets for this FEZ.

Ecology: Flat to undulating goz is the predominant soil, with scattered mountains and short-lived seasonal streams (khors). Annual rainfall ranges from below 150mm to 250mm, with high variability locally and from year to year.

Livelihood strategies: Rain-fed cultivation of millet and watermelon in goz sandy soil, supplemented by small to medium herds of sheep and goats. In poor households it is common to seek agricultural labour, while for middle-income households the main sources of income are trade, money sent from family members abroad and the sale of livestock. Herding is one method of acquiring livestock, as herders are often paid in kind.

Total annual income: For a poor household, about SD 43,900 (US\$300); for a middle-income household, about SD 100,000 (US\$667).

The pastoral food economy zone⁷

Location: The northern part of North Darfur State.

Ecology: This area is dominated by a semi-desert climate. Annual rainfall is less than 200mm, with a declining pattern northward.

Livelihood strategies: Livestock herding is the core livelihood in this FEZ. Sheep and camels are traded in Mellit, Kutum and El Fasher markets. Seraf Umra has also become an important market for animals. Direct export of camels from Darfur to Libya and Egypt is common. Goats are sold mainly in local Darfur markets for local consumption. In a poor rainfall year, wild foods make a significant contribution to the diet of poor and middle-income households.

Total annual income: In Malha, for a typical poor household SD 30,000 (US\$230); for a middle-income household SD 80,000 (US\$615).

The agro-migrant food economy zone⁸

Location: This zone extends from the non-wadi areas of Kutum and Fata Barno Administrative Units in Kutum locality to the Jebel Si/Kebkabiya Administrative Units in Kebkabiya locality.

Ecology: The dominant soil types are stony hills and hard, sandy clay soils. The annual rainfall is 200mm–250 mm. This FEZ forms a transition area between the wadi, goz and pastoral FEZs.

Livelihood strategies: Most farmers grow millet, with limited land holdings and small to medium-size herds of mainly sheep and goats, and a few cattle. Men also migrate to Central Sudan or (less commonly) to the Gulf States in search of work. Women tend to migrate to South/West Darfur in search of agricultural employment. Consumption of wild foods is common. Livestock sales represent the most important source of income for middle-income households, because of their relatively better holdings. Remittances are the second most important source of income for middle-income households.

Total annual income: South Kutum: poor group SD 33,000 (US\$226); and for Jebel Si, SD 19,700 (US\$135).

Mixed cash crops food economy zone⁹

Location: Covers southern Um Kedada (Tewaisha and El Lait Administrative Units) and southern Dar El Salam Administrative Units. The dominant tribes are the Berti, Hamar and Zaghawa. Other tribes are the Tunjur, Ga'al, Fur, Gawama'a, Beni Omran, Beni Hussein, Burgo and Meidob. There are also Dinka IDPs who were displaced from Bahr el Ghazal in 1992.

Ecology: Poor savannah with relatively dense vegetation dominated by hashab (*acacia Senegal*). Annual rainfall is between 300mm and 400mm.

Livelihood strategies: Groundnuts, watermelon and sesame are the main cash crops, with sesame being grown mainly in Dar Al Salam. Other crops are kerekede (hibiscus) and lubia. Family members of poor households work on the farms of better-off households. The Dinka IDPs have no access to land and are involved in an exploitative sharecropping system. Livestock holdings are sheep, goats, cattle and a few

riding camels. Tawesish, El Laeit and Dar Al Salam are the main small market towns. The area also has market linkages with Ed Daein in South Darfur and Ghebaish in West Kordofan.

Total annual income: For a typical poor household about SD 78,500 (US\$396); for a typical IDP family about SD 55,388 (US\$281).

Tombac food economy zone¹⁰

Location: Includes Taweila, Korma, western parts of El Fasher and the southern parts of Dar Al Salam.

Ecology: The annual rainfall varies from 200mm–350mm, with a declining trend going northwards. Fertile clay soil around seasonal riverbeds, known locally as wadis, is the most common soil for tombac cultivation (chewing tobacco).

Livelihood strategies: This area produces most of Sudan's supply of tombac. The main food source for most poor households is food purchase, supplemented by their own crop production (millet) and agricultural labour (paid for with food), wild food and milk. Major income sources are the sale of tombac, agricultural labour on tombac farms, hiring of land and donkeys to better-off households and livestock sales. The main tombac markets are El Fasher, Taweila, Korma, Tabit and Shengil Tobay.

Total annual income: For poor households, about SD 71,515 (US\$447); for middle-income households SD 166,250 (US\$1,039). Better-off households here are among the wealthier households in North Darfur.

Wadi food economy zone¹¹

Location: Crosses Kutum, Fata Borno, Kebkabiya and Seraf Umra, and covers the people who cultivate crops along the banks of Wadi Kutum, Wadi Bari and Wadi Borgo and their branches.

Ecology: The wadi soil consists of alluvial silt, clay and/or loamy soil. The depth of soil and its composition varies between the upper and lower parts of a wadi, and from one wadi to another. The depth of ground water varies from 3–6 metres. The annual rainfall is 300mm–400mm for the Kebkabiya area and 200mm–300 mm for the Kutum area.

Livelihood strategies: These depend on wadi landholdings, which are inherited and which vary by wealth group. Millet and sorghum are grown as a staple food and groundnuts (mainly in Kebkabiya) as a cash crop. In winter (mid-November to February), irrigated vegetables and beans are grown for sale in the local markets and then exported to other markets, mainly in El Fasher. Fruit trees, such as mango, guava and lemon, are also owned by some households. The main sources of income in the wadi food economy are cash crops and livestock sales, and for poor households also local employment.

Total annual income: For poor households SD 66,200 (\$454); for middle-income households SD 85,200 (\$585); and for better-off households SD 248,800 (\$1,709).

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this very brief review of livelihoods:

1. Sedentary farming is traditionally practised in juxtaposition with pastoralism. The two activities are traditionally associated with different tribal groups and have defined their relationship to land use.
2. Over the course of time the farming communities – for example, the Fur – have aspired to produce livestock as a means of acquiring wealth, while the nomadic communities have expanded into cultivation with mixed success. In the marginal areas of the north and north-east, agricultural cultivation is a high-risk activity as a result of low and variable rainfall. Those pastoralist communities that moved south early enough have acquired land, and their livelihoods reflect the local patterns of cultivation and livestock herding. Hence, currently nearly all farmers raise livestock, while nearly all pastoralists cultivate crops. The numbers of true nomads are very small indeed.
3. The recent and current systems used to monitor food security in the region have deliberately excluded tribal identity and conflict as a factor in their analyses. As a result, complex interactions, including conflict between tribes related to the use of natural resources, have received relatively little attention.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

FIGURES

Figure 1 Darfur Region, Sudan (Source : HIC, 2004)

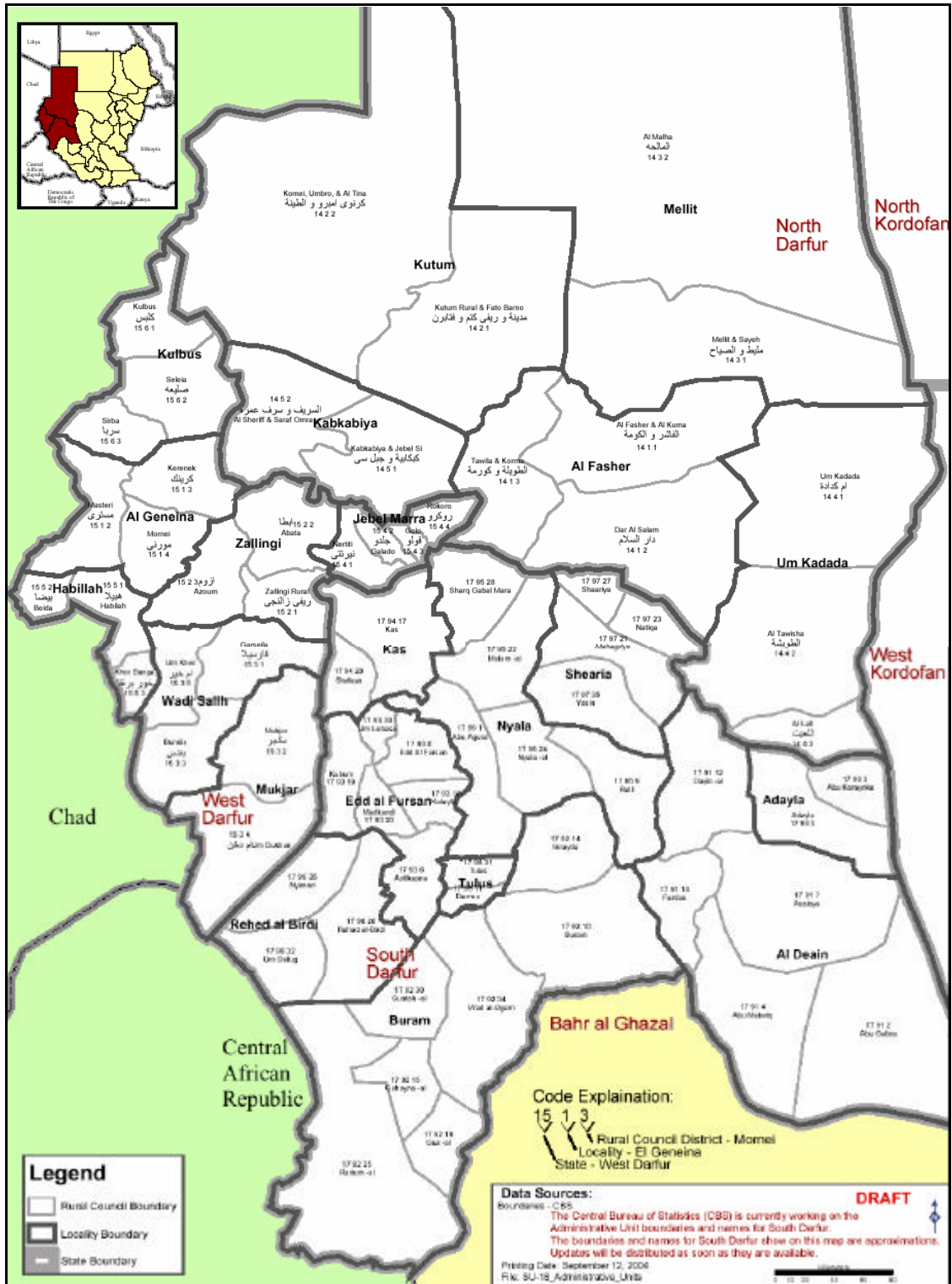
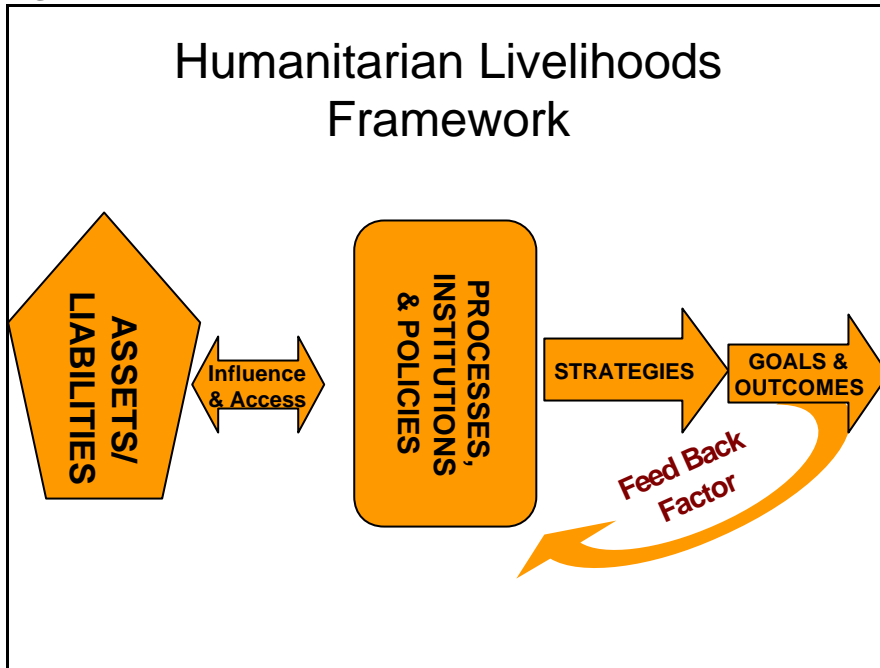


Figure 2 Humanitarian Livelihoods Framework



Chapter 2

The History And Origins Of The Current Conflict In Darfur

Historical background to Darfur	2
The Fur Sultanate.....	2
1874 – 1883 Turco-Egyptian rule	5
1883 – 1898 The Mahadiya	5
1898- 1916 Darfur – An Independent Sultanate Under Ali Dinar	6
1899 – 1955 Anglo Egyptian Condominium rule	6
1956 - Following Independence.....	7
1989 The NIF regime – National Congress Party.....	9
The Current Conflict	10
National and Regional Processes Contributing to the Conflict	10
Political and economic marginalization of Darfur in the 20 th century.....	10
Islamization and Arabism	13
The mobilization of armed militias	14
The North South Civil War and Peace Process	15
Regional relations with Chad and Libya and implications for Darfur	17
Local Processes.....	18
Drought and famine	18
Failing Local Governance – The Demise Of The Native Administration.....	21
Conflict over tribal territories	25
Political polarization within Darfur - the Fur Arab conflict of the late 1980's	27
Links between local, national and regional processes	28
Concluding remarks	30
References	31

This chapter reviews some of the history of the causes of the current conflict. This is vital in order to understand the origins of key features of the current crisis. There have been many different approaches to analyzing and understanding the conflict in Darfur. Some have attributed the conflict in Darfur to what they called the inherent warring nature of tribalism and bedowism¹⁻³. Others have focused on the pressures of ecological degradation, which sheds light on the limiting natural resource base, land use etc^{4,5}. However, such approaches gloss over the political economy of the natural resource use and tend to provide technical fixes to what are essentially political problems. Moreover the focus tends to be on one single part of the problem at only one level. Others tended to provide a shopping list in which all the causal factors are of an equal importance. Such an approach fails to identify the immediate factors from the root causes and the ways in which they interact. A more systematic analysis is required to inform any intervention strategy.

An alternative approach to understand the nature of the conflict and its impact on livelihoods should try to identify and analyze the local, national, regional and international processes and factors operating at each level and their role and contribution to the conflict.

For the past two centuries, at least three major factors have shaped and influenced the political, social and economic life of Darfur, and also of the central riverain State, and Darfur neighbours. These critically important factors are Islamism, trade and tribal identity, which have contributed to the social importance and dominance of religious leaders, tribal leaders and merchants. These factors combined with the diverse ecology of Darfur, shed light on the rationale underlying the distribution and use of the agricultural and pastoral resources.

This chapter shows how these processes are critical elements of the current crisis. The chapter reviews the history of Darfur, focusing first on the Fur Sultanate, Turco-Egyptian rule, the Mahadiya, Anglo-Egyptian condominium rule, and post-independence. The Fur Sultanate laid the foundations of the current patterns of tribal territories, systems of administration, land rights and trade networks. These evolved under the subsequent administrations. Other factors have come into play including repeated episodes of drought and famine, and the impact of wider regional conflict including the Chadian civil war, the Libyan Chadian war, and the north south civil conflict in Sudan.

The origins of the economic and political marginalization of Darfur and between different groups within Darfur, date back to the nineteenth century. Prior to this the Kingdom of Darfur was at least as powerful and important as its neighbours. The Turkish empire strengthened the central Nile riverain groups at the expense and exploitation of the peripheral regions. This pattern was continued during condominium rule, and post independence.

Historically Darfur was an important independent centre in both trade and religion. For the history of Darfur three different dynasties were decisive⁶:

- The Daju dynasty, whose political centre lay in the southeast of Jebel Marra. It ruled from about the 13th century to the 16th century.
- The Tunjur dynasty, whose centre of power lay north of Jebel Marra. It ruled over Darfur up to the 17th century.
- The Keira dynasty: Its centre was in Turra in Jebel Marra and later in El-Fasher. The core group in the Keira dynasty were the Fur, but the dynasty sought to assimilate other groups⁷.

Historical background to Darfur

The Fur Sultanate

The Fur Sultanate was established by Sulayman Solongdongo(1650 -1680). Prior to that, the history of the kingdom in its earlier Tunjur and Daju eras remains unknown. Following the emergence of the Sultanate from Jebel Marra into central areas of the region (the richest and stable parts in term of soil and water) its growth and expansion was achieved through a combination of peaceful and coercive incorporation of territorial and ethnic groups⁸. In 1787 the 7th Sultan Mohammed Tayrab, extended the Fur Sultanate to the Nile by conquering the Funj province of Kordofan to the east and opening Darfur to the expanding commerce of the 17th and 18th century⁹.

Migration and ethnic diversity

Strategically located between the White Nile and West Africa, there was a constant flow of migration to the region from the west and east. In addition, a central strategy of the Darfur sultanate was to encourage immigrants' movement into Darfur to meet the pressing need for manpower. Immigrants from West Africa, the Nile Valley and other locations included holy men (*fuqara*), scholars (*ulama*), traveling merchants (*jallaba*) as well as poor immigrants. Many of these groups were encouraged to settle by grants of land and position from the sultans (*ibid*). In addition to this strategy a process of assimilation and acculturation was set in motion to incorporate other groups and territories. Such groups included among others Berti, Marareet, Mime, Daju, Bergid, Tunjur, Dading. These groups along with the Fur and Masalit and other small tribes inhabit the center of the region, where they traditionally practice sedentary farming.

In the north western part of the region, the semi-arid arc of territory north of Weddai in Chad and Darfur has been occupied by the Zaghawa and the closely related Bideyat since the sixteenth century (speaking Nilo-Saharan languages). To the North East migrated the Nubian language speakers: the Meidob and Bergid, ostensibly from the Nile Valley. Other groups emerged from the Fazara in North Egypt, the Zayadia (the largest camel owning group in the north) and the group collectively known as Northern Rizeigat. This group includes Nuweiba, Mahamid, Ireygat and Mahariya.

The expansion of the Keira dynasty westwards brought them into contact with the Dar Gimr (of Jaali origin, on the Nile) and Dar Tama (Daju in origin). The Gimr were conquered by the Fur, although the Gimr kept their Sultan. The rulers of Dar Tama were not subject to Darfur but paid tributes when territories were disputed (*ibid*, p84). The wetter Savanna to the south of the region was occupied by cattle nomadic group of the Ta'aisha, Beni Halba, Fellata, Habbaniya, Ma'alyia and Rizeigat (going from west to east across southern Darfur).

In broad terms the tribal distribution can be summarized in relation to livelihoods and ecology as including: the northern arid areas of camel nomadism; the central areas of rainland of agriculture; and the southern wet savannah area of cattle nomadism.

The current ethnic distribution Darfur has not changed substantially from the above sketch, although there have been shifts and movements of particular groups. Figure 3 shows one of the first known maps of the tribal *Dars* or homelands from 1928. Annex 1 lists the current Dar's, their location, and the name given to their leaders.

Figure 3

Trade, regional development and ethnic integration in the 19th century

Another factor that contributed to the expansion and internal consolidation of Darfur Sultanate was trade. Three major routes converged on the Fur Sultanate:

1. The route from western *Bilad al sudan* and going through Barnu, Weddai, Darfur and the Funj Kingdom to the Red Sea ports and the Hijaz¹⁰;
2. The famous *Darb al Arbain* or the forty Days Road beginning at Kobbei (25 miles north of El Fasher) in Darfur to and from Egypt. The route passed through Jebel

- Meidob, crossing the Libyan dessert through Bir Natrun, and on to Laqiyya, Salima, al Shaff, Kharja to Asyut in Egypt. In total it traversed nearly 1,100 miles of desert and took 40 days march. The route carried commerce of slaves and ivory from Chad and Darfur to Egypt for over 1000 years⁹.
3. A north westerly route to Tripoli and Tunisia via Fezzan¹⁰.

The *jellaba*, or arab merchants first came to Darfur as a result of these important trade routes. Around 1810 a fourth trade route opened up from Benghazi in northern Libya through the Kufra oasis to Weddai as a result of the decline of the caravan routes in the west⁹. This route thrived after the Islamic reformer and entrepreneur, the Grand Sanusi established religious hostels and sanctuaries from Kufra in south east Libya to Weddai in Chad for merchants and pilgrims.

These routes were well connected with local trade networks, which exploited the ecological variations of the Sultanate. This network of trans-Saharan, local and regional routes had a profound political, economic and cultural impact on the Sultanate. As a factor in state formation, local trade and specialization was probably most decisive^{8,10}.

The eastern trans-Saharan route from Benghazi to Weddai was opened to buy firearms for slaves in the first decade of the 19th century. The route flourished from 1875-1900 as a result of commercial (if not religious) alliance with the Sanusiyya of southern Libya. After 1881 the Darb el Aarbaein was closed by intervention of the Mahdist State.

Since then trade has been integral to livelihoods in Darfur. The role of local trade especially in the decades following the annexation of Darfur to Sudan in 1916 provided a forum through which the different ethnic groups interacted. Today there are more than 300 market places of different size all over Darfur¹¹.

Land - Origins of the Hakura system

Following the emergence of the Kiera sultanate in the central areas of the region, the sultanate started the organization of land through granting of *Hakura* (concession or estate). The granting of the *Hakura* included rights over the territory of the hakura and the people living within it. *Hakura's* were granted by the sultan to reward the notables for maintaining control over areas, or granted as a means of attracting newcomers to the sparsely populated kingdom, as well as to provide an income for members of the royal clan.

According to Abusalim (1974) the grant might include the transfer of the right as decided by the sultan as he is the absolute owner of the land. However the estate (*Hakura*) holder took neither *zakat* nor taxes from their estates these being reserved for the sultans. The main benefits derived from the estates were the tenants labor, and the various customary taxes, including *awaa'id* (customs taxes), the proceeds from the sale of stray slaves and animals, the fees and fines from rendering justice, and a share of the blood money paid to the deceased or injured's family⁸.

The Administrative System under the Darfur Sultanate

Darfur Sultanates adopted a three tier system of administration whereby people were ruled largely through their own chiefs. According to this system the administrative was

based upon four provinces, each divided into a number of district chiefdoms or *shartayas*. Each *shartaya* was further divided into a varying number of local chiefdoms or *dimlijyyas* administered by a *dimlij*. Some of the larger *shartayas* had chiefs called *sembi* who acted as agents for the *shartays* to control the *dimlijs*. The *shartay* was the sultan's representative and he was mainly concerned with justice and taxation. The appointment of the *shartay* was either made or confirmed by the Sultan. It is usually made from among the brothers of the previous holder. The village sheikh comprised the third layer of the system. They were responsible for the direct administration of land, tax collection, settlement of small disputes and all ceremonial activities concerning the upper level of the administrative system.

1874 – 1883 Turco-Egyptian rule

The Keira sultanate maintained its independence until it was overthrown in 1874 by the Ottoman empire (Turco-Egyptian rule), who invaded and occupied the northern part of Sudan by 1821. The Turco-Egyptians remained in Darfur until they were defeated by the Mahadiya troops in 1883. The brief period of Turco-Egyptian rule was marked by sporadic revolts by the Fur and the turbulent Baggara tribesmen to the south, for whom the coming of the Mahadiya promised the destruction of a hated foreign regime¹². They experienced a system of exploitative taxations that left them disgruntled. The methods of tax collection employed, as Hill (1959) described it, were derived from the old rule 'catch- as -catch can'¹³.

Under Turco-Egyptian rule, European and arab traders exploited the lucrative slave trade with southern Sudan often with the support of Turco-Egyptian officials. The cattle herding Baggara from Darfur were part of this commercial enterprise, and moved south and began trading slaves with small-scale traveling merchants called *jallaba*. Thus the beginning of a north-south divide in the Sudan associated with the commercial exploitation of southern Sudan involving European, Egyptian and northern Sudanese merchants occurred under this Turco-Egyptian rule¹⁴. At the same time this reduced the role and significance of previous trading links with Darfur, which marked the beginning of its 'marginalization' by the centre.

1883 – 1898 The Mahadiya

In 1883 Muhammad Ahmad declared himself as the Mahdi, 'the awaited one' who had come to restore Islam to its initial purity. His followers, known as the Ansar, gathered from all over Sudan. There were various unsuccessful attempts to put down this movement, and in 1885 Mahdist forces overran Khartoum, overthrowing the Turco-Egyptian regime.

The Khalifa Abdullahi, of the Ta'aisha of Darfur, succeeded the Mahdi. He did not command the support of all the Ta'aisha, and certainly not the Fur and other groups. From 1885-88 there were a series of revolts against Mahdist rule, first by the Rizeigat and then by the Fur¹⁵. There was also opposition to the Mahdists on the western frontier lead by a faqi – a holy man, from Dar Tama⁹.

So during this period the Khalifa was wrestling with the challenges of pacification and disputes in Darfur. In addition the state was involved in a policy of enforced migration of

the Baggara from their homeland in Darfur to Omdurman. This policy, which turned the nomads into a standing tribal army, coincided with the devastating famine and epidemic of 1889/90.

The Baggara did not respond willingly to the call of the Khalifa and they resisted both the threats and promises. However by 1888 and under the pain of destruction and dispersion by the military power of the Khalifa, the great tribal migrations of the Baggara started. By the early months of 1889 their first contingents reached Omdurman¹⁶.

These two periods - the Turco-Egyptian empire and the Mahdist years, came to be known as *umm kwakiyya* - years of misery, burning and banditry¹⁵. They were relatively short lived as compared with the independent sultanates, and had little influence on the institutions and processes established by the Fur Sultanate (ibid).

1898- 1916 Darfur – An Independent Sultanate Under Ali Dinar

In 1898 Darfur was the first region to liberate itself from the Mahadiya by Ali Dinar, a prominent Fur loyalist who was serving the Khalifa in Khartoum until the British troops captured Omdurman in 1898. He returned to Darfur and appointed himself Sultan intending to restore the Fur Sultanate as before, which meant imposing his rule on the southern arabs¹⁵. By 1916 Darfur was just emerging from a very severe famine, characterized by massive depopulation, localized civil disturbance and unrest. Compared with a century before, Darfur was ‘a shattered economy’¹⁵.

1899 – 1955 Anglo Egyptian Condominium rule

Although in 1898 an Anglo Egyptian army under Kitchener re-conquered Khartoum, it was not until 1916, that the British annexed Darfur by force, defeating and killing the Sultan Ali Dinar.

As with other countries under colonial regime the economic development was geared to serve the needs of the colonial economy^{17,18}. Production of cotton was one of the main interests of British rule in order to supply the flourishing textile industry in Britain (Manchester) adding to the already established trade route between the Nile region in Sudan and Egypt.

The object of satisfying the British market was mainly focused on establishment and expansion of cotton- growing on large centrally managed schemes or estates. Such a policy did little to improve the conditions of the many millions of small farmers outside the schemes. It also meant that the condominium *development efforts* were concentrated in a triangle area; which came to be known as the ‘3Ks’ - **K**osti, **K**assala and **K**hartoum. This cover the valley of the Nile to the North of Khartoum, the Blue Nile and white Nile areas immediately south of Khartoum, central Kordofan and the Southern parts of Kassala province. These areas benefited most from the spread of education and health services.

Peripheral provinces like Darfur experienced complete neglect. For example, by 1955 out of around 1,170 implemented schemes none were in Darfur. By 1947 Darfur had no province judge, education officer or province agriculturalist.

Table 1 Distribution of Agricultural Schemes in 1955 (adapted from Niblock¹⁷)

Province	Scheme (Name and/or type)	Number of Schemes
Blue Nile	Gezira (gravity)	1
	Pump schemes	581
Northern	Pumps schemes	430
Kassala	Gash (gravity)	1
	Tokar (gravity)	1
	Pump Schemes	4
Upper Nile	Pumps Schemes	34
Khartoum	Pumps Schemes	117
Total		1169

As a pre requisite for the imposition of the colonial type of economy in Sudan the condominium rule was involved in pacification and consolidation of its power in the country. For Darfur these goals meant the reorganization and management of the different tribes by defining the territories and retaining their tribal leaders (wherever that was possible) and avoid weakening them so that existing system should not be disturbed. In other words adoption of a soft landing policy in which old orders gave way to new and the new differed to the old. Annex 1 lists the tribal Dar's, their location, and the name given to their leaders.

1956 - Following Independence

Since independence in 1956 Sudan has had a succession of alternating military and democratic regimes (Box 3). Two major parties emerged both of whom were deeply committed to Islam: the Umma party (UP) with largely Mahdist followers and the National Unionist Party (NUP) with largely Khatmiya followers (with historical links to Egypt).

Box 3 Military regimes and democratic governments in Sudan since Independence

Date	Government
1956 1 st January 1956	Sudan becomes an independent republic based on a democracy of sectarian parties.
1958, November	Coup d'état resulting in the military regime of General Ibrahim Aboud.
1964, October	A transitional government led by Khatam al Khalifa (intended to prepare the country for democratic elections and devise a constitution).
1966, July	Coalition government of Sadiq al Mahdi, who won the parliamentary vote
1967, May	Mohamed Ahmed Maghoub replaced Sadiq al Mahdi
1968,	Elections returned Mohamed Ahmed Maghoub.
1969, May	Coup d'état led by Colonel Jaafar Numayri
1983, May	Numayri re-elected with 99.6% of the vote!!
1985, April	Numayri overthrown by the Transitional Military Council lead by General Swar al-Dahab
1985, 14 th April	Sadiq al-Mahdi re-elected, winning 99 of the 301 seats.
	Revolutionary Council
1989, June 30 th	Military takeover by the Revolutionary Command Council led by Brigadier Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir. Ruled with the National Islamic Front led by Hasan el-Turabi.
1999	Split in the National Congress, and breakaway group formed by Turabi known as the National Popular Congress.

Although the condominium rule policies resulted in regional disparities of which Darfur was mostly affected, it left the Sudanese government in 1956 with a valuable flow of income¹⁷. This fund provided a good basis from which post independent government could launch development programs to address the inherited disparities. Yet the national administration intensified the same processes which were set into motion prior to 1956 i.e. expansion of pump schemes was maintained at an even higher rate. Of the 2280 schemes implemented by the mid sixties non were in Darfur. This is not surprising given the fact that governments of 1956 – 1969 were dominated by those social groupings who had a natural interest in maintaining the economic and social frame work from which they have benefited¹⁷. Therefore it did little to dismantle the pattern of society and economy created or maintained by the colonial rule. From 1969 to present day other processes come to play in the marginalization of Darfur. These processes will be discussed in the next section.

Table 2 Progress of Pump Irrigation Schemes in Sudan, pre 1920-1963 by Province

Period	Blue Nile		Northern		Khartoum		Upper Nile		Kassala		All Provinces
	Schemes										
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No	%	
Up to 1920	—	—	12	1.2	2	0.9	1	1.9	—	—	15
1921-30	4	0.4	10	1.0	4	1.8	—	—	—	—	18
1931-40	17	1.7	26	2.6	13	5.9	—	—	—	—	56
1941-45	15	1.5	25	2.5	10	4.5	1	1.9	—	—	51
1946-50	114	11.6	113	11.1	34	15.5	8	15.4	—	—	269
1951-55	431	43.9	244	24.1	54	26.4	24	46.2	4	25.0	757
1956-60	360	36.7	340	33.5	66	30.0	12	23.1	7	44.0	785
1961-63	40	4.1	244	24.1	37	16.8	6	11.5	5	31.0	332
Total	981	100.0	1014	100	220	100	52	100	16	100	2283

Adapted from Niblock (1987)17

1989 The NIF regime – National Congress Party

On 30 June 1989, 15 army officers of the Revolutionary Command Council led by Brigadier Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir overthrew the civilian government of Sadiq el Mahdi. Sudan would now be governed by Islamic principles and the laws of the Quran, in accordance with the interpretations and regulations of the National Islamic Front (NIF) islamists, led by Turabi. The army, civil service and police force were reorganized, and positions filled with members of the NIF. The Popular Defence Force was established, which in some localities consisted of existing militias, formed under Sadiq el-Mahdi's rule. The new Islamic state of Sudan directed by Umar al-Bashir was to follow the new Islamic model espoused by Hasan al-Turabi, leader of the National Islamic Front.

With the NIF taking power in Khartoum a whole set of structural changes and processes were set into motion to serve and secure the new Islamic model. These processes included islamization, Arabism and mobilization of armed militia. Darfur has become one of the Mujahideen recruiting areas to join the Islamic Jihad in Southern Sudan. In this recruitment process many of the tribal leaders, who are now taking different alliances, and some of the leaders of the current opposition groups were involved. Meanwhile Darfur fell prey to intensive looting and robbery by Janjaweed and other groups in what became known as "armed banditry". Militarization of the Darfur society has taken place and tribal conflicts intensified. This has led to the formation of many armed opposition groups against the government such as the Daud Bolad movement in the 1990s.

The Current Conflict

This section discusses processes that have contributed to the current conflict at different levels including regional, national and local levels. Often these processes are intricately linked and particularly the local processes are influenced and shaped by wider regional and national level processes. The section is divided into two parts, first the national and regional processes, followed by the local processes. The national and regional processes include:

- Political and economic marginalization of Darfur in the 20th century
- Islamization and Arabism
- The North South Civil War Peace Process
- The mobilization of armed militias
- Regional relations with Chad and Libya and implications for Darfur

National and Regional Processes Contributing to the Conflict

Political and economic marginalization of Darfur in the 20th century

The British adopted a deliberate policy of enhancing the business interests of certain influential families from the central Nile valley by preferential allocation of productive assets (mostly land), business contracts and bank loans (converted into grants), with the objective of minimizing the risk of resistance to the colonial regime¹⁹. These groups included religious leaders, tribal leaders and merchants. Their emergence was due to old historical factors relating to the domination of religious life in northern society by Muslim Sufi religious orders and to the indirect rule policy of the colonial state¹⁹. In the hand of these social groupings rested authority and political influence in the post independence era (see annexes). This aggravated the already existing disparities in development within the north as well as between north and south¹⁴.

The first step toward planning development in Darfur was a 1956 survey, which recommended that Darfur, like the South must strive for self sufficiency²⁰. Stemming from the imbalance in regional investments was the neglect in the service sector as illustrated by the statistics provided by Daly (1991) in Box 4²⁰.

Box 4 Disparities in health and development in Darfur, 1956²⁰

In 1939, of 17 maternity clinics in Sudan, there was only one in Juba and non in Darfur. By 1941 there were 73 licensed midwives in Khartoum province, 59 in Gezira, four in Upper Nile and non in Darfur. Major epidemics occurred; in 1926 an outbreak of relapsing fever led to more than 1000 deaths in Darfur. Similarly outbreaks of cerebro-meningitis were reported in the mid thirties with 7,000 people dead in Darfur from June 1935 to spring 1936. Between 1940-45 another outbreak was reported with the peak in 1944 when almost 2300 cases were reported. Case fatality in Darfur was 9.9% - the highest in the country. By 1948/9 amid the cotton boom, famine conditions prevailed and the price of Dokhon (sorghum) in August 1949 was twice that in found in Omdurman, free grains were distributed in El Fasher and others towns, while many people outside were reduced to eating wild foods. Outbreaks of smallpox prevailed in Sudan from 1951-1955, and as usual Darfur was hard hit with incidence peaking in 1952 (3653 cases and 578 fatalities). By independence Darfur had the least developed medical services in the country with 0.57 hospital beds per thousand people (Khartoum 2.9).

In 1951 of the 23 government intermediate schools operating three were in the South, 2 in Kordofan, 1 in Darfur, 15 in Blue Nile, Northern and Khartoum provinces. In 1935 there was but one elementary school (described as a finishing school for sons of the more important chiefs), one tribal elementary school and two sub grade schools for a population of at least 500,000. Admitting the Khalwa was useless, Crawford,

the District Commissioner of Southern Darfur at that time, nonetheless believed *'it would be the greatest of pities, if the present elementary schools developed into something ... which was more than the (Southern) district needed or deserved.*

While Darfur suffered during this period from a regional imbalance in development, inequality within the region was evident in the distribution of the limited educational opportunities within Darfur. This is no surprise given the fact that the colonial administration focused on strengthening the social groupings mentioned above.

In this regard the education policy had been carefully thought out with a view to the education of the sons of tribal chiefs' only²⁰. Entry to schools had been very strictly controlled to the virtual exclusion of the sons of low paid ghaffirs, petty merchants and police. Ingleson, the governor of Darfur 1934 -41 succinctly put it *"We have been able to limit education to the sons of chiefs and native administration personnel and can confidently look forward to keeping the ruling classes at the top of the education tree for many years to come"* cited by Daly, p 107.

In southern Darfur W.F. Crawford¹ tried to restrict a lowly khalwa to notables' sons: limited space could be cited as an excuse if necessary. As he said, *"the advantage of dealing with the sons of the sheikh alone is that they run no risk of being swamped in class by the sharper-witted sons of merchants"*.

At independence and during the subsequent post-independence period religious leaders, tribal leaders and merchants came to hold great influence on the political, social and economic life of northern Sudan and of the country. They dominated the first parliament and senate, the legislative body and the central council members. Their emergence was due to old historical factors relating to the domination of religious life in northern society by Muslim Sufi religious orders and to the indirect rule policy of the colonial state¹⁹. Thus, *'the main constituencies of the political parties lay within the social groups at the core of the economic elite, and not among the popular masses'*(Brown (1992): page 97 quoted in ¹⁹) despite their efforts to become enfranchised. Of the eleven Darfurian seats in the first parliament there were eight tribal leaders, one merchant and two government officers.

Darfur was ruled by commissioners who neglected the basic needs of the people of Darfur and merely fulfilled the interests of the central government⁶. Thus under British rule Darfur suffered both political marginalization and processes of economic neglect and stagnation.

A further problem was the phenomenon of 'exported members' – parliamentarians from Khartoum that represented Darfur in the National Assembly but had little or no concern for the region. In direct response to this poor representation and the economic imbalances in Sudan in 1965 a number of educated Darfurians formed the Darfur Front. The head of the committee was Ahmed Direige later to become governor of north Darfur. Other representatives in this group included Dr Ali El Haj; Professor Abdul Rahman Dosa and Dr Mohammed Adam Showa, all prominent Darfurians and all with the exception of Dr. Ali al Haj were members of the Umma Party.

¹ District Commissioner, Southern Darfur

Although, the two decades straddling independence saw a number of positive economic developments in Darfur² this was soon to be reversed. By 1978, national economic crisis and mismanagement lead to dramatic falls in exports, and widespread corruption. This affected the nascent economic growth in Darfur; cash crops suffered because of the problem of cost and supply of inputs and problems with local credit systems, which had a serious knock on affect on agricultural labour¹⁵.

An example of economic neglect is the limited development occurring in the region. The only two development projects financed by international organizations in Darfur, including the Western Savannah Development Project and the Jebel Marra Rural Development Project came to a completed halt when their administration was transferred to states governments rather than the central government²¹.

As a result poverty has increased in terms of intensity and prevalence. Of all the regions, Darfur was hardest hit (see Table 3) as the standard deviation (measure of dispersion) increased from 44.5 1967/68 to 57 in 1982/83²².

Table 3 Disparities in Regional Income^{22,23}

Region	Income 1967/68	Income 1982/83
Khartoum	236	283
Middle (including the Blue Nile)	183	201
Eastern (including Port Sudan and Kassala)	180	195
Kordofan (including South Kordofan)	153	164
Northern Region	124	130
Darfur	98	102
Standard Deviation	44.5	57

Moreover, out of a total fund of US \$13,414 million for development projects extended to Sudan by the international community from 1958- 2003 Darfur had only 10 projects which constituted a share of 2%²⁴.

The Black Book describes marginalization and oppression in marginalized areas in Sudan with particular emphasis on Darfur. There are two black books the first produced in 2000, and the second in August 2002. For example, it describes the disparities in educational services; *'pupils in the marginalized areas have been grounded at the primary level (of education)'. In the State of West Darfur, primary schools remained closed for two years for lack of books and staff pay.*²⁵p19' According to the translator *'some of the activists involved in the preparation of the Book took arms against the*

² with the introduction of groundnuts farming (an important cash crop), drilling of deep borehole wells in qoz areas and the extension of the railway to Nyala (1958-60) 15. de Waal A. Famine that Kills. Darfur, Sudan, 1984-85: Clarendon Paperbacks, 1989.. Expansion of commercial farming provided an agricultural labour market that was previously unavailable which provided a fall-back for small farmers. As South East Darfur was closest to the railway it became the most economically advanced, to the advantage of the Arabs. Economically the opportunities created by trade and development in Sudan have tended to favour South rather than North Darfur, which are evidenced in the way that Nyala has outstripped El Fasher 1. Morton J. Conflict in Darfur. A different perspective. Hemel Hempstead, UK: HTSPE, 2004. June 2004.

government.. ..referred to as the Darfur Conflict²⁵ p2. Thus political and economic marginalization of Darfur is widely recognized as a root cause of the conflict.

Islamization and Arabism

The development of modern day Islamism in Sudan is strongly associated with Hassan al-Turabi and his followers. A former academic Turabi entered politics in 1964 and was active in the Islamic Charter Front which first proposed an Islamic Constitution for Sudan, which would effectively render the two thirds non Muslim majority as second class citizens. The Islamic Charter Front and the Muslim Brotherhood, were dominated by the riverine Arabs as well as Darfurians. Turabi's followers "*perceived their duty not only to consolidate the Islamic kingdom in the Sudan but to reform by subversion if necessary their citizens as part of the global renewal of Islam and one mission, to bring Islam to the Africans*"⁹.

Turabi was not alone in seeking an Islamic constitution for Sudan, which was also supported by Sadiq al-Mahdi – leader of the democratic government of 1985 -1989 and 1966 to 1967) and grandson of the Mahdi. Turabi represented modern militant Islam, while Sadiq represented the historic traditions of Mahdism. The marriage of Turabi to the sister of Sadiq el Mahdi meant that Mahdist loyalty was more easily transferable to the Muslim Brotherhood⁹ (the Muslim Brotherhood became the National Islamic Front in 1985).

The Ansar and the Umma, did not fare well under the military regime of Colonel Jaafar Numayri – 12,000 ansar and the Imam were killed in a fierce engagement with the Sudanese army in 1970 at Aba Island (the place that witnessed the birth of the Mahadiya movement) (ibid). Darfur, as a stronghold of the Ansar, must have become increasingly frustrated and disillusioned with the Khartoum government as a result of this crushing defeat, and the imprisonment of Sadiq el Mahdi.

Numayri introduced what he and the Islamic movement in Sudan call Shari'a law (laws of islam) in 1983 for all sudanese, which was unacceptable and intolerable to the majority of Sudanese. Although Darfurians have always been extremely devout Muslims Numayri was unpopular and by popular consensus was overthrown.

In the elections that followed in 1985, although Sadiq al-Mahdi won by a comfortable majority (99 out of 301 seats) Turabi's National Islamic Front won 51 seats, and 40% of the vote in Khartoum, indicating growing support for this new islamism⁹. Sadiq formed a coalition government that included the DUP but excluded the NIF, the communists and the Muslim brothers.

The NIF continued to be active organizing conferences that appealed for Arab purity and the creation of a belt of Islamists from the west to the east. In Darfur this aroused some hostility among the non Arabs, including the Fur, Berti and Zaghawa (ibid), but nevertheless western sudanese saw Islam as a route to forging links to the center and enfranchisement²⁶.

The mobilization of armed militias

There is a long history of mobilizing tribes to support the various causes of the central riverain Arabs, dating back to the call of the Mahdi in the 19th century. But more recent mobilizing and arming of tribal militias dates back to the 1980's when President Numayri mobilised *Murahaheen* militias who were the armed Baggara Rizeigat from Southern Darfur and the Misseriya from Southern Kordofan to fight southern Sudanese rebels.

Sadiq el Mahdi also used these militias in 1986. The atrocities carried out by the Arab militias were not limited to the war areas alone but were extended to central Darfur. In 1986 members of the same tribe as the Murahaleen militias massacred more than 1,000 Dinka displaced by the war in the south to Ed Daein in South Darfur - without anyone being prosecuted by the government²⁷. This gave the Arabs an air of impunity that reflected wider failures in the police and judicial systems.

After taking power in a coup in 1989, the National Islamic Front (NIF, renamed the National Congress) ruling party incorporated many of the murahaleen militias into the Popular Defense Forces²⁸.

In 1991 Daud Bolad a former NIF member, lead an incursion into Darfur under the SPLA. The government instead of mobilising the army and Darfurians generally as Sudanese citizens, mobilized the *Fursan* militias (southern Rizeigat, Beni Halba, Fellata, Ta'aisha), and with the support of the government they got the upper hand in Darfur. 1991 also coincided with President Bashir and the RCC rearming of Idriss Deby and his insurgents with weapons from Libya (see below). What is important to recognize is that the war in Darfur at the end of the 1980s "*was more than a conflict over land: it was the first step in constructing a new Arab ideology in Sudan*"²⁹.

The more recent mobilization of armed forces to put down the rebel insurgency in Darfur which started in 2003 was set in motion by a government appeal to all tribal leaders in Darfur to mobilize men to join the additional armed forces. These additional armed forces are widely known as the Jinjaweed although this term is somewhat misleading (see Box 5).

Box 5 Who are the Jinjaweed?

The label Jinjaweed is misleading as it is used differently in Darfur according to tribal affiliation and political viewpoint. Among the popular media and even in some circles of the international community (particularly fresh faced relief workers) there is the wrong and dangerous assumption that Jinjaweed = Arab = perpetrators of the human rights violations. Jinjaweed is more generally used to describe the armed militias mobilized by the government to address the counter-insurgency. Their methods and violations of human rights are infamous.

But among pro-government groups Jinjaweed are banditry gangs, whose activities are frowned upon, and considered as criminals and outlaws and not under the authority or control of any tribe³⁰⁻³². In contrast, the 'additional armed forces' are men mobilized by their tribe to become military personnel who receive training, are paid, and come under the direct control of government. In the words of Musa Hilal 'this is not like the Fursan [government armed militia].³³' Although obviously these groups have participated alongside the regular armed forces to perpetrate gross human rights violations.

The Gimr responded to the call of the government to fight the rebellion. They see their position as similar to that of the Fur and Zaghawa when they responded to the call of the government for the Jihad against the rebellion in the south and the east (two prominent Fur and Zaghawa Omdas joined the Mujahadeen)³².

However, after the war started many of the banditry gangs of Jinjaweed returned to their own ethnic group in order to join the 'additional armed forces' recruited by the government. Since their recruitment many have subsequently returned to their illegal banditry activities.

In addition, the governments call for additional armed forces extended as far as West Africa, and thus a large proportion of the additional armed forces include foreign elements.

Apart from these two categories of 'additional armed forces', and 'bandits', there are also armed Arab groups that provide protection for a price to either villages e.g. to Fur in Wadi Barrie³⁴, and to villages of Tamr and Gimr around Kebkabiya³⁵, and also protection to lorries traveling on the trade routes from El Fasher to the border with Kordofan (on their way to Omdurman)³⁶. Other protection forces are also thought to exist.

If the situation in Darfur is to be stabilized it is critically important to recognize the different and not necessarily related elements of 'Jinjaweed', their purpose, and the lines of authority that exert control over them. In relation to their purpose, this has a clear link with livelihoods – membership of the military, looting, occupying land, or operating a protection racket, are all sources of income in an otherwise very depressed economy and marginalized area of Sudan. Decommissioning of 'additional armed forces' therefore raises issues of finding alternative livelihood strategies. These livelihood linkages are part of the rapidly emerging war economy, which extends beyond the jinjaweed elements considered here.

The North South Civil War and Peace Process

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed on the 9th of January 2005 hopefully concludes the current phase of conflict between the North and South in Sudan which has been going on for 21 years. This section considers how this conflict and associated peace process have contributed to the current situation in Darfur by influencing actions of the major stakeholders.

The North/South conflict has directly and indirectly contributed to the current insecurity in Darfur in a numbers of ways, including; recruitment of militia from Darfur to fight in the south; use of similar tactics by GoS to deal with conflict in Darfur leading to increasing militarization of Darfur; drain on development resources and further marginalization of Darfur.

There is a history of mobilisation of different tribes and recruitment of militia from Darfur to go and fight in the South (see below). Those with militia experience include the current head of the JEM³ and members of the Southern Rizeigat⁴. This has resulted in increased militarization of Darfur with many Darfurians trained in warfare and familiar with operating in a war economy. It may conversely have also contributed to the reluctance of the Southern Rizeigat to become involved in the conflict given their past direct experience of militias.

Given southern Darfur's border with Bahr el Ghazel, there has been a degree of overspill of the North South conflict into Darfur, and overlap in terms of using Darfurian militias. Examples include, the 1986 Ed Daein massacre by southern Rizeigat, the incursion by Daud Bolad, a Darfurian with SPLA support in 1991, and the government response of mobilising Arab tribes into Fursan militia.

³ Dr Khileel Ibrahim

⁴ During the 1980s President Numayri mobilized murahaleen militias including the armed Baggara Rizeigat from Southern Darfur and the Misseriya from Southern Kordofan.

Other factors that have affected Darfur are that the war with the south, has drained government resources leaving little for development of the periphery regions of the political North. In turn this has meant that development aid has been severely curtailed with many donors only allowing relief aid to Sudan, which for Darfur has meant humanitarian assistance for drought relief and little else.

The two and a half year North South peace process may itself have influenced the Darfur conflict directly and indirectly. The peace process has been exclusive and is seen by many as an agreement between elites in the north and south. It has oversimplified conflict in Sudan into North and South and not considered the claims of the East, West and North (outside Khartoum). If it is to have any impact on other conflicts in Sudan it will be critical that the implementation is much more inclusive than the negotiation.

However, the peace process has also sent a clear message that the reward for armed struggle is a peace process and this may have encouraged other rebels. Some argue that the Government has been so focused on the North-South peace process that it has not/was not able to respond strategically or effectively to the Darfur situation. The difficulties of pursuing peace on two fronts meant that in Darfur the government fell back on its usual strategy of using tribal militia⁵. Now that the peace has been signed this argument is even less credible than before.

The GoS has pursued a strategy of parallel negotiating processes rather than trying to make the North-South process more inclusive. Managing three processes (North South, Abuja talks on Darfur, GoS dialogue with the NDA opposition (Cairo)) was inevitably difficult for all the parties including the international community (eg the AU, UN etc). While overstressing human resources, there have been critical information gaps between the processes. For example both the AU and the rebels working on Abuja are not well versed on CPA and its possible implications for Darfur. It has also allowed for a policy of divide and rule to be pursued by the Government.

The North South peace process may have destabilized the regime in Khartoum, and it is not clear what impact its implementation will have. There is a sense from some hardliners that the Government has given up too much. This may have affected the method and degree of response in Darfur.

The peace process and its accompanying oil revenue (to be divided by the GoS and the GoSS per the current agreement) has made the GoS less reliant on the livestock revenue from Darfur that previously contributed much to Sudan's Balance of Payments, as such there is less economic dependence on Darfur. Although, the GoS potentially stands to lose more in the future if the power sharing agreements in the north are widened.

The North South peace process has also influenced international response to Darfur. Up until early 2004 the international community were so focused on the peace process, they were unable to respond strategically or effectively to the Darfur situation. There has been a high level of internal debate within the international community on how the peace processes should be sequenced and so many sunk costs in the North-South peace that there has been reluctance to engage in Darfur beyond a humanitarian emergency for fear

⁵ Conversations with Diplomats

it will jeopardize the North South peace process. The push for the North-South peace is attributed by some as the reason why Darfur was not responded to for so long but rather allowed to fester.

Regional relations with Chad and Libya and implications for Darfur

Apart from the benefits of trade and migrant labour, Darfur's borders with Chad and Libya have exposed Darfur to the long-running affects of regional conflicts between Libya and Chad, the Chadian civil war and the wider pan-arabism ambitions of Libya. Since the 1960's there have been several movements of either Sudanese or Chadian groups crossing national borders as they either sought refuge in the neighbouring territory or while they prepared for retaliation and insurgency with or without support from the Khartoum government. This was one of the major factors in the rapid increase in armaments available in Darfur, and the arming of ordinary citizens and also in the increasing numbers of Chadian Arabs settling in Darfur, especially western Darfur.

The Government of Sudan has not been a neutral bystander in either the Chadian civil war or the conflict over the Aouzou strip. Various Sudanese governments and opposition groups have sought support and alliances with their wealthier Libyan neighbours and provided arms and a refuge to Chadian insurgents. During the 1970s under Numayri's rule, the Ansar leadership (Sadiq el-Mahdi) was in exile in Ethiopia, and later expelled and so Sadiq el Mahdi moved their headquarters to Libya. Subsequent armed opposition to Numayri was attempted from Libya, including the invasion of 1976³⁷. In 1977 Sadiq el Mahdi and many Ansar supporters returned from exile under Numayri's policy of 'national reconciliation'. The returning Ansar were settled on mechanized farming schemes in southern Darfur and Kordofan. Many Ansar remained in exile, to return on the overthrow of Numayri in 1985. Many of the Ansar returnees were involved in the Murahaleen militias (see xxx).

In 1985 the Sudanese Transitional Military Council (TMC) of Swar al-Dahab approached Libya in 1985 seeking weapons to tackle the SPLA insurgency in the south. In return for Libyan weapons, the TMC terminated arms to Habre and closed the western frontier. In addition, Gaddafi ended his military assistance to the SPLA and offered to train Sudanese army units. Libyan agents actively recruited in Khartoum, men who were mostly displaced people from Darfur, and within 6 months more than 2000 Sudanese had joined the Islamic Legion. *"Everywhere on the frontier were bandits and Islamic Legionnaires supported by the Libyan military to spread insecurity throughout the frontier"*⁹ p205. The Arab Baggara were attracted to the Islamic Legion more than the Non Arab groups, but were probably more attracted by the prospect of loot than ideological principals of Pan-Arabism. Libyans were also present in Darfur delivering drought relief, including the Libyan Red Crescent. Sudan's assistance to Gaddafi continued under Sadiq el-Mahdi's government.

Over a short period there was a massive influx of arms and according to one commentator this *"was the most criminal act by Qaddafi in the thirty years war for Chad"*⁹ p238. The weapons were also concentrated among Arab groups especially the Baggara, which was deeply disturbing to the Fur who started forming their own militia in response⁹.

This style of patronage has continued under Idris Deby's presidency. The Zaghawa, who straddle the border with Chad and were aligned with both the Ansar and with Deby - also obtained modern weapons³⁸.

Although the 30 years war is long past, Darfur remains closely tied with the people and governments of both Chad and Libya. Deby's Zaghawa background indicates where his loyalties lie. While the loyalty, friendship and support of Libya continues to be actively sought by the Khartoum government. Even during the Study Teams visit to El Kufra in July senior members of the Khartoum government were visiting Kufra, and Tripoli.

Local Processes

The affects of national level processes described above have been exacerbated by local level processes including:

- Drought and famine leading to depletion of assets and loss of livestock and increased competition over scarce resources (land, water).
- Drought induced north south migration and localized tribal conflicts.
- Failing local governance in particular the demise of the Native Administration and evolving tribal conflicts.
- The formation of an 'Arab alliance' and the Fur Arab conflict of the late eighties.
- The local mobilization of armed militia.

Drought and famine

The affects of economic stagnation and neglect from Khartoum governments have been exacerbated by drought and famine in Darfur. Famine and food insecurity are an integral part of Darfurian livelihoods, shaping the management of resources, livelihood strategies, and livelihood goals. A review of the major causes of famine occurring in Darfur since the 19th century indicates that although drought has played a major part, in all cases its localized effects have been exacerbated by conflict.

Box 6 Famine in Darfur

In 1873/74 there was a major famine called Karo Fata (white bone). The years that followed coincided with a succession of famine caused by drought conditions, poor harvests, and the frontier conflicts between Darfur and Weddai resulting from pillaging and trading¹⁵.

The famine of 1888-92 was possibly the worst ever – the major cause of which was fighting between large numbers of the Mahdist forces under the governor of Darfur and a religiously inspired rebel army¹⁵. This was the time of the Khalifa's forced migration to Omdurman. These years resulted in impoverishment and destruction.

The third regionwide 'famine that killed' and the only one whose major cause was a drought occurred during 1913/14. Famine was exacerbated in the south eastern Darfur by fighting between the Rizeigat and the forces of Ali Dinar. In a letter quoted by Alex de Waal the Nazir of the Rizeigat wrote "*there is not a single house that is not burned down by [the Fur armies]*"¹⁵.

The famine contributed to instability; breakdown of local government, raiding for food, and enormous famine migrations (the Zayadia left for Kordofan, many Berti moved southwards, Zaghawa came down as far as southern Darfur)¹⁵.

In 1973 the rainfall in Darfur was the lowest on record, but only those living in Dar Masalit and in the north east considered it to be a 'mild' famine¹⁵. Animals did not die, but the result was that herds were restructured particularly in the north and north east favouring more drought resistant species.

The drought of 1972/73 and the more severe regional famine of 1983/1984 coincided with significant north south population movements, losses of large numbers of livestock and depletion of assets, and increasing qoz cultivation by herders further north.

According to local observers in North Darfur, since 1972, there have been 16 drought years³⁶. Those that stand out include 1983/85, 1987-88, 1990-91, 1994? and 2000- 2001. None have been on the scale of the 1984/1986 famine, when it was estimated that death rates were three times normal (a total of 176,900 actual deaths, including 95,000 excess deaths)³⁹.

The most severe famines in Darfur have been associated with war – particularly the frontier Chadian border conflicts whose effects have spilled over into Darfur⁹. As a result of the Fur Arab conflicts of the late eighties, local level insecurity and civil conflict increasingly affected systems of production. The direct link between civil insecurity and food insecurity were apparent even in the late eighties; *“Assets are lost or destroyed, including livestock, grain stores and peoples homes. Livelihood systems are disrupted. And displacement causes concentrations of people in camps and makeshift dwellings around towns with associated health and hygiene risks”*⁴⁰ p106.

Conflict induced displacement of people is not a new phenomenon in Darfur either. First with the influx of Dinka in 1987 to southern Darfur, who would usually return to Bahr el Ghazal at the end of the agricultural season but were unable to because of the war in the south. Second people have been displaced as a result of tribal conflict within the region. In September 1991, there were at least 86,000 displaced people in Darfur (although many go unrecorded) including:⁴⁰

- 17,000 displaced from south Sudan
- 30,000 displaced in South Darfur because of tribal conflict
- 21,000 displaced in South Darfur because of famine,
- 18,000 displaced in North Darfur mainly because of famine

During 1991 large parts of south Darfur and areas in the north were simply out of bounds for food security monitors because of the dangers of traveling. This meant that local people in insecure areas who were most in need of assistance tended to be least well served, both by information-monitoring systems and by relief operations⁴⁰.

Depletion of assets and loss of livestock

Repeated droughts have contributed to the depletion of assets and impoverishment of people in Darfur⁴⁰. Throughout Darfur, livestock perished, or their owners were forced to sell them at rock bottom prices during the drought and famine years. For groups that were principally pastoralists, including the southern Rizeigat, their wealth was evaporating as livestock perished. In contrast, to the south the Dinka herds of the Bahr el Arab were not hit to the same extent. Cattle raiding in Bahr el Ghazal was therefore an attractive option for impoverished herders from south Darfur. Raided animals were sold cheaply to buy grain, as Dinka cattle are not hardy to thrive in south Darfur.

Depletion of the natural resource base has also occurred as a result of drought and desertification. Rainfall statistics show that overall rainfall has declined, and the pattern has changed to a shorter and more unreliable wet season. In a survey in 1986¹⁵, farmers

and herders both recognized that ecological deterioration was happening as a result of declining rainfall that forced farmers and herders to apply non-sustainable land use practices. These included cutting trees and over-cultivation of fragile soils leading to deforestation, desertification⁶ and declining yields. Over-grazing in turn has contributed to degradation of pasture.

Famine migrations were already common in Darfur prior to the major 1984/85 famine, however the patterns of migration varied according to how different groups were affected by famine and the options open to them. Fouad Ibrahim (1998) compared the migration behaviour of two groups from north Darfur, the Meidob and the Zaghawa, who have suffered as a result of drought in the seventies and eighties¹⁵. More than half of the Zaghawa and Meidob migrated southwards and to the towns. Despite the similarity of their livelihoods based on agropastoralism, the Zaghawa migrants were considered more economically successful than the Meidob migrants, because:

“ The Zaghawa started their out-migration earlier than the Meidob. Thus, they could establish ethnically-based networks in Libya and the Gulf countries, to which Zaghawa migrants can resort to make a good start in their destination areas. By the time the Meidob started their migration in the 1980s, the conditions of employment in the Arab oil countries had worsened.

– The Zaghawa show a strong clan solidarity. They readily lend money to young members of their clan to cover the high costs of travelling to the Arab oil countries for work, where many of them have already established themselves.

- The Meidob, both in the Sudan and abroad, have much less resources available. The only country open for them outside the Sudan is Libya. Lacking capital, the Meidob go there on camels, mostly illegally”⁴¹.

This once again illustrates the varying fortunes of people of Darfur as influenced by their tribal affiliation.

The newly arrived migrants were not always welcome in southern Darfur. As far back as 1935 Wilfred Thesiger (assistant to the District Commissioner in Kutum) remarks that conflicts occurred between the southern Rizeigat and the newly arrived Zaghawa⁴². The Zaghawa who migrated southward settled not only in rural areas, but also in the major towns (el Fasher, Omdurman and Nyala). Today the Zaghawa living in these towns outnumber those living in Dar Zaghawa itself. The Zaghawa are reputed to be good traders *“they control the markets of all towns in Darfur today and compete with the Ja’ali traders in Omdurman”⁴³*. A great part of their capital was earned not in Sudan, but in the oil rich Arab countries.

De Waal describes how the processes of drought and desertification disturbed the moral geography of the Fur:

‘With the desert have come the people of the desert; feared Bideyat camelmen and others come south and prey on settled communities, and pastoralists bring their animals to cultivated places. They have penetrated further south than physical evidence of the desert. With ecological change has come an insecurity of community identity and relations’¹⁵. P89

⁶ when stabilized qoz degenerates into windblown sand sheets

Failing Local Governance – The Demise Of The Native Administration

The colonial government abolished the Fur sultanate but retained many of the institutions from the old sultanate under the newly instated Native Administration (*idara ahlia*).

The British relied upon a form of indirect rule based on a model developed by Frederick Lugard, the British High Commissioner in Nigeria. The Lugardian model as discussed by AbuShouk & Bjorkelo⁴⁴ (2004) was a practical form of administration and control that would leave the local population free to manage their own affairs through their own rulers, under the guidance of the British staff, and subject to the laws and policy of the administration. It is based on the following fundamentals:

1. A political hierarchy of local chiefs that would derive its power from the central government and be in charge of the maintenance of law and order, organization of labor and collection of local taxes.
2. A parallel hierarchy of native courts which would deal with minor criminal, civil and personal cases in terms of customary law and general principal of justice.
3. A native treasury that would manage local revenues and pay out necessary expenses of local authorities and social services.
4. A team of local staff which would carry out its duties under the guidance of British field officers and subject to the laws and policy of administration.

The application of this model in Sudan meant that British opted for the incorporation of traditional tribal and village leaders in the structure of the government. The native or tribal administration was based on earlier systems of magdumates divided into recognized 'dars' or tribal areas

Accordingly Nazirs, Omdas and Sheikhs were entrusted with administrative, judicial and police matters in their territorial domains. The system was gradually developed and finally legalized after a series of ordinances in 1922, 1925, 1927 and 1928 and eventually consolidated in the native Courts Ordinance of 1932, which regulated the administrative and police powers of tribal sheikhs and established a hierarchy of local courts in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan⁴⁴⁻⁴⁶. Such a system provided security with minimal staff and finances. The model was modified over time, the local government frame work was introduced in 1932, and municipalities, townships and rural areas and councils created in 1937. However, traditional tribal leaders with their executive, financial and legislative power remained an integral part.

A further development took place in 1951 with the establishment of a new Local Government Ordinance. According to this new arrangement the Nazirs assumed an honorary role in the newly established local councils which took over the financial and executive powers given to the tribal sheikh and omdas (ibid).

The roles of the Native Administration were to⁴⁷:

1. Assure good management of tribal local community affairs.
2. Allocate land for agriculture and grazing (*the hakura*).
3. Look after security
4. Communicate with local council, the province and state level.
5. Collect taxes and other levies.
6. Settle conflicts of local tenure.
7. Mobilize communities and,

8. Chair tribal/sub-tribal local courts (*judiyya*).

For the Fur the Native Administration reduced their status to just another ethnic group or tribe, and their particular economic and administrative privileges were abolished. But for many other ethnic groups it increased their influence and authority;

The Native Administration provided a system of local governance which managed the use of natural resources and allowed various groups to live in relative peace and stability. Shazali and AbdelGhaffar (1999) discuss the role of the native administration in implementing the policy of resource allocation and regulating the grazing activities of different tribes and outsiders to avert conflicts between farmers and pastoralists. This included; the enforcement of grazing boundaries which demarcated the grazing and farming areas, regulation of the seasonal movement of pastoralists in terms of timing and routes from the dry season grazing areas to the wet season grazing areas, limitation and containment of tribal intermingling in the grazing areas as well as the opening and closing of the water points⁴⁸.

Despite the vital role of the Native Administration as a form of indirect rule, it was an issue of heated debate and criticism in Sudan, as discussed by Elsam⁴⁶. One aspect of the debate was the creation of an unhealthy dichotomy between the educated Sudanese and tribal leaders. It created tension between these two groups with the former stereotyping the latter group as tools of the colonial regime. On the other hand the tribal leaders viewed the educated Sudanese as a potential threat that might undermine their power and prestige. The other set of criticisms related to the origins of the concept and its stage of development. Many of the Sudanese scholars believed that native administration is a direct, centralized and bureaucratic system that was different from the indirect model adopted in Nigeria and other British dependencies in Africa.

Changes to the Native Administration after Independence

In 1971 Numayri's military regime passed the Local Government Act which divided the region into regional, district and area councils. This local administration replaced the Native Administration and abolished the jurisdiction and administrative authority of the tribal leaders. The creation of multiple administrative units bound together by the single political party, the Sudan Socialist Union, "*created a bureaucracy controlled by insensitive officials from the Nile. It infuriated the traditional authorities.*" P74⁹

Some say this re-organization was the first factor that triggered tribal conflicts on a wider scale in Darfur²¹. Ateem lists 16 different rural council border disputes and conflicts in southern Darfur province alone that occurred soon after the implementation of this act. "*All these conflicts were over the right to own tribal land or 'hakura'*" (p4, *ibid*).

This Act meant that a locality belonging to one tribe could be controlled by another, which generated more than 16 border disputes in southern Darfur province alone, for example; between the Fellata and Gimr; and Mahariya and Rizeigat. The government had thus promoted tribal competition⁴⁹. Morton (2004) also argues that the weakening of the Native Administration has contributed significantly to increased conflict in Darfur. The critical weakness in modernising administration lay in the change of emphasis from their previous judicial role to their administrative role. Additional rural police stations were established but the government did not provide necessary coverage nor resources¹.

In practice, tribal leaders continued to be acknowledged heads of their group, and the tribe became a political base to promote its members to senior positions in local councils, as well as members of the regional and national assemblies central parliaments²¹. Ethnic identity and increasing polarization are said to have permeated every corner of government office, as members of the group are considered as representatives of their tribes and are supposed to work for the interests of their tribe. This has been termed vertical ethnic expansion, from the local level to the regional and even national levels.

The vacuum was filled with an emerging new social and political force - the Sudanese Socialist Union; the only recognized party by then. These organizations were led by the rural elite such as teachers, small traders, government employees who occupied the scene in Darfur resulting in the emergence of new leadership. This leadership played a critical role in shaping the political scene in Darfur in the years following the establishment of the Regional Governments in 1980⁵⁰. They were given responsibility for services in Darfur but with a wholly inadequate budget.

The 1981 Regional Government Act - Regionalisation by Numayri's government, joined North and South Darfur as one region, with a regional assembly and a regional governor based in El Fasher. Numayri's first appointment of Regional Governor was rejected by the Darfuris and in his place he appointed Ahmad Dereij (a senior and influential Fur politician who had been a minister in pre- Numayri's governments).

In 1987 during the second democratic era the Native Administration was re-established. This period was short lived and by 1989 the National Islamic Front took the power in Sudan through a military coup of the National Salvation Revolution. Since then the Native Administration has been subject to structural and mandatory changes to conform with the Islamic orientation of the state. In this respect Islamic titles of *Amirs* (Islamic monarch) were used instead of sultan and nazirs. The *Amir* is now a *Mujahid* leading the tribe to protect the Islamic religion and the country and to hold to the *Sharia* values along the same tracks of the first Muslims in the prophet Mohammed's era.

In 1995 the Government further intervened in the administration of Darfur by re-dividing Darfur into three states despite fierce opposition and protests from the people of Darfur²¹. This is widely held to have weakened the social infrastructure and the integrity of the region. At the same time the government introduced what is known as "emirate" or principalities in every "Dar" appointing supporters as princes, which essentially represented a parallel native administration. The princes were political appointees, who performed tasks which overlapped with the native administration. *"The objective behind appointing "princes" is to weaken the structure of the native administration because the regime failed to mobilize their support and loyalty"*²¹ p12. (See the Al Geneina case study).

As an example the Governor of West Darfur issued a decree that divided the traditional homeland of the Masalit into 13 Emirate, nine of which were allocated to Arab groups^{10,45}, thus creating new Arab emirates. This resulted in the devastating conflicts such as the Masalit vs Arab conflicts in the late 1990s.

The allocation of tribal homeland thus introduces two inter-connected processes; conflicts over the land itself (including tribal territories and access for other groups including pastoralists), and second conflicts over local governance or local power struggles.

Electoral representation of tribal groups and competition for power

According to Morton (2004), *'The post-independence system, particularly the democratic system, has tended.. ..to turn the tribes into competing groups: competing for political status, for allocations of rationed goods and so on.'*¹ Thus the larger tribes will inevitably seek to exploit their greater voting power while smaller tribes will clearly be marginalized by these processes. The Berti of North Darfur are a good example of these processes; in the mid 1990s they developed *'a comprehensive plan for taking possession of the local government administrative offices in Darfur i.e., those of the governors, ministers, executive administrators, etc., at the state and province levels. The first practical step done by the Berti was that they increased their Ummodiyas from three to twenty-three ones. This meant increasing the number of constituencies in elections for political and legislative offices in the interest of the Berti group. Coincided with this were publications undertaken by Berti elite: "Berti and Land", "Berti and Geography", and "Berti and History", which were intended to prove Berti's rights in the ownership of land and the participation in authority'*⁵p45. El Tom (1998) argues that the present Berti identity is a conscious reflection of their subordinate position vis-à-vis the kingdoms and states which have dominated Sudan over the past few centuries⁵¹. In other words their current strategy is a reflection of the past subordinate position to other dominant tribes, hence graphically reflecting the competition for power between tribes that takes place within electoral processes.

Clearly the Berti have been successful; the current governor is Berti, and the Berti are the majority group of MPs in the National Assembly (with 6 out of the 16 MP seats for North Darfur) (Table 4). For the first year of the conflict at least, the homeland of the Berti appears to have suffered fewer GoS attacks than other areas. Other smaller tribes in the area recognize how their minority status limits their opportunities to gain electoral representation.

Table 4 Darfur MPs Distribution by Tribe.

Tribe	N.Darfur	S. Darfur	W. Darfur	Total	%
Fur	3	5	10	18	29
Zaghawa	3	2	-	5	8
Berti	6	-	-	6	10
Arab groups	1	15	1	16	26
Masalit	-	1	5	6	10
Fellata	2	2	1	5	8
Gimr	-	1	1	2	3
Tunjur	1	-	-	1	1.6
Burgo	-	1	-	1	1.6
Birgid	-	1	-	1	1.6
Total	16	28	18	62	100 %

Total number of the MPs in the National Assembly. 360
Total number of Darfur MPs 062
Percent of Darfur MPs 17 %

Figure 4 Distribution of tribal affiliation of Darfur MPs in the National Assembly

Box 7 Changes In Land Tenure Since The Fur Sultanate

The land law of the Sudan is a combination of Sudanese legislation, judge made rules, customary laws and Shari'a law. The major division in land ownership according to law is between land owned by the State and that which is privately owned. Since 1899 there have been three main land laws.

The colonial administration issued its first Titles to Land Ordinance in 1899. According to this law the rain lands of central, eastern and western Sudan labeled as unsettled areas were categorically classified as government owned and divided into two classes:

- government land subject to no rights, and
- government land subject to rights vested in a community such as tribe, section, or village.

On April 6, 1970 the Registered Land Act declared all land of any kind which is not registered is the property of the government of Sudan. The right of access to rangeland etc may also be established by customary law and depends entirely on community membership. The right to fence or enclose land is not recognized. When attempts to do so are made by settled cultivators bitter disputes arise because of conflicting interests.

In 1984 the Civil Transactions Act (CTA) was passed which is the major source of Sudanese land legislation, governing the possession, ownership and rights regarding land in Sudan⁵². The CTA provides that "Land belongs to God" however the state is declared responsible for the control of land and owner of all land which was not registered in the name of a private party prior to April 6, 1970.

Almost all land (99%) is owned by the state, although the right to use such land may belong to a private party through 'usufruct' rights (the right to use property that belongs to another person). The local, regional and national capital authorities organize the procedures for granting the usufruct of land to private persons, through the establishment of committees. Gordon concludes that "*The division of authority as between the central and regional governments and as between the regional and local governments as set forth in the applicable legislation is subject to conflicting interpretations*"⁵² p174.

The State can reclaim property from the grantee of usufruct rights, if the latter has failed to exploit the property according to the grant. *'The rights and obligations arising from usufruct are governed by the conditions imposed in the instrument creating it. The grantee is entitled to the products resulting from the use, including all crops, buildings, and construction undertaken by the grantee on the property, unless contrary to the granting instrument and the proprietor of the usufruct is entitled to court protection from the attempted encroachment of others'* (ibid).

Usufruct rights terminate if the obligations incumbent on the holder are breached at the expiration of the usufruct period granted or upon the total destruction or expropriation of the property (deprive of possession or proprietary rights).

However; as Carney (1984) notes *'there is often no relationship between formal legislation and what often takes place in the ground'* (quoted by Gordon, 1986). So the customs and practices actually being followed may vary from the legislative schemes provided in the law books in Sudan. This statement actually reflects the situation in Darfur where tribal land holdings prevail. Such a situation poses a problem that was never formally recognized in Sudanese land law

Conflict over tribal territories

As mentioned earlier when the British colonized Darfur they opted for a system which would stabilize and pacify the region: namely the indirect rule and the tribal land holdings which were based on the already existing system of the Fur sultanate. That is to

say land in Darfur is divided up into tribal home lands locally known as tribal *Dar*. However this is misleading as it implies that the tribal homeland is an ethnically homogenous territory, which it is not. Members, and even groups of members (other tribal communities with their own sheikh), are found in the homeland of another tribe. For example, a Gimr settlement, for example, could be found in Kebkabiya far from their tribal homeland which is around Kulbus.

The tribal homeland policy favored the larger tribes for which a nazir or sultan was appointed to be responsible for the land as well as the people. That means small tribal groupings with their chiefs came under the administration of these large tribal chiefdoms with or without their consent. The Ma'alyia tribe, for example, came under the administration of the Rizeigat. Many of the small tribes struggled for their own tribal entity and land. The 'claim' for an independent tribal administration is linked to ownership of a separate Dar as according to customary law a tribe could not have its own independent administration without having its own Dar.

The independent administration includes the native administration as well as modern leadership position and representation in local, regional or national institutions. It follows that the claim for a separate Dar by minority tribes is usually resisted by the majority tribes as it would lead to the fragmentation of the Dar. Such a situation has been a major source of tribal conflicts in the region, for example, the Ma'alyia – Rizeigat conflict in 1968²¹.

However such kinds of local conflict have escalated when the division of the Dar has been supported by the government. The decision to divide Dar Masalit into 13 emirates in 1995, which means the demotion of the authority of the Masalit Sultan lead to widespread insecurity as a result of a devastating ethnic conflict. Moreover it threw the region into a grassroots administration vacuum. The profound effect of this "vacuum" was felt in the resource management in all localities of Habila and Gereina provinces⁵³. As a result the West Darfur state was declared as an area of emergency from 1995 to 1999.

A parallel and critical issue is that the northern Rizeigat who are camel pastoralists (abbala) do not have their own Dars. This was in part because the granting of tribal Dar's favored larger tribes, and second because at that time land was not an issue; there were no shortages and the prosperity of Arab tribes depended on transhumant pastoralism and trade, not land ownership. According to the old maps introduced in Gostoph it was noticed that there were some areas carrying the Mahamid's name as their homeland. Their seasonal patterns of livestock migration covered northern and southern parts of the region thus their questions of access rather than ownership were important. In Western Darfur, there were additional pressures from the influx of Arab groups from Chad (see below). Many of these groups have close ties with the Sudanese nomadic groups. This a main case in west Darfur which was severely damaged compared to the other states.

The issue of 'Dar' became more critical following the pressures on the natural resource base as a result of the ecological degradation combined with expanding rain fed and wadi cultivation.

Political polarization within Darfur - the Fur Arab conflict of the late 1980's

Through the Mahdist movement Darfur had strong connections with the Umma Party, which the Darfur Arabs sought to exploit to gain advantage over the Fur¹. Various prominent Arab leaders from Darfur won national ministries in Sadiq el Mahdi's government.

An "Arab Gathering" in 1986 was a key event in the Fur Arab relations, with elites from Arab tribes claiming that they represented the majority in Darfur, and were marginalized as Arabs. In the famous Arab letter they called on the central authorities to address this. There was no formal response from the central government which was taken as an implicit endorsement. At the same time, the Fur, Zaghawa and Masalit felt that the ultimate target was to undermine their role and create ethnic division.

"At one level, the Alliance was simply a political coalition that aimed to protect the interests of a disadvantaged group in western Sudan, but it also became a vehicle for a new racist ideology"²⁶.

As a result conflict erupted between the Fur and the Arabs, and it dominated Darfur up to 1989. Losses on both sides were substantial; the Fur lost 2500 people, 40 000 heads of livestock, with 400 villages containing "10 000 residents burned down. The Arab groups saw some 500 dead, 3000 heads of cattle lost and about 700 tents and residences destroyed. Mosques, schools and dispensaries were burnt down"⁵⁴. Sadiq el Mahdi's government favoured the Arabs until 1988, with the appointment of a Fur governor in Darfur (Eltigani Sisei Ateem). There were local peace initiatives in 1988 and 1989, the last one of which coincided with the change in government and the arrival of the current NIF regime (30 June 1989)⁵⁴.

The Fur argued that the aim of the Arabs was to eradicate them totally from their land. On the other hand, the Arabs claimed the current problems started in the late 1970s, when the Fur started to talk about "Darfur being for the Fur" and that the Arabs were foreigners who should leave.⁴ As a result of fierce fighting hundreds of Fur had fled their villages in the Wadi Salih area, "which were soon occupied by 'soldiers' coming over the border from Chad"⁹.

Arab groups in Darfur emphasise the political agenda of the Zaghawa and how they have long contributed to the political polarization of Arab and Non Arab in Darfur³³. According to Hilal⁷ this dates back to the seventies, when the northern opposition lead by Sadiq el Mahdi was hosted by the Libyans which included the military training of armed opposition. The Zaghawa of northern Darfur were prominent in this group. In addition, at that time, Gaddafi was using the Libyan Popular Committees to promote his own ideologies of democracy and governance, which superceded his earlier ideas around Pan-Arabism. He was supported in this by a prominent Darfurian and Zaghawa, Abdullah Zachariah, who later became the General Secretary of the Popular Committees in Sudan, thus helping to transfer these Libyan ideologies to Sudan³³.

⁷ Musa Hilal is Nazir of the Mahamid tribe (also known as Um Jalloul) and is notorious for his links with the mobilization of Arab tribes to join the Government counter-insurgency.

Links between local, national and regional processes

There were also important external influences on this Arab Fur war in addition to the Khartoum government, particularly the war in the south (SPLA involvement) and links with Libya and Chad, including Gaddafi's vision of pan Arabism, which played out in Darfur during the 1980s.

Links with national politics

In Darfur, many Sudanese saw the new Islam of the National Islamic Front as a route to links to the central government and enfranchisement, while Turabi saw Islam as a means of building constituency in Darfur. The Arab Alliance for example, latched onto the very different Arabism of Nile Valley, which was the dominant ideology of the Sudanese state²⁶.

However many of the Darfurians who had obtained government positions in the National Congress, found themselves out of government and part of a new group the Popular National Congress following the split of the National Congress in 1999. The relationship between President Umar al-Bashir and Hasan al-Turabi leader of the NIF, had been uneasy; a power struggle finally led to a split of the National Congress with Turabi leaving to form the Popular National Congress (PNC). For many groups, this split is not without an ethnic dimension, where Ali Osman and his group represent the River Nile Arabs, while Al Turabi's group represent the ethnic background of the non Arabs of the west.

One former member of the National Islamic Front, the current leader of the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) Dr Khalil Ibrahim, a prominent Zaghawa, was previously the Minister of Health before the Turabi split with the government. He is also said to have been a leader of Murahaleen who fought in the south (see below).

After the Turabi split with the National Congress, Dr Khaleel did not align with either the National Congress or the Popular Congress but went to Europe to build the foundations of the Justice and Equality Movement (see Box 8). He has personal ties with Turabi and many people and analysts think of JEM as a sister organization to the NPC. Even close members of his tribe refuse to either deny or confirm this!⁵⁵

In 2001, al-Turabi and some of his colleagues were arrested on charges of undermining the State. He was released in October 2003 after the government pledged to free political detainees during peace talks with the southern rebels, but was detained again in 2004 over an alleged coup plot. In November, 2003 Sudan's Vice President Ali Osman Taha accused al-Turabi of encouraging sedition in Darfur.

Box 8 Rebel/ Opposition Groups in Darfur

The Justice and Equality Movement (JEM)

The JEM was formed in x by Dr Khileel Ibrahim, who is a member of the Kube sub-tribe of the Zaghawa and has strong former links with Hasan al-Turabi. The leadership is the Kube branch of the Zaghawa, but the JEM include other tribes, for example the JEM around Mellit area are said to be a coalition between the western Meidob and the Zaghawa. There are even some Arab members, including Miseriya.

The JEM's strategy is to highlight problems of marginalized areas, especially in Darfur and has been 'more or less influenced by Turabi and the Popular Congress' The initial talks between the government and the rebel groups in Paris in mid 2004 (June/July?) did not include the JEM, but they have subsequently been included.

The JEM are weak militarily as compared to the Sudan Liberation Army and on the ground they act as one military force, although politically they have very different agendas.

The National Movement for Reform and Development

The JEM split into two factions in May 2004; one group, under the leadership of Dr Khalil Ibrahim, has retained the name JEM; and the other group called al Haraka al Watania lel Islah u Tanmia (National Movement for Reform and Development) led by the General Commander of the JEM military force, Colonel Gibril Abdul Kareem Barey. The new movement is made up of mainly Kobera (IS THIS THE KOBE?) Zaghawa, a distinct clan of the Wagi Zaghawa, who are also in the SLM/A. The split in the JEM occurred after a rift developed between the field commanders and the political leaders who controlled all political decisions and channels of support and refused to allow the field commanders to participate in these processes. Colonel Gibril served in the Chadian Army from 1990 till 2001. Disgruntled Kobera Zaghawa officers from the Chadian Army are reportedly joining the movement. The National Movement for Reform and Development is not party to the ceasefire agreement concluded between the Government of Sudan and the SLM/A and JEM in April, and as a result announced that it was going to continue fighting against the Government. The movement is reportedly based in the far north of North Darfur State, north of Karnoy in Basao, in Shigikaro and in Toundobai. (Nolte, 2004)

The Sudan Liberation Movement/ Army

The SLM/A was formed in ..The President is a Fur Lawyer - Abdul Wahid Muhammed Ahmad Nur, while the Secretary General is Zaghawa (sub-tribe =) - Mini Arkowi Minawi Domi. The Darfur Liberation Front emerged as a fighting force in February 2003 in response to the failure of the Government and the traditional leadership to address the problems of the region. Soon afterwards the DLF changed its name to the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army. On 13 March 2003 the SLM/A announced the launch of an armed rebellion to 'create a united democratic Sudan on a new basis of equality, complete restructuring and devolution of power, even development and cultural and political pluralism'. They accused the Khartoum Government of fuelling ethnic strife in the region, the SLM/A called on tribes with an 'Arab background' to join its struggle against the Government.

The membership of the SLM/A are predominantly Fur and Zaghawa (not Kube) but also include Masalit, Birgid, Meidop and other tribes. Small numbers of the southern Rizeiqat have joined the SLA and a southern Rizeiqatheads the SLA forces in south Darfur⁵⁶. In order to achieve a broader base across the tribes in Darfur, the SLM are actively recruiting arabs⁵⁷. Most members of SLA are less than 40 years in age, which is significant in that they do not trust the traditional tribal leaders. The JEM are also young.

There is no real documentary evidence as to which areas are in the control of the SLA/M. They are said to be strongest east and north of Jebel Mara and in Jebel Si, which are predominantly Fur. They control areas between Nyala and Ed Daein, and in Dar Zaghawa outside Tina, Kornoi and others, and also north of Kutum and outside Mellit. In Dar Masalit they have a presence in the Abeche area?, Geneina area and Mornay.

The SLA became a member of the National Democratic Alliance in March 2004.

According to SLM/A representatives, the main aim of the SLM/A is to build a New Sudan, which includes:

- Liberal democracy - separation of religion and state
- Democratization and human rights
- Freedoms
- Devolution of power within a federal system i.e. Regions control power (like the us) with their own police force and judiciary within a wider constitution
- Darfur to be included in a sharing of power
- Sudan to be a model country of citizenship.

Their political programme is criticized as 'very rudimentary'.

The main differences between the SLM and the JEM (according to SLM representatives) are as follows:

- The JEM are considered part of the regime, as they have links with Turabi. They are a breakaway group of the NIF - and were formed following Turabi's split with the government. In contrast the SLM/A sympathies lie with the south and they have no problems cooperating with the SPLA.
- The JEM is essentially a political movement with a very small military (not more than 80). The JEM do not undertake military training - theirs is a political cause only.
- They do not have much power and are scattered. The SLA has more support from the people of Darfur!
- The JEM are not focussed on Darfur. The JEM feel they do not have to localise the issue and are not just focused on marginalization of Darfur.
- The SLA want State and religion to be separate i.e. a secular State, while the JEM are essentially an Islamist group for whom state and religion are the one and the same.

On the ground the SLM and JEM act as one militarily, although politically they have very different agendas⁵⁸.

Regional relations and trade

Relations with Chad and Libya have also had a significant impact on trade in Darfur. Insecurity in Chad from the 60s associated with Chad civil war led to the expansion of the markets just inside Sudan - at the expense of those inside Chad. From 1979 until 1982 Hissene Habre's rebel coalition embargoed trade into Chad through the southern part of Darfur⁵⁹. The chronic insecurity made trade difficult even after the embargo was lifted. This insecurity affected the larger traders who operated into Chad and made running commercial vehicles less profitable in general⁵⁹. Smaller traders benefited (most

of them farmers and herders based in rural areas). In the 1980s, the larger traders were hampered by and smaller traders benefited from local economic conditions⁵⁹.

Trade between Libya and Sudan (and presumably labour migration) increased as the Islamic Legion had opened a truck route from Kufra oasis through Ounianga Kebir, Fada and on to Kutum in Darfur⁹p205. Another desert route began at Ma'tan as-Sarra then skirted east to continue south to the Meidob hills. The 1980s was a period of intense trade with Libya, the market of Mellit in particular was awash with imported goods, included vehicle spare parts which were otherwise difficult to obtain in Darfur and Sudan generally.

Concluding remarks

This discussion clearly shows how the roots of the current conflict have a long history dating back in many cases to the 19th century or before. Many features of the conflict have their echoes in former times, including brutal inter-tribal conflicts, which are manipulated by the central Sudanese authorities.

The roots of the current conflict are intricate and intertwined – and almost impossible to separate out without ignoring their dynamic and shifting inter-relationship. With these difficulties in mind, this study identifies the following major contributing factors:

At national level -

1. The marginalization and neglect of Darfur by the central government since the nineteenth century. This has contributed at a local level to:
 - a. Failing institutions, including the judicial systems and policing, which latterly appear to have favoured certain groups. This has been in part because of the fragmented approach to administration, particularly the Native Administration.
 - b. Failing development, including education, healthcare, transport, veterinary and other services, which affect all of Darfur, but historically differentially affect ethnic groups.
2. The wider regional conflicts, which have contributed to the development and use of ethnically distinct armed militias and also the increased numbers of firearms owned by Darfurians generally. These conflicts involve the north south civil war, and their long-running conflicts within Chad and between Chad and Libya over the Aouzou strip, and the relationship between these countries and the Sudan.
3. The tactical manipulation of ethnic identities within Darfur (including racism) by the government of Sudan and political parties including; the mobilization of armed militias, and the political mobilization based on religion and ethnic identity (Mahdism and later islamization and arabism).

At a local level -

4. The competition and pressures on natural resources within Darfur in part a result of a history of drought and famine, with clear ethnic rivalries and ethnically distinct approaches to addressing the problems. Although it is generally recognized that disputes over natural resources cannot be considered as the main trigger of the current conflict.

5. Local political polarization between Arab and non Arab, with external influences from Libyan affiliated popular committees and some political parties (Muslim Brotherhood and Umma Party).

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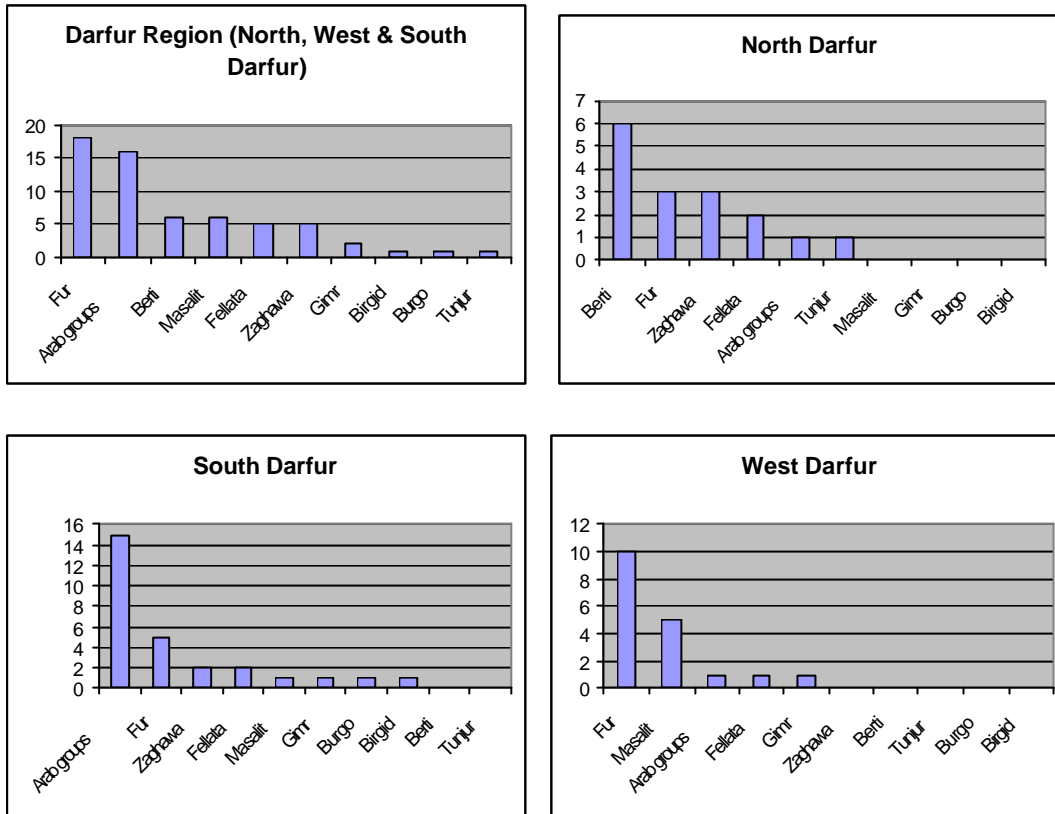
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Chapter 2

The History And Origins Of The Current Conflict In Darfur

Figure 2 Distribution of tribal affiliation of Darfur MPs in the National Assembly



Chapter 3

Impact of Conflict on Livelihoods in Darfur

Profile of the case-study areas	2
Systematic destruction continues.....	6
Marginalisation	7
Continued Erosion of Native Administration Capacity	8
Insecurity restricts mobility & access	9
GoS Closure Of National Border With Libya	10
GoS restrictions on food purchases & movements	10

In recent years, simple distinctions between farmer and herder no longer apply, as their livelihoods have converged. Before the conflict nearly all farmers reared livestock while nearly all herders farmed. Most groups supplement their farming and livestock rearing activities, with labour migration and remittances, collection of natural resources and trade. Other activities of course feature but are specific to certain groups, including for example, tombac production, artisanry, the military and a range of illegal activities (smuggling, banditry, brewing, prostitution etc).

But the distinction between farmer and herder is relevant because pressure on natural resources has contributed to local conflicts between neighbouring groups, often played out between pastoralist and farmer. However, Chapter Two explained that the current conflict has come about because of a wider set of processes related to the marginalization and neglect of Darfur since the 19th century; regional conflicts involving Darfur's neighbours Chad and Libya, and the tactical manipulation of ethnic identity by the Central authorities. Although these national and international level processes have been critical, local level processes and grievances have also come into play.

This chapter presents the main findings of the study in terms of the impact of the conflict on livelihoods in Darfur. First the chapter provides an overview of the six case-study areas, which were drawn from all three States in Darfur., followed by including:

- Kebkabiya (including Fur, Zaghawa and Tunjur IDPs , Tamr, Gimr IDPs and residents, and rural based Arab groups),
- Mellit (Berti and Zayadia),
- Disr (Fur, Tunjur and Zaghawa in SLM/A controlled rural areas)
- Seraif (Beni Hussein).
- Nyala (IDPs)
- Geneina (IDPs, rural settlements of Masalit and a rural Arab settlement)

The case-studies reflected a diverse range of ethnic groups, both large and small and reflecting different political viewpoints and experiences of the conflict. The detailed case-studies are presented in Annex 2 to 7.

The case-studies illustrate diversity, not just between areas, but more significantly diversity within each area which cannot be generalized to pastoralist versus farmer, or even Arab versus non Arab. For example the situation between the non Arab Berti and the Arab Zayadia in Mellit, is quite different from the situation of Arabs and non Arabs elsewhere. For some groups their alliances with either government or rebel opposition was a clear livelihood issue (the Fur and northern Rizeigat), whereas for others it was a matter of political pressures (the Tama in Kebkabiya).

Profile of the case-study areas

Kebkabiya

The town of Kebkabiya is the capital of Kebkabiya province, and home to more than 40,000 IDPs who fled to the town for safety following the government counter-insurgency and Jinjaweed attacks on villages in 2003. The original tribes in Kebkabiya were Fur and Tamir. The northern Rizeigat Arabs moved here from Kutum area (including Ireyyat, Iteyyat and Mahamid, Zabalad, Owwad Zeid, Owwad Rashid)¹. Zaghawa groups moved south from Dar Zaghawa in the seventies and eighties^{2,3}, including the ‘blacksmith’ group – the Haddahate, who are a sub-tribe of the Zaghawa⁴. The Gimr moved to Kebkabiya from the west, and some from Chad. Other tribes in Kebkabiya include the Berti and Tunjur. The head of the Native Administration in Kebkabiya is a Fur Omodiya, while sub-Omdas of other tribes come under him including Zabalad, Zaghawa, Gimr, Tamir and Crowbat (part of Fur). Not all of Kebkabiya province has been equally or similarly affected by conflict. Most of the IDPs are Fur and Zaghawa and for safety are forced to stay within Kebkabiya town. There are Arab groups in rural areas west of Kebkabiya, and also Gimr and Tamir residents and IDPs in Kebkabiya Town all of whom are pro-government.

Mellit

Mellit town is the capital of Mellit Province and was before an important and vibrant commercial center with strong links with Libya. The major tribal groups include the Berti, Meidob and the Zayadia, plus Zaghawa, Fellata, Fur, Meidob and other small groups. All these groups come under the administration of the King of the Berti who resides in Mellit. In the current conflict, the Zayadia are part of the pro government alliances, while there is broad support for the opposition groups among the other groups (although it is not entirely clear where the Berti stand as their leadership is strongly represented in local government including the Governor of North Darfur). The ethnic polarization between the Arab Zayadia on one side and the Berti, Fur and Zaghawa on the other is palpable. Mellit town has become a shadow of its former self, with the majority of shops closed and boarded up, the markets empty and few people around – a stark contrast to previous years. This is related to the cessation of trade with Libya following the closure of the national border between Sudan and Libya in 2003, combined with insecurity restricting access to the markets. The opposition groups SLM and JEM are close by to Mellit Town, and there have been rebel attacks on Zayadia communities outside of Mellit. Armed opposition (rebel) groups attacked the town on May 15, 2003 and resulted in the closure of the banks and the customs office. There are no camps for displaced people.

Disr

Disr is about 45km north of Kutum in North Darfur, and is the local headquarters of the SLM/A and is located within the opposition held areas in North Darfur. A mix of tribes are found in the area including, Zaghawa, Fur, Berti, Tunjur, Meidob, Fellata, and Birgo.⁵ There was previously an Arab group living in the area, but since the conflict they left the area. Disr was attacked in 2003 by the GoS military (aerial bombings, trucks with machine guns etc) supported by armed militia, and there were three major battles between government troops and the SLA after which government troops withdrew to Kutum. People fled their villages during the conflict, and only returned in October 2003 after they signed the first Abeche agreements. There were also reports of displaced people coming to the area. People interviewed strongly support the rebels, who have secured the area and provide 'protection'. The delivery of humanitarian assistance had begun to these rural SLM areas. The team visited prior to the landmine incident which killed two international relief workers, and at that time the security appeared far better than elsewhere. Since then humanitarian access has deteriorated.

Seraif, Beni Hussein

Seraif town is in the north of Seraif Locality, which is in the west of Kebkabiya Province, North Darfur. The Beni Hussein are the majority tribe, and other tribes include Fur, Zaghawa, Tamir, Gimr, Masalit and Arab groups. Approximately 25 per cent of the Beni Hussein are pastoralists, while the other 75 per cent are sedentary. The Beni Hussein are an Arab group that have their own Dar – Dar Seraif and Nazirate (Native Administration). The location of the Dar has shifted eastwards from 1928 (Figure 3), when it was located closer to El Fasher. The Beni Hussein Nazir has been a member of all reconciliation conferences in Darfur. The Beni Hussein Native Administration in Seraif Beni Hussein (their capital) were adamant that they were not supporting either the rebel groups or the government, despite having been approached by both sides for their support. They were striving to maintain security and stability in their homeland (Dar Beni Hussein). Their traditional security systems were still intact, but they were not equipped to deal with the wider level of conflict that is now occurring. For example, they can no longer negotiate local agreements with neighbouring tribes as these tribes now represent wider rebel movements, and any agreement with them risks conflict with neighbouring pro-government groups. There are also differences of opinion between the traditional leadership in Seraif and Beni Hussein members who hold important government positions in Khartoum.

Geneina

Geneina is the capital of West Darfur state. The Masalit, who are sedentary farmers, are the largest tribe and are concentrated in the southern half of the Dar. To the south are the Sinyar, and to the north are the Erenga, Jabal and Gimr. Other significant farming groups include the Maba, Tama, Zaghawa, Daju, Burgo, Marariet etc. Arab groups include the Turgem, Hottiyya, Otryya, Mahadi and Darok to the North East of El Geneina. In addition the northern aballa herders have long used the numerous Wadis that cross the State for their dry season grazing. The flow of movement and resettlement in the region from across the borders and north Darfur has increased in the last twenty years because of the drought in the north and the conflicts in Chad. Banditry and insecurity has long since been a characteristic of the borderlands between Chad and Sudan, gradually infiltrating all of Dar Masalit, in part a result of drought and hard-

times but also as a result of the Chadian civil war and support of the Sudanese authorities of Chadian opposition in exile in Dar Masalit.

The early movement of pastoralists into farming areas has been a constant source of conflict between Arab herders and non Arab farmers. Other conflicts in North Darfur made the far north grazing areas inaccessible for Aballa arabs and their migratory routes shortened up to Seraif and Kebkabiya area, which meant they were dependent on West Darfur grazing. This local level conflict escalated from 1995 to 1999 leading to a recognized State of Emergency. The conflict was fought around local power, tribal territories and natural resources. It was made worse by the interference of the central government, who overlooked the Masalit and their traditional systems and favored other groups. In March 1995 the Governor of Western Darfur issued a decree that divided the traditional homeland of the Masalit into 13 Emirate, nine of which were allocated to Arab groups^{6,7} to create Arab emirates in Dar Masalit. The decree was issued without regard to local tribal customs and tradition and with no consultation with the tribal leaders of the Masalit⁸. This meant the fragmentation of territorial integrity of Dar Masalit, creation of a new independent Native Administration and accordingly the authority of the Masalit Sultan was demoted. In accordance with the decree Dar Erenga and Dar Jebel in Kulbus Province became two different administrative entities outside Dar Masalit Sultanate. The Gimr Sultanate preserved its status with minor modification. These changes, which overlooked a long standing heritage of tribal administration in the area, were motivated by political interests. The area became increasingly insecure with frequent banditry and looting. The period 1995 to 1999 was a period of devastating losses for the Masalit.

Attacks on villages as part of the counter-insurgency started in 2003, and large numbers of Masalit fled to Chad as refugees, or towns sheltering displaced people in the region, or those that could afford it left for Khartoum and Omdurman. There were scattered remnants of Masalit communities remaining in rural areas, consisting of older women, women and children and men desperately trying to cultivate whatever harvest they could to supplement the meager relief they have received.

Affects of Conflict on Livelihoods

The case-studies are a useful way of illustrating important local causes, effects and reactions to conflict. The systematic attacks on villages by government forces with armed militia support throughout 2003 and into 2004 represent the blatant and systematic destruction of people's livelihoods and livelihood systems. The case-studies give detailed accounts of these attacks, including the direct asset stripping and destruction of assets. In some cases, villages were repeatedly attacked, in others, property was looted in different locations, first everything in the village and then all the livestock that was on the migratory route. One case-study describes how, antonovs and helicopters would '*bomb everything that moved*' including water points, markets, buildings, flocks of animals⁹. Lorries were used to transport the looted household contents – radios, clothes, pots and pans, mattresses, furniture. Once emptied the houses were burned down. The armed militia would loot livestock in the surrounding area⁹. Rape was also practiced⁹.

Asset-stripping

These direct attacks on villages and livelihood resources have drastically diminished the livelihood assets of IDPs, including:

- *Financial assets*, which for Darfurians are predominantly in the form of livestock, have been lost as a result of looting.
- *Physical assets* including the loss of farms, destruction of homesteads and looting or destruction of possessions (furniture, mattresses, blankets, clothes cooking pans, utensils, seed stocks)
- *Human capital* was dramatically undermined by the violent deaths occurring during the attacks, the sexual violence against women and the separation of families.
- *Social capital* was undermined by these direct attacks on entire groups, villages and families, and displacement and undermining of social support networks as result of de-capitalization.
- *Natural resources* were lost when wells were destroyed, surface water was contaminated, fruit trees were destroyed, and land became inaccessible or occupied.

Failure of Livelihood Strategies

The livelihood strategies of ALL groups in the case-studies, including Arab and non Arab, were affected directly or indirectly by conflict, including:

- production failures,
- market failures,
- failures to access natural resources (wild foods, fodder and firewood), and
- failure to transmit back remittances.

Failure of livelihoods on this scale is unprecedented in Darfur. Even during previous region wide famines, livelihood failures were principally in production (farming and livestock), but collection of natural resources, and migration and the sending back of remittances continued to support rural livelihoods.

The core livelihood strategies applied by IDPs in their original homes are no longer available, particularly qoz and wadi cultivation and rearing livestock. In their new location, large numbers of IDPs are competing for the very few job opportunities or sources of income. In Kebkabiya for example work opportunities are limited to construction labourers and domestic servants. IDPs frequently rely on being able to sell some of their food aid ration to buy essential goods and in some cases pay rent. Profits are being made by those able to exploit this situation. Rents for plots of land/houses have increased up to five times and a building boom is visibly occurring.

As well as the attacks by the government, there were also reports of rebel attacks, particularly on Zayadia communities near Mellit which resulted in the displacement of entire groups (although at the time of the study they had not been recognized formally as IDPs by the international community).

Traders in Kufra, Libya and in Mellit in Darfur both reported very serious incidents on the livestock trade routes to Kufra (via Aweinat). Camel caravans exceeding 1000 camels, which were organized by a group of traders, were raided, and the herders and leader/guide were kidnapped. The value of such a caravan at Libyan livestock market prices is in excess of one million dollars. Since that time all livestock trade to Libya through north Sudan has ceased. For those who are not displaced, their livelihoods are restricted by limited mobility and insecurity, which is considered in the section below.

Protection of livelihoods is both a Human Rights and Humanitarian issue

The violations of human rights extend beyond the immediate affects of violence and include violations of the right to adequate food and freedom from hunger, which is protected under Human Rights Law¹ and also International Humanitarian Law². International Humanitarian Law prohibits the use of starvation as a method of warfare – which means that parties to the conflict must not engage in attacking, destroying, removing or rendering useless objects indispensable for survival of civilian populations.

Furthermore, livelihoods are a critical component of ‘life with dignity’, – the humanitarian imperative³. Therefore the systematic destruction of livelihoods is not only a critical human rights issue but a fundamental humanitarian issue. For example, livelihood issues like access to markets, primary production and access to income and employment are now covered by the Sphere Minimum Standards of Disaster Response¹⁰. What this means is that protecting and supporting livelihoods is a recognized strategy for preventing and alleviating human suffering.

Processes of Systematic Destruction Continue

The impact of direct attacks on livelihood assets is fairly clear, but less obvious and potentially even more serious for the medium and longer-term, is the continued systematic destruction of all types of livelihood strategy and erosion of livelihood resources. This is occurring as a result of a range of ongoing processes, institutions and policies (PIPS), some of which are structural while others are more immediate to the current conflict. Examples include:

- Marginalisation of Darfur and within Darfur
- Continued Erosion of Native Administration Capacity
- Insecurity restricts mobility & access
- GoS Closure of National Border with Libya
- The Role of the International Community

¹ Article 11 of the ICESCR; Article 24 & 27, CRC; Article 12, CEDAW

² “Starvation of civilians as a method of combat is prohibited. It is therefore prohibited to attack, destroy, remove or render useless for that purpose, objects indispensable to the survival of the civilian population, such as foodstuffs, agricultural areas for the production of foodstuffs, crops, livestock, drinking water installations and supplies and irrigation works” (additional protocol 1, art. 54 para 2 and Additional Protocol II, art. 14).

³ The humanitarian imperative is not limited to ‘saving lives’ but also includes protecting dignity, as described in the Sphere Handbook. In protecting human dignity agencies seek to address not only the immediate life-threatening nature of complex emergencies, but also attempt to protect and support people’s livelihoods.

This analysis builds on the analysis of the national and local processes that have contributed to the conflict presented in Chapter 2.

Marginalisation of Darfur and Within Darfur

Since the 19th century Darfur has a history of being marginal to the interests of the central government. Darfur has made a major contribution to the national economy yet it has a minimal share in development and political decision making in Sudan. This is despite a number of senior government 'and ruling party' officials who come from Darfur.

There has been a lack of and continual decline in the most basic of public services, including judiciary and police, transport, health and education. Even though Darfur is well represented in the National Assembly and even in the central government National Congress Party these individuals do not appear to adequately represent and secure Darfur's interests. With increasing population, the demands for public services rise rapidly thus highlighting more vividly the general decline. This is illustrated in the general decline in literacy, between 1993 and 2002 male literacy in Darfur fell by more than one third compared to a drop of just 2.9 per cent in the north¹¹. The growing sense of marginalization and injustice among the Darfurian communities contributed directly to the development of opposition groups. In the 1960s these organizations were politically oriented and immature, thus they were easily absorbed within the main political parties (Umma and National Unionist). However, those political parties were not able to fulfill the ambitions of these Darfurian organizations.

Although all groups, Arab and non Arab, agreed that Darfur has been marginalized by the central government, certain groups clearly feel that they have been marginalized with Darfur in that they have had differential access to the limited resources that exist, including access to land, health and education and even international aid. The pro-government groups particularly in North and West Darfur⁴ complain of their lack of adequate representation in local and national government (the National Assembly), which is in part because Arab groups here tend to be the minority (previously about 20 per cent at most). Few Arab tribes have their own Dar (the exceptions being the Zayadia and Beni Hussein), which means they have little or no local authority and fall under the tribal administration of another group. Their relatively small numbers also mean they are unable to return an MP to the National Assembly, although each State does have a 'pastoralist' MP which is an Arab⁵.

They attribute this marginalization in part to their relative lack of education, and point out their relatively higher rates of illiteracy (only 20 per cent of Arab herders are literate as compared to 50 per cent agro-pastoralists). A recent example of the lack of education was given by the Beni Hussein, who explained that they were offered a scholarship for a young woman to attend Ahfad University for women, but among their entire group they could find no-one who could meet the entry criteria. Education was a clearly expressed top priority for several Arab groups, as they recognize that their relatively weak educational base denies them access to the important jobs and representation.

⁴ Obviously the situation is somewhat different in southern Darfur where there is a much higher proportion of Arabs, including the southern Rizeigat.

⁵ . Recently the Meidob - non Arab, and Zayadia - Arab, have been planning to jointly support an MP from either tribe, so that together they can defeat the Berti who dominate north Darfur politics.

It is also important for the international community to recognize that since the first major international relief programmes of the eighties Arab groups have been at the end of the queue for relief. In that they are usually considered last and receive least¹². Several Arab groups commented that international organizations rarely employ Arabs, which again is seen as part of their wider marginalization in Darfur, and a strategy on the part of other non Arab groups to dominate these external resources. It is clear from the case-studies, that although their situation is very different to the IDPs their livelihoods are also under threat (as all four to five core livelihood strategies are severely restricted if not failed completely) and that their humanitarian needs will have to be addressed urgently in the coming months.

Mistrust of and lack of faith in the central and state government was also encountered in Darfur across groups, and amongst migrants from Darfur in central and eastern Sudan. The central and state government is facing a very large credibility gap and is seen as directly implicated in the causes and continuation of the current crisis.

Continued Erosion of Native Administration Capacity

The central government has been responsible for the erosion of the Native Administration's authority and capacity through various initiatives to re-organize local administration, including the 1971 Local Government Act and the 1995 re-division of Darfur Region into three states. There were dramatic changes to the previous systems in West Darfur in 1995, where the Governor reorganized the State into 34 Emirates, each one headed by an "Amir" appointed by the government. As a result of this for example, the homeland of the Masalit group was divided into 13 emirates including 6 emirates which were allocated to the Arab tribes of the area, including groups from Chad. This meant the demotion of the authority of the Masalit which resulted in a devastating ethnic conflict (see Geneina case-study).

This resulted in the politicization of the Native Administration, and the increasing polarization between tribal groups in Darfur. To regain lost authority and power the tribal administration became closely linked with the political processes of government – particularly election to the regional and National Assembly.

More recent impacts on the Native Administration

More recently the Native Administration has been further undermined by the opposition groups whose leadership is drawn from young university educated intellectuals, who are often at odds or in disagreement with the traditional leadership and tribal system in part because the traditional leadership is perceived as close to the government, and therefore the rebel leaders have sought to undermine them.

Where groups have been displaced they have often become separated from their tribal leadership, either because they have been killed or fled to a different point, for example Chad, which again weakens the authority of the Native Administration. A further problem in some places is the misuse of their authority to manipulate and profit from aid distributions. The conflict has also meant the loss of previous inter-tribal agreements and mutually beneficial

arrangements. This continual erosion of the Native Administration raises questions of its legitimacy and authority.

Insecurity restricts mobility & access

The most fundamental problem currently affecting lives and livelihoods in Darfur is insecurity, which limits mobility of all groups, and represents the single greatest threat facing people's lives and livelihoods. The insecurity continues as a result of continued ceasefire violations on the part of the GoS and the rebel groups.

As a result of this insecurity the towns of Darfur have become besieged. In rural areas it is little better, with people fearing risk of attack, or fearing to travel for risk of attack and unable to move beyond a very restricted area. For example, within Dar Beni Hussein the inhabitants are able to move around and go to local markets etc., but they are facing increasing difficulties reaching Kebkabiya, and beyond. In SLM/A areas the situation is no better, as although there is local security, all services and markets were in government controlled areas (Kutum). At that time there was no health provision, and no schools, and very difficult access to markets.

This fear of travel is not limited to rural dwellers, even the national workers of NGOs are afraid to move far from the town, unless they have a white face to accompany them. This was true even before the fatal attacks on the SC UK personnel in October 2004. As a result all activities of NGOs are increasingly limited to urban areas and vehicles fear to stop when they pass through villages.

The limited mobility resulting from insecurity has therefore seriously limited:

- Cultivation of fields
- Seasonal livestock migration, which threatens to cause environmental degradation through over-grazing of dry season pastures.
- Trade and access to markets for buyers and sellers.
- Labour migration and return of remittances.
- Travel to rural areas for collection of firewood, fodder and wild foods.

Thus the core livelihood strategies of all groups in Darfur have been drastically affected, and this lack of mobility as a result of insecurity is the key factor in their extreme vulnerability and loss of livelihood.

The situation of the IDPs appears even worse, as they are stuck within the besieged towns. In all the towns visited where IDPs were present, IDPs risked attack or rape if they traveled beyond the town boundary to look for firewood, collect fodder or forage for wild foods. These are all critical livelihood coping strategies for all groups in Darfur, and this lack of mobility is a major factor in their vulnerability and loss of livelihood.

This raises very particular difficulties and challenging decisions for IDPs – who are they prepared to put at risk in order to gain access to these essential needs? The women and risk sexual violence, or the man who might risk a fatal beating. Cases where older women and children are undertaking these tasks were found.

Labour migration to other parts of Darfur Region, to Central and Eastern Sudan, Libya, Egypt and other Arab States was until the conflict in 2003 a major source of remittances and income for groups in North and Western Darfur particularly. These remittances have all but ceased, first because of the disruption and relocation of entire villages which has made communications extremely difficult if not impossible, second because of the insecurity that continues to make hamper mobility, and third the closure of the national border with Libya. Few if any labour migrants in Libya have had contact with their relatives once they have become displaced. People have therefore become cut off.

GoS Closure of National Border with Libya

Libya is Darfur's northern neighbour and is linked to Darfur by historic trade routes, which have continued to operate right up to the beginning of the conflict in 2003. Libya was an important destination for Sudanese labour migrants, and provided a significant export market for Darfur camels and sheep. Darfur in turn imported a wide range of basic household goods, including foodstuffs, plastic goods, bedding, etc.

In May 2003 the Government of Sudan closed the national border between Libya and Sudan effectively stopping the traffic of all migrant workers between Darfur and southern Libya (as well as between Libya and Central Sudan), and blocking the well established livestock and commodity trade routes between Libya and Darfur, and central Sudan.

For many poorer Darfurians in Libya, the border closure prevents them returning to Darfur as alternative routes are costly and or incur security risks and taxation. It has also cut off communication routes, and has had a disastrous affect on remittance flows (see below). In economic terms the border closure has had a devastating effect on local and transnational trade (between Sudan, Libya and other Arab countries) and on the livelihoods of those engaged in livestock and other trade, travel and other services for migrant workers both in Libya and also Darfur.

The government of Sudan's decision to close the border is almost certainly linked to the ongoing conflict in Darfur. It may serve two purposes, first to prevent recruitment by rebel groups of large numbers of male labour migrants, and second, the border closure and cessation of livestock export trade limits the ability of the rebel groups in North Darfur to accrue taxation and other benefits from the control of trade routes (these groups control the northern desert areas).

GoS Restrictions on Food Purchases & Movements

Kutum is an important market town in north Darfur, with previous trading links with Libya (before the closure of the border). There is a large IDP camp (Kasab) on the outskirts of the town, and in addition this market serves the rural areas, including those areas controlled by the SLM/A. Access to the market of Kutum by residents living outside of the towns boundary, including IDPs from the camp, is carefully controlled by the offices of the military intelligence. People must apply for a permit from the office of the Military Intelligence, which will allow them to buy a limited quota of goods and transport them beyond the town boundary. The

permit costs SD200 (US\$0.78) and is only valid for one day. The permit only allows the purchaser to buy the items listed on the permit in the specified amounts. Purchased goods are inspected at the military checkpoints, and if any additional items are found goods are confiscated.

In Disr in the SLM/A area north of Kutum, the market no longer functions and people in the area depend on the market in Kutum. Women and girls from Disr risk harassment, rape and attack to travel to Kutum market by donkey to buy cereals and other essential foodstuffs. It is considered too dangerous for men to make this journey.

The Role of the International Community

Since sanctions were imposed on Sudan in 1993, and even before Darfur has not benefited from major development aid, which could be argued is the same pattern of marginalization and neglect. As explained in Chapter 2, the international community up until earlier in 2004 was so focused on the North – South peace process that it was unable to respond strategically or effectively to the Darfur situation.

As the peace process progressed towards its final stages it was heavily cited as a solution for Darfur and great hopes were placed in it by the international community with a rather naïve belief that once the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed Darfur and the East could easily be solved⁶. Rather, as is often the case in the period following a peace agreement things have got worse, the situation in Darfur has markedly deteriorated in the weeks following the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) and the situation in the East has also flared into further violence.

Also, the attention of the international community appears now to be far from focused on dealing with Darfur and the Government of Sudan's policies on it. Rather attention is focused on normalizing relations with Sudan as quickly as possible and ensuring that there is a peace dividend for both North and South to ensure that the peace holds and the parties are rewarded. The World Bank for instance is rushing forward to open trust funds in both North and South which do not in the draft guidelines contain any mention of conditionality around whether the situation in Darfur improves, or indeed the CPA is meaningfully implemented on the ground. The EC has signed its letter of engagement with the Sudanese Government, the Oslo donor conference is planned for April where the results of the GoS/GoSS/UN/World Bank Joint Assessment Mission will be fund raised for. It will be extremely important particularly that UN agencies are not seen to be following the money and suddenly losing focus on Darfur as they pursue funds, and that donors do impose strict conditionality on the GoS re Darfur in particularly the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) who will have a high level of leverage. Other donors such as the UK are also beginning to talk about debt relief for Sudan, this would have a disproportionately positive affect on the GoS and no affect at all on rebels in Darfur. This provides an interesting counterpoise to some donors stance on sanctions against the GoS which has been that sanctions can only be imposed that affect both sides of the Darfur conflict equally. Equally it must be ensured that any sanctions do not further deprive and

⁶ As evidenced at the extraordinary session of the Security Council in Nairobi from 18–19 November, 2004 and its resolution.

marginalize the people of Sudan, including Darfur. Any sanctions must therefore be very carefully designed and targeted to impact upon the perpetrators and not the victims of the conflict.

Darfur is once again in danger of being relegated and marginalized while abuses continue. Of course there is a careful balancing act here particularly for the South who do not want to see aid to the South in jeopardy because of conditionality on the GoS re Darfur however it should be possible to ensure a peace dividend to the South while also placing conditionality on the GoS. Similarly, it is essential that the East does not continue to be a victim of the current oversimplification of Sudan into North/South and Darfur. Furthermore, oil interests particularly on the Security Council have made any credible threat of sanctions on Sudan because of Darfur impossible up to now.

There are two ways in which the Naivasha process can provide a framework for Darfur:

1. A model for the negotiating process between GoS and rebel groups in Sudan
2. Applying and adapting the contents of the protocols as quickly as possible in Darfur. In particular there are elements of the protocols where there are additional provisions for the transition areas that could be adapted.

As the deterioration in the Darfur situation since the signing of the CPA has shown the peace and its protocols are not a panacea for Darfur. It remains unclear how or even if the protocols are going to be implemented at the local level now that the peace has been signed. Also there are important elements missing from the protocols which are critical elements for the resolution of the Darfur crisis. For example the protocols do not outline in detail how they are to be applied at the level below the state. The role of traditional administration and its relationship to local government is also not articulated.

Also, though there are lessons to be learned from Naivasha, such as the importance of the involvement of externals (IGAD and the troika⁷ in particular) in a process of long term engagement the situation in Darfur is not the same in a number of critical ways. One of the reasons it is argued that the North/South peace process was able to come to resolution was precisely because there were only two parties involved. The rebels in Darfur are at an earlier stage of their struggle and are much less unified and coherent than the SPLM, which may make applying the same model for negotiations more difficult. The other critical difference between the situation in Darfur and the north south conflict lies in differences in the roots and evolution of the conflict, which has implications for the processes of conflict resolution, peace-building and restoration of livelihoods.

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Livelihoods in Mellit

Introduction

Mellit town is the capital of Mellit Province and lies approximately 60 km north of El Fasher. Before the current crisis Mellit was an important and vibrant commercial center, as it provided a land port at the southern end of the trade route between Libya and North Darfur. From Millet commodities imported from Libya were re-directed to other parts of Darfur and Sudan. The town was a major livestock market from which livestock in North Darfur was exported to Libya.

The major tribal groups in the Province include the Berti, Meidob and the Zayadia. In addition to these groups Zaghawa, Fellata, Fur, Meidob and other small groups co-exist in the town of Mellit. All these groups come under the administration of the King of the Berti who resides in Mellit¹. However, the Zayadia have their own independent Omodyia². Previously these groups lived amicably and peacefully; though some tensions have existed between the Berti and Zayadia as early as the fifties. In 1990s these tensions developed into points of real conflict³. During the rainy season livestock graze in the area and move northwards in the dry season as far as Wadi Hawa. However livestock migration has been constrained following the tribal conflict of 2000 between the Meidob and Berti³.

In the current conflict, the Zayadia are part of the pro government alliances, while there is broad support for the opposition groups among the other groups (although it is not entirely clear where the Berti stand as their leadership is strongly represented in local government including the Governor of North Darfur¹).

The opposition groups SLM and JEM are close by to Mellit Town. The SLM, mostly Fur and Tunjur, are around Mellit Town, while the JEM are further north in an area said to be the heartland of the formation of the JEM (mostly western Meidob and the Zaghawa)⁴.

Currently inside the town of Mellit the atmosphere is generally tense and the ethnic polarization between the Arab Zayadia on one side and the Berti, Fur and Zaghawa on the other is palpable. Social relations between the two groups are currently minimal, whereas in the past they enjoyed mutual visits at times of death or marriages, and reciprocal assistance in times of hardship.

Mellit town has become a shadow of its former self, with the majority of shops closed and boarded up, the markets empty and few people around – a stark contrast to previous years. This is related to the cessation of trade with Libya following the closure of the

¹ Ibrahim Suleiman, current Governor of North Darfur, a retired general & former Defence Minister

national border between Sudan and Libya in 2003², combined with insecurity restricting access to the markets.

Armed opposition (rebel) groups attacked the town on May 15, 2003 and resulted in the closure of the banks and the customs office. The route to Libya was closed after that. Attacks on the surrounding villages by the pro-government groups with burning of houses and looting of livestock displaced both Berti and Zayadia to the town. The displaced groups are living with relatives in the town. There are no camps for displaced people.

The Zayadia in Mellit

The Zayadia are organized under three main Omoditya, including Awlad Hamour, Eldababa and Awlad Mafadal. The Omoditya have the usual tribal administration roles including the administration of land for farming, and resolution of disputes. The Zayadia in and around Mellit, including the Awlad Gabir and Awlad Mafadal subtribe, are the farming communities of the Zayadia. The Zayadia of Cuma, Sari, Umheigleig, Geebabish and Elmajror Zaidia (Awlad Garbou subtribe) form the nomadic groups of the tribes. Dar Zayadia – the homeland of the Zayadia is south of Dar Berti, in the south east of Mellit Locality and extends approximately 450km in a north south direction as far as the border between Darfur and Kordofan⁵.

Rebel attacks on the Zayadia communities living outside Mellit started in the last six months and they have been unable to cultivate because of the insecurity. A rebel camp in south Mellit province reportedly attacked the Zayadia, and the displaced fled to Cuma, Sari and Umm Hajlijj⁴.

Zayadia leaders in Mellit claimed that the rebels attacked 42 farming villages, and 368 huts were burnt⁶. They also reported that 350 goats stolen. Out of all these villages there was one village (Saidia of Goz Elarab) which was burned mistakenly by the government troops when they were chasing the rebels. According to the Zayadia leadership 1501 families totaling 9,228 members of the Zayadia Mellit groups are directly affected by the conflict⁶. Moreover an additional 416 of Wakhaim and 446 of Elmajror Zayadia have since moved to Mellit, leaving behind their livestock in the east of Cuma. Their access to their traditional grazing area between Mellit and Wakhaim is now disrupted⁴.

Zayadia from these villages have been displaced to Mellit where they are staying with their relatives. There are estimated to be around 1500 persons with an immediate need for assistance as they are suffering from food shortages⁴. Many of these groups are from Sennahaya which was attacked in March 2004 and both Berti and Zayadia were displaced, and houses were burnt and livestock looted.

- Zayadia livelihoods before the current conflict

² According to a key informant, the Sudan Home Minister closed the border because of the war between the GoS and the rebels

The Zayadia include both farming communities and herders (transhumant agropastoralists). The Zayadia have been described as nomads in the process of becoming settled⁵. The northern Zayadia remained camel herding nomads, while the ones further south around Mellit and Cuma became settled millet farmers since 1984. In the transitional stage the women were responsible for cultivation, while the men migrated with their livestock (camels and sheep)⁵. Women headed households are common (about 25%) in part a result of migration of men to Libya and elsewhere. Like many Arab groups, the Zayadia are characterized by high rates of illiteracy (about 60 to 70 %).

The two Zayadia focus groups interviewed were predominantly farmers⁷, with 40% of their annual food and income from goz (millet and watermelon) and wadi cultivation (Figure 1). Rainfed cultivation of sandy soils is a risky business, where rainfall averages only 250 mm per annum and is often poorly distributed. Farming is therefore combined with other livelihood strategies, including livestock, labour migration, trade and handicrafts.

Typical landholdings and livestock holdings for Zayadia living around Mellit are shown below.

Table 1 Land holdings before the crisis⁷ (Mukhamas – about one hectare)

Land holdings	Poor	Normal	Rich
Goz	3	6-7	10
Wadi	1	3-4	5

Table 2 Typical Livestock holding of Zayadia before the crisis⁷

Livestock holdings (before conflict)	Poor (heads)	Normal (heads)	Rich (heads)
Sheep/ goats	5- 10	50 – 100	100 – 150
Camels	0	30-50	50-100
Donkey	Majority of families had one donkey		

With the first rains, camels and sheep were taken to south Darfur until August, after which they migrated northwards to the pasture around Mareiga (Dar Meidob) for a brief period. They returned to the village in September and stayed there during the borehole during the dry season. In very wet years, the winter months were spent as far as 500km to the north west, in the Gisou area near Wadi Hawa⁵. But these routes have been disturbed by tribal conflict in recent years.

Many of the large-scale traders in Mellit double as livestock producers and livestock traders. For example, each of the fifty local-based *jelabas* raises more than 1,000 ewes and over 100 camels⁸.

Trade included livestock export trade to Libya and Egypt, import of goods from Libya and trade with Khartoum/ Omdurman as well as other parts of Darfur. Large-scale

livestock traders in Mellit are adouble as livestock producers and livestock traders. In Mellit, for example, each of the fifty local-based *jelabas* raises more than 1,000 ewes and over 100 camels⁸

The Zayadia have a long history of links with Libya, for trading purposes and for labour migration. A focus group estimated that four out of 10 families have a male family member working in Libya⁷. Remittances in the form of cash and goods were frequently sent back to relatives at home. A focus group estimated the value of remittances sent back (ranges between \$100 to \$150 every 3 to 6 months) which represents a total value of approximately \$235,000³.

Remittances were hand carried by the worker or their friends and family traveling back to Mellit. Remittances were closely connected with trade (traders would use the remittance to buy goods to send to Mellit, which were then exchanged for cash and passed on), and the use of a cash based Hawala system was almost none-existent in the area. Uses of cash included daily expenses, payment of debts and investment in live stock.

The Zayadia are known throughout Darfur for their distinctive leatherwork including handicrafts, practiced mainly by women, and sold in Mellit market. In addition to the leather work women also collect firewood and grass.

Zayadia livelihoods since the crisis

Shifts in livelihood strategies as a result of the crisis are shown in Figure one. Current insecurity limits peoples' movement outside of Mellit town. The Zayadia believe that to move more than one kilometer beyond Mellit Town risks attack by the opposition (rebel) groups. Cars and lorries are also at risk, for example, recently four vehicles belonging to Mellit Zayadia were taken by the rebel groups. As a result the Zayadia are currently unable to cultivate and don't expect a harvest.

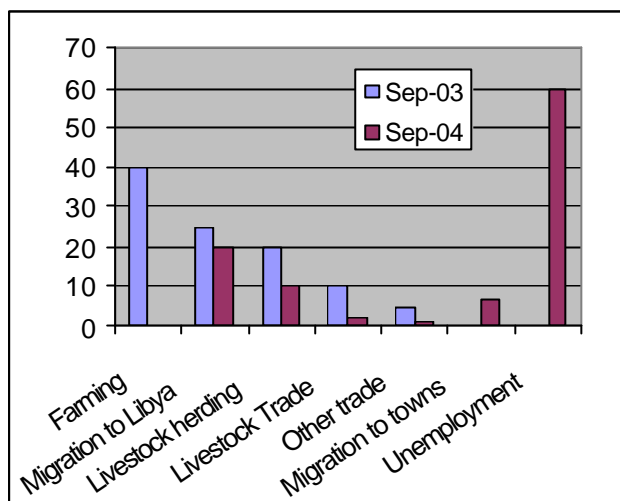
Livestock migration has also been seriously affected. Traders in Mellit reported that water points north of Mellit consisting of surface dams and wells in Abuhila, Abugemera, Amboru, Disr, Farawaja, Karo Karwoy, Musbat, Orshi, Shige and Tina have been destroyed by aerial bombardments, intentionally buried by soldiers or poisoned⁸. As a result, livestock that should have grazed north of Mellit and Dar Zaghawa between August and October were moved to eastern parts of Mellit and El Fasher. There is fear that water sources and pasture in these areas could be depleted at the start or in the middle of the dry season.

³ Frequency and amounts of remittances received (4 out of 10 households have one labour migrant in Libya)

Those who never send remittances	40%
Those who send remittances every three months	40% They send around \$150
Those who send remittances every six months	20% They send around \$100

Figure 1 Proportion of Zayadia men in Mellit engaged in different activities⁷

(September is the end of the rainy season)



Labour migration to Libya used to contribute 25% of the households food and income sources, of which 18% was labor and 7% related to the different trading activities with Libya. This has now been reduced to 20% as a result of the closure of the Sudanese Libyan border and the looting of the commercial herds by the rebels. One of the consequences of closure of trade is loss of capital which hinders the capability of the household to regain this activity when trade is resumed.

Livestock herding decreased from 20 to 10% because of livestock looting, the deteriorating condition of livestock as they were confined with no livestock migratory movements since last year.

Winter grazing, particularly north of Wakhaim, Wadi Hawa, and the Gisou is now out of bounds because of tribal conflicts between the Berti, Meidob and Zaghawa, and also because of rebel activity. Consequently Zayadia herds are now restricted to Sari, El Cuma, Um Hegleig and Gebeish. Some herds however are known to have moved north but the Zayadia cannot keep in touch or follow up because of insecurity.

Livestock trade has markedly decreased (from 10% to 2%) as a result of:

1. Livestock is in remote and inaccessible areas and vulnerable to looting by rebels.
2. Access to the market is restricted because of insecurity
3. Decrease in livestock numbers
4. Erosion of the capital of livestock traders (as a result of attacks and looting of camel caravans in North Darfur).

The Zayadia's close links with Libya have been broken as a result of the conflict, first the closure of the national boundary between Sudan and Libya (preventing labour migration and flow of remittances), second the general insecurity as a result of the rebels controlling the main routes, and finally the major attacks, kidnappings and looting of

camel caravans on route to Libya (see chapter 5). In one incident near Nukheila in early 2004 about 2100 camels were taken with a market value of \$500,000 (Darfur prices) to more than one million US dollars at Libyan prices. The Zayadia traders believed that they are selectively targeted by the rebel groups, who are said to control the area through which the trade routes to Libya must pass. Many Zayadia traders have moved to Kebkabiya market. But in addition to the looting of the camel caravans on the export route to Libya, a total of 6,200 head of livestock belonging to Zayadia traders were looted in the Kebkabiya area on its way to Omdurman.

General trade has also been reduced as a result of the closure of trade with Libya, the restricted access to the market and erosion of the capitals.

Migration to towns is a new strategy for the Zayadia. Before the Zayadia used to migrate mainly to Libya, but this route is now currently close. To cope with the current crisis many (about 7%) have migrated to towns such as El Fasher and Omdurman.

A high proportion of men (40%) are now without any livelihood strategies for the following reasons:

1. Inability to farm
2. Displacement
3. Trade has all but ceased
4. Libya route is closed.
5. Most of the population is now poor particularly because of livestock losses.

Remittances from Libya have been very limited because the route to Libya is closed. What remittances there are, are now mainly cash which is hand carried by people traveling by air from Kufra to El Fasher or through the Hawala system based in El Fashir.

Leatherwork has also decreased; before the conflict there were around 200 *rakuba* (temporary shops) in Mellit selling handicrafts which have now been reduced to about 13 *rakuba*. This is a direct result of the closure of the trade routes and general decline in Mellit market. Although decreased, leatherwork is currently making an important contribution to food security.

In addition, Zayadia women put themselves at risk of attack by collecting grass, wild fruits and fire wood outside of the town. Consequently the price of fire wood has increased (1,000 SP per donkey load – about \$4) compared to before the crisis (300 -500 SP per donkey load – about 25 cents).

Overall the town of Mellit is a place of siege for the Zayadia as they are cut off from all their usual livelihood strategies, including cultivation, livestock, trade, migration to Libya, and with all trade and remittances stopped.

At the same time the social support systems are breaking down. Previously better off families could support their poorer relatives. But now as one Zayadia woman put it, “*all people are now the same the same. All the families’ camels and goats are gone. Now they*

are all poor". According to another informant *'there is not one single family that is not in debt'*, which is in large part linked to the failing livestock trade and major losses of capital.

At the same time the proportion of women headed households are thought to be increasing.

Generally, the tribal administration systems remain intact and strong as demonstrated by the recent tribal mediation between the Zayadia and the Meidob, which is mediated by the Kawahla and Kababish (of Kordofan?).

- *Humanitarian assistance*

Despite this situation the Zayadia have not been supported by the international humanitarian organizations. The only food assistance provided to the Zayadia in Mellit was provided by the government, including 300 sacks of sorghum, 20 sacks of sugar, 25 sacks of pasta, 20 sacks of onion, 20 cartons of soap and 30 cartons of biscuits.

The Zayadia believed that the international movements/organizations have influenced the situation. At the time of the teams visit, no international organization had offered them assistance or support⁶. The only assistance provided by the international community was directed to the Zayadia village which was mistakenly attacked by the government troops as mentioned above.

Zayadia perceive that services to the Arab villages (education, health, water) are completely lacking and that international aid and assistance is biased. They see that assistance is going to the Berti areas⁴ (El Sayah), while despite their sufferings they had not yet received any assistance.

Current and longer prospects and goals.

Food, security and peace were the immediate hopes of the Zayadia. The groups agreed that the first step in establishing peace is addressing the wider conflict between the rebels and the government, while the more local level conflicts could be addressed by local reconciliation conferences. Improved security means increasing mobility and access to markets and land. The leadership expressed the belief that *'the conflict is launched with the purpose of eradicating Arab ethnicity in Darfur'*. Clearly, all sides to this conflict have deeply rooted fears and it is not for the international community to take sides.

⁴ In previous international humanitarian relief operations (194/85 and 1987) the Berti also benefited more from assistance than other groups.

The Berti

Mellit is the northern capital of Dar Berti – the homeland of the Berti tribe and home of the King of the Berti, while Um Keddada is the southern capital. The Berti are the biggest tribe in Mellit and also the majority tribe in North Darfur⁵. They have increased the areas under their tribal administration from 3 Omodiyas, to 23 in a bid to increase their rights in the ownership of land and their participation in authority (see chapter 2).

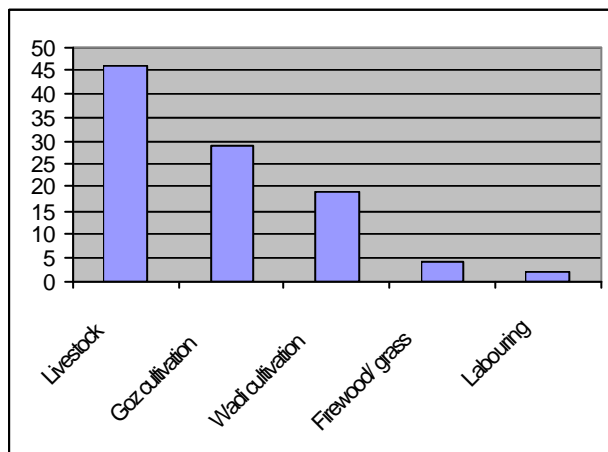
In the past they have had local disagreements and conflicts with other groups, including the Zaghawa and the Zayadia, but these were addressed through local processes and have settled down. Since the recent wider conflict relations between tribes have become polarized as members have looked for solidarity within their tribe¹.

According to the King of the Berti, following “clashes” several months ago, people were displaced and sought refuge in Mellit with their relatives and tribesmen. In March 2004 the attack on Sennahaya near Mellit left houses burnt and destroyed, livestock looted and both Berti and Zayadia were displaced. The ‘displaced’ are living with residents and include non Arab and Arab tribes¹.

Livelihoods before the crisis

The Berti are sedentary farmers that practice goz cultivation of millet and watermelon, wadi cultivation of karkadeh, sesame and groundnuts, with livestock production which contributed the largest share of food and income. Figure 2 shows sources of food and income before the conflict for a Berti womens focus group. For this group there was none or at least very little labour migration to either Libya or elsewhere in Darfur.

Figure 2 Sources of food and income for Berti displaced women in Mellit Town before their displacement



Before the crisis there was a Hawala system linked with trade. Traders would take cash from remitters in Libya and then buy goods. These goods would then be sent to Darfur

⁵ Since 1995 when Darfur region was divided into three States – North, South and West.

where they would be sold, and the money passed on to the end receiver of the Hawala. Communications with migrant labourers was therefore through the traders⁹.

Berti livelihoods after the crisis

The Berti leader also feels that insecurity limits cultivation and mobility outside of Mellit: "If you dare to leave you risk attack from the tribes that you have a problem with" which for the Berti are the Arab tribes, including the Zayadia who are perceived by some of the Berti to be Jinjaweed¹. Although the women's focus group spoke of how they would collect firewood.

Berti leaders report shortages of water, and many livestock deaths although there was no evidence yet of this. But lack of pasture and security limiting livestock migration was expected to contribute to livestock deaths.

Many Berti women and children moved to Mellit for safety and initially received some help from their relatives and the citizens of Mellit⁹. The only work available to them is as domestic servants to townspeople. Rates of pay are about 2000 SP (less than \$1) for 3 to 4 hours work. Some women also reported collecting grass and firewood - half a days work yields about 1500 to 2000 SP (less than \$1), which is an indication of their relative security (in contrast Zayadia women would not risk this). The women also reported borrowing money from relatives⁹.

Generally the Berti focus group did not report labour migration of their kin, or receiving remittances, except for the one man present who had a brother in Libya. His mother died and his brother sent money (500,000 SP, about \$200) through a friend from Libya, who travelled by plane from Benghazi to El Fasher. He said the costs of phoning are prohibitively expensive⁹. It is likely this group although displaced represented the better-off members of the Berti tribe.

Some traders left to go to Khartoum to save their property, as the Berti King put it "the 'haves' leave and the 'have-nots' stay"¹

Humanitarian assistance

The Berti have received some assistance from the Saudi Red Crescent, the ICRC, and from WFP. Unicef had a cash for work project operating during the teams visit, employing men (Berti) to produce latrine covers. Men are paid 5 to 6000 SP (\$2) per day, but this is temporary⁹. One month previously they received food aid (90 kg sorghum for 4 persons, 2-3 kg salt, 1 - 1.5kg lentils)⁹.

The goals of the Berti are stability, security and peace so that they can start again⁹

Conclusions

Livelihoods of the Berti and Zayadia have strong similarities but also marked differences. While both are farmers and rear livestock, the Zayadia have much stronger links with

Libya in terms of labour migration and sending back of remittances, and also export trade in livestock and import trade of general goods.

The conflict between the SLM/JEM and the Government of Sudan in Darfur has severely affected the livelihoods of all groups in Mellit. The Berti and Zayadia for example, have also been differentially affected by the conflict, and it would appear that the Arab Zayadia are the worse off yet have received little or no humanitarian assistance.

For the Zayadia, all their livelihood strategies have been severely curtailed and they are living under siege in Mellit, yet are not recognized as internally displaced persons. They are cut off from their relatives and other tribe members, and have restricted access to their farms or their traditional livestock migratory routes in the north.

The closure of the national border between Libya and Sudan and the trade routes to other parts of the country has particularly affected them, in terms of huge losses of trade in livestock and general commodities, major losses of traders capital (whose caravans were looted) and prevention of travel for labour migration and stopping of remittances. Work as herders would have been affected also. Livelihood strategies like leatherwork were linked to both livestock rearing and trade, have subsequently suffered also. The Zayadia perceive the international organizations to be biased towards the non Arab groups, which will only serve to enflame the conflict and create further polarization.

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Livelihoods in Disr

Introduction

The village council of Disr lies about 45 km north of Kutum in North Darfur and falls within the opposition held areas. The area is under the control of the SLM/A and the main village of Disr is their local headquarters. There are 15 villages in the village council, with a total population in October 2004 of 5,700 people¹. In addition, there are reportedly 2,000 displaced people from Kebkabiya, Kornoi, Abu Hamra, Umm Burro and Tina¹.

A mix of tribes are found in the area including, Zaghawa, Fur, Berti, Tunjur, Meidob, Fellata, and Birgo². Local people present were keen to describe these groups as '*kulu wahid*' 'all one' i.e. they do not distinguish between themselves³. The Fur are said to be the majority. Previously, there was an Arab group living at Khrare (Owlad Hamid and El Mahariya - Northern Rizeigat), but according to current residents they left the area at the start of the conflict probably to go to Kebkabiya. Some groups – particularly the Zaghawa pastoralists reported that they had had good relations with these Arab groups, inter-marrying etc. But other groups reportedly had no contacts with Arab groups except in the market because 'they are nomads and we are farmers'⁴. Relations have polarized even more since the conflict.

How the conflict affected the area

The GoS military (antonovs, helicopters, trucks with machine guns and lorries) supported by armed militia on horseback and camels first attacked villages in Disr in July 2003. Aerial bombings continued for two to three months from July to September 2003, and intermittently after that until the last attack in February 2004. During this period the GoS military camped and surrounded the area, and were reported to go out daily burning villages, looting livestock, and killing people. They arrested local Sheikhs and Omdas².

Antonovs and helicopters would 'bomb everything that moved' including water points, markets, buildings, flocks of animals¹. Lorries were used to transport the looted household contents – radios, clothes, pots and pans, mattresses, furniture. Once emptied the houses were burned down. The armed militia would loot livestock in the surrounding area¹. Rape was also practiced¹.

Local SLM leaders noted three battles between government troops and the SLA in the Disr area, and two actual battles in Disr. Government troops withdrew to Kutum shortly after these battles.

The GoS armed militia included the local Northern Rizeigat Arab group who were recognized by villagers. The other armed militia were said to be Arabs from the Nile region of Sudan. The Nile Arabs were reportedly less aggressive than the local arabs².

There was widespread and systematic destruction of homes, and livelihood assets (details below).

During the attacks, people fled their villages, and in some cases were followed and attacked. They traveled up to three hours on foot from Disr and were hiding out in the hills, in caves, and any crannies in the rocks. They survived by living on wild foods, by sneaking back to their villages to find any remains from the burnt grain stores, and also some went to Mellit and were able to buy cereals. They could not travel to Kutum at that time as they would be identified as with the opposition. No external help was forthcoming at this time².

People returned to their villages in October 2003 after they signed the first Abeche agreements between the GoS and the SLM and the bombings had ceased. Only small numbers reportedly moved out of the area - about 2% of households from Goweij moved to Kutum and other parts of Darfur as a result of the conflict, but have returned back to cultivate during the 2004 rainy season⁵. Some people were reported to be absent in Firgan - a summer camp three hours north east of Disr, with small numbers of livestock².

There were also reportedly displaced people who arrived between July and October 2003. These were people with relatives in the area, who came from Kebkabiya, Harajuna, Jebel Si, Um Borro, Kornoi, Tina, Fur Awiya and Abu Hamra^{1,4}, numbering approximately 2000¹. As groups returned to Disr and other relatives came there was a strong sense of community as people shared with their relatives, although the duration of sharing was limited to about two months⁴. For those who still had some resources making loans to relatives was a means of spreading the risk of further looting by Jinjaweed and others⁴.

Livelihoods Before The Crisis

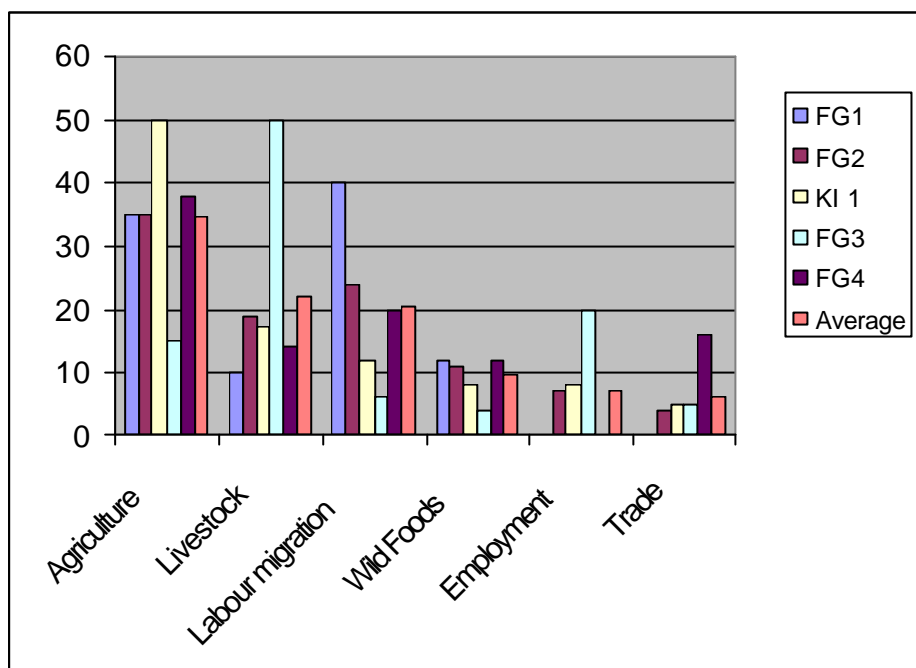
Five focus groups in three different villages described livelihoods before the crisis and currently (October 2004). Groups distinguished between two principle livelihood groups; farmers and herders. Although most farmers had some livestock and some herders cultivated. All groups were engaged in the same six broad categories of livelihood strategies; agriculture (goz and wadi cultivation), livestock rearing, labour migration and sending back of remittances, collection of wild foods, casual labour and trade.

Focus group 3 were predominantly Zaghawa herders (agro-pastoralists) as illustrated by the relative importance of livestock as an income source before the crisis (Figure 1)¹. The other groups were remarkably similar in the relative importance of different food and income sources.

The proportions shown in Figure 1 represent middle income groups. Better-off families would depend in order of importance on agriculture, livestock and trading, while poorer families would have depended more on wild foods, labour migration and working for

others locally (casual labour) as a result of owning far fewer livestock and having limited access to land⁴.

Figure 1 Livelihoods in Disr before the crisis – principle sources of food and income for medium income groups 1,2,4-6.



- Cultivation

The majority of farms are on Goz soils and inter-cropping is practiced, included cultivation of millet, okra, broad beans, sesame, watermelon and karkadeh (hibiscus). Farming land for cultivation is limited, and not everybody owns land. Land plots for cultivation ranged between 10 and 50 feddans². Far fewer farmers had access to fertile wadi land (2 out of 10 farmers). Tomatoes & onions are grown in the wadi for commercial purposes⁵.

Land is administered through the traditional *hakura* system by the sheikhs. Each Sheikh (Fur or Zaghawa) administers a *hakura* - he is the Seed el Fass - Master of Acts. Land is given on a lease system, for as long as they live. Focus groups did not consider that land was a problem and that generally there was not much trouble over land unlike further south where “they are very strict”⁵. Traditionally farmers must pay 'osure' (one tenth of their produce) to the sheikh every year. This is sometimes very little, but normally the sheikh accepts whatever he is given. Inheritance of land is through the sharia system; two thirds to the boy and one third to the girl⁵.

Water is communally owned. The wells are all near the wadi and the depth varies according to the season(10m during summer and 2 m during the rainy season). The same sources are used for animals and people.

- Livestock

Livestock production, herding or trade are critical livelihood strategies in this area, especially among the more pastoralist groups (focus group 3)¹. This is in part because farm land is limited and rainfall unreliable, but also because pastoralism is the principle livelihood strategy in the northern part of north Darfur. Livestock included goats and sheep, some cattle. A better-off household might own 50 cows, 100 goats, 30 sheep and 30 camels³. Among the more pastoralist focus group 3 better off household might own up to 70 camels¹. Donkeys, camels and a small number of horses are widely used as pack animals.

- Wild foods

Wild foods have always been an important source of food and were commonly used in the hungry season before the harvest. Examples include koreb, difra, lalob, mukheit and nabak^{1,5}. People are generally very knowledgeable about the different foods available, and their use and preparation processes which are very specific for each food type (Photo). Wild foods are a common resource, and collected before animals come to graze. Women are responsible for their collection.

- Labour migration and remittances

Before the crisis labour migration was considerable with most households having one or more members working away from home, either in other parts of Darfur, Omdurman, Libya, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Iraq. For two focus groups labour migration and remittances were previously their second most important source of food and income (after agriculture)^{4,5}. The most common destination for labour migrants was Omdurman (68%), followed by elsewhere in Darfur (25%), and then beyond Sudan's borders to Libya, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Iraq (8%)⁵. The smaller numbers traveling beyond Sudan's borders are because only a few can afford the costs of travel (unless they work their passage as herders).

Most labour migrants were men aged between 18 and 35 years, who were engaged in unskilled work including, teamaking, water collection by donkeys and jerrycan, shoe polishing, laundry etc⁴. In addition labour migration work in Darfur included seasonal agricultural work and as casual labourers in El Fasher and Kutum (the rainy season is late in Disr compared with other places, and therefore they can work further south for longer doing agricultural work)⁵.

Focus groups identified two types of labour migrants overseas, those with work permits who transmit money through the bank in El Fasher, and those 'silkawei' who are people with no legal status who purchase goods and send them back hand-carried by friends.

Previously, remittances included money and some goods which were hand-carried on the various lorries and buses coming to Disr, particularly on market day. In the past remittances were sent at periodic intervals, including monthly, quarterly, bi-annually and annually and the amounts varied accordingly. Every 1.5 to 3 months was most common with the amounts ranging between 50,000 and 100,000 sudanese pounds (which amounts

to between \$78 and \$350 per annum^{4,6}. The chief purpose of the money was to support people to live – to help pay for their basic needs⁵, and for investments in livestock⁶.

The remitted goods may be sold by the friend in El Fasher, who will then pass on the money to the family in accordance with the remitters instructions⁵.

Between Omdurman and towns in Darfur, a Hawala system based on trade networks used to operate. Cash remittances were sent in the form of goods between two merchants; one in Omdurman and one in Darfur (in this case Kutum or El Fasher). The traders would agree on what items should be sent (according to needs in Darfur). The merchant in Omdurman communicates with the merchant in Kutum or Fasher to ask what goods they require and to discuss arrangements of bringing goods and selling them in Darfur⁵. A similar system used to operate between Libya and Darfur¹. Traders operating in Libya (Tagir Shanta) used the remittances to buy trading goods, which they then sold in Darfur to pay the remittances. Immigrants in Saudi Arabia and Iraq would some times use the banking system in Kutum.

Before the conflict public transport between Disr and Omdurman meant that most remittances could be hand carried all the way to Disr by friends of the migrant worker or their family⁵. Some goods and cash were also hand-carried by individuals traveling from Libya¹.

Remittances in kind included clothes, money, sugar, rice, flour, edible oil, biscuits, mats, perfumes, radios and TVs¹.

- Trade

Before the crisis there were approximately 10 to 12 commodity traders in Disr bringing goods from Kutum to Disr market¹. They traded mostly in sugar, tomatoes, tea, oil, cloth, fruits and vegetables. Trade also included small scale petty trade in vegetables, chickens, sale of grains, wild foods and milk in rainy season⁵. Traders would combine their capital to pay for a truck load of goods, as they could not afford this singly. In the past Kutum traders provided small village traders commodities on loan and would be paid following the next market day¹.

-Livestock trade

Before the conflict Disr (all villages) produced approximately 400 camels (sold by individual producers and traders) and 5000 sheep per year for sale. Four or five camel traders from Disr Village Council would each buy between 40 and 50 camels, and then combine their herds to send to market. The group reported that 60% of the camel trade had previously been to Egypt, while only 40% had been to Libya¹. The reasons given were because the Egypt route was generally considered more profitable, the road was more dependable with access to water, while the route to Libya was riskier taking 25 to 30 days without water. Trucks might reduce the journey time to Libya but the numbers carried are limited and the costs are high. The route from Disr to Dongola by camel caravan took 40 to 45 days. About 10 sheep traders sold up to 5000 sheep per year in Omdurman (most profitable), and also transported sheep to Libya by truck or sold them

locally in Melit, Kutum or Disr market (possibly to outside traders)¹. Traders would use their income from livestock sales to buy different commodities for sale back in Darfur.

- *Credit*

Before the crisis there were no formal credit systems, and loans were only available from family members or friends usually made in the agricultural season based on personal agreements. Financial debt is therefore rare⁵.

- *Access to education and health care*

There used to be six schools in Disr, all co-educational. The nearest high school was in Kutum where pupils would live with friends and family. University was also an option for boys and girls. But all schools have closed since July 2003.

Even before the crisis health services were poor '*so poor we would have been better off without it*'⁵. There were immunization programmes many years previously, but these had long since stopped. Disr had no trained midwife or traditional birth attendant, and relied on women elders in the villages. A number of women previously had died on the way to hospital in Kutum⁵.

Livelihoods After The Crisis

The people of currently living in Disr area are struggling to survive as the conflict has both directly and indirectly decimated their livelihoods, in terms of the livelihood strategies that are currently available to them and their livelihood resource base.

- *Loss of livelihood assets*

Months of land and air attacks, and associated looting and destruction of homesteads has lead to a massive loss of core livelihood assets, with a dramatic leveling effect across wealth groups in the entire community (meaning there are currently fewer wealth differentials than there were before). One 65 year old woman described how her house which was composed of five thatched houses and 7 rakubas (shelters), were totally burned including 25 sacks of millet, 2 boxes of utensils, 6 trunks including all her property since her marriage (clothes, sleeping mats, bed sheets, sacks of seeds etc)¹.

People claim to have a strong sense of community, sharing what they have with their displaced relatives⁵. Those who lack any resources depend on their social relationships and wild food⁴. The proportion of women headed households has increased to about 25% as a result of male out-migration and death.

Almost every house in the area was burned and belongings destroyed including their village grain stores, consisting of an estimated 3000 sacks of millet². Mango trees and date palms were destroyed, and even many trees and shrubs which are the source of wild food were destroyed.

- *Loss of livestock*

As a result of the looting, destruction and poisoning of wells and bombardment there has been a massive loss of livestock capital. Local estimates are that 80% of livestock have been lost. Some losses in livestock were a result of disease, including pneumonia, mange and pox⁶. (see below for impact on livelihood strategies).

The bombardments in 2003 created holes in the ground which filled with water which subsequently poisoned the animals also (They died when drinking from this water)⁵. Damns and hafirs were destroyed, and wells were poisoned (sheep died soon after drinking from them)⁵. Mills had been destroyed so people resorted to the traditional 'moor haka' stones to process their cereals (these have not been used for more than 30 years)².

- Shift in livelihood strategies

The impact of the conflict on their livelihoods is illustrated by the shift in livelihood strategies in Figure 2. Despite heavy losses of livestock, focus group 3 still remained heavily dependent on livestock and its relative importance had increased, in part a result of a decline in other food sources¹.

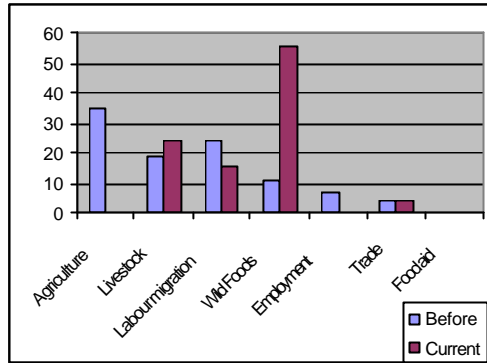
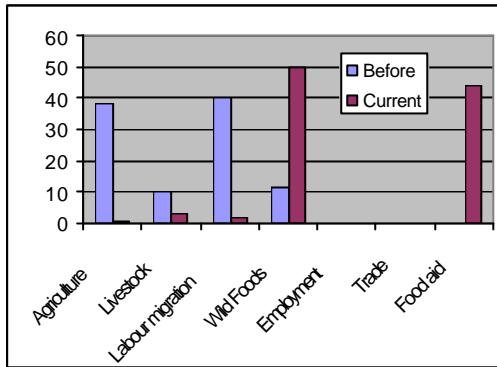
The previous cultivation season in 2003 was completely lost, as it coincided with the attacks on Disr, and battles between the SLM and the GoS. While people were seeking safety and hiding in the mountains it was impossible for them to cultivate. Seed stores were destroyed, and are available from the eastern and northern parts of El Fasher which is difficult to access. Principally for these reasons agriculture was no longer a major source of food and income for them, which is clearly illustrated in Figure 2 for Focus Groups 1, 2 and 4. These three groups simultaneously increased their reliance on wild foods, in all cases to approaching 50% of their food and income sources. Some wild foods have a resale value and would have been sold in Kutum market. Although it is possible to store some wild foods such as mukheit for use throughout the year, their availability is highest during and just after the rainy season.

The group in Gowej listed wild foods and sale of wild foods, food aid and some labour migration as their principal sources of food currently. The group hesitated strongly before including food aid in their proportional piling because they had only received a food distribution once, and did not trust it would come again⁵.

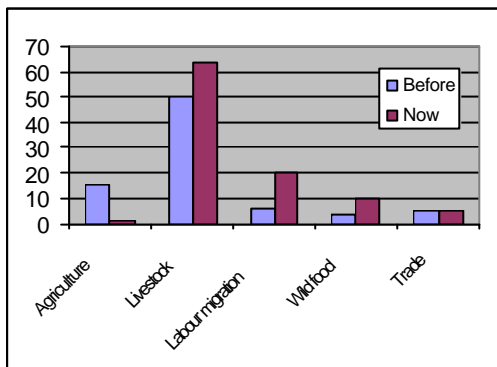
Figure 2 Livelihoods in Disr Area – before the crisis and in October 2004

Focus Group 1

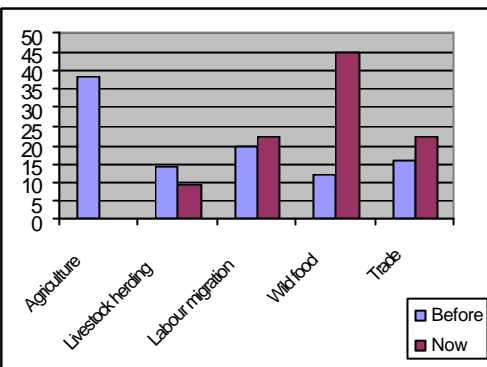
Focus Group 2



Focus Group 3¹



Focus Group 4⁶



- Livelihoods of IDPs in Disr

According to the focus groups, 90% of the displaced people who were previously cattle owners/ breeders from western Dar Zaghawa and Kebkabiya have no livestock who had their cattle looted¹.

- Restricted access to markets

The market in Disr no longer functions and people in the area depend mainly on women and girls from Disr traveling to Kutum market by donkey to buy cereals and other essential foods. They fear men will be attacked even killed by the Jinjaweed. The journey for women is hazardous and a longer roundabout route must be taken for security reasons, which extends the journey to seven days (2 to 3 days each way) from a one day round trip^{2,4}. Once in Kutum, women from Disr must conceal that they come from Disr².

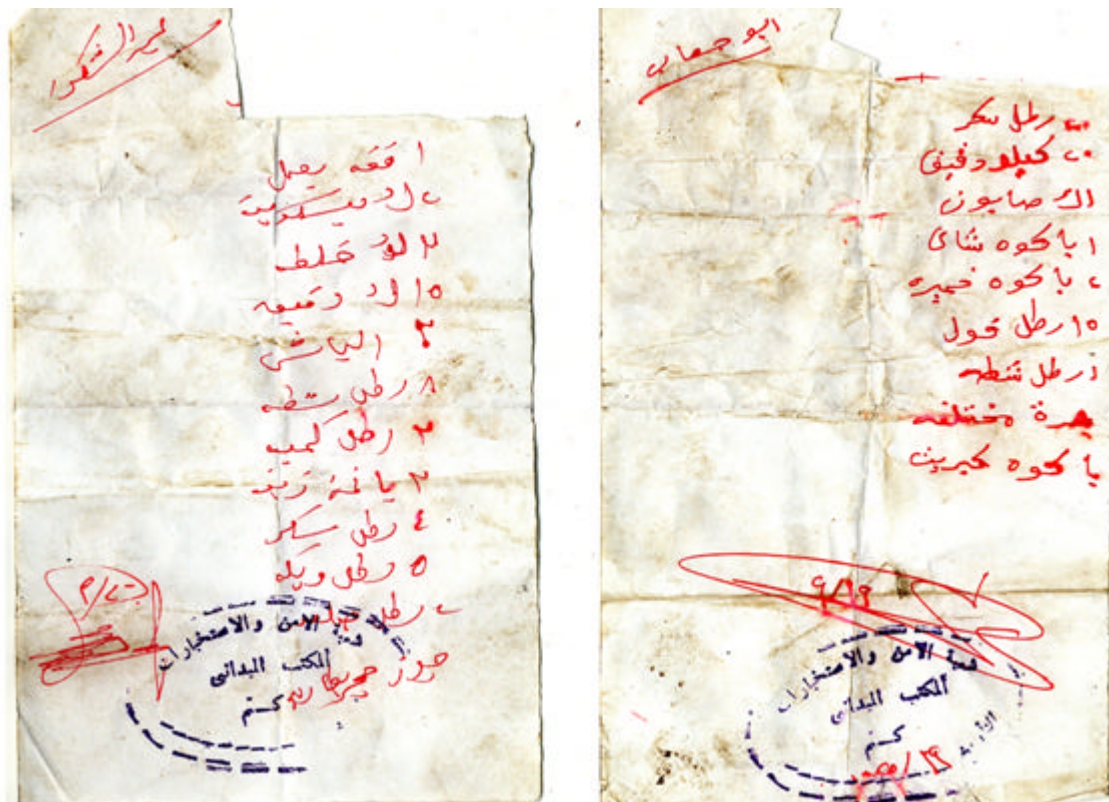
The women must obtain a permit from the offices of the 'military (army) intelligence and security' in order to transport goods beyond the Kutum town boundary checkpoints^{2,5}. For a fee of 2,000 SP (US\$0.78)^{2,4,7} the military & security office gives them a permit listing the items they are permitted to purchase and transport on that particular day. Items and amounts are restricted. For example, to 8kg of cereals, and in total do not exceed one donkey load. On their return from the market, the army searches them at the military checkpoint and checks all items against the permit. If any additional items are found all goods are confiscated⁵.

Many consider that this travel to markets by women and donkeys that has kept people in Disr area alive². Because the amounts they can carry are so small people in Disr also depend on smuggling from Kutum.

In the past two months, some individuals and groups in Disr have started buying small numbers of livestock for smuggling to Kutum. They travel eastwards so that it appears they are coming from the east or south (not the north where Disr is located). They enter the IDP camp at night with about 15 to 20 livestock and sell to middlemen in the camp. It is considered too unsafe to go directly to Kutum market⁴.

The government embargo on access to Kutum market extends to all Sudanese outside of Kutum town boundaries. This includes IDPs living in Kasab camp who also need a permit to buy goods in Kutum and take them back to the camp⁷. IDPs who are working as petty traders selling matches, dried foods, tea, sugar, chillies etc., in the camp must purchase both a license to trade (SP1,000 per month) and a permit for all the goods they wish to sell⁷.

Figure 3 Examples of the permits required to take purchased goods outside of Kutum



Loss of livestock trade

Previously there were approximately 20 to 40 traders operating in the area, and the biggest trader could buy between 75 -100 livestock. But currently the maximum number that can be purchases are only 10 to 15, in part because of the erosion of capital of traders and also because of the loss of livestock in the area⁴.

- *Remittances*

Labour migration has all but ceased as the route to Libya is closed, and other places in Darfur are insecure. Omdurman is the main destination for labour migration and current source of remittances, although this is much less than before⁶. For focus group 3 remittances increased because of their strong kinship ties through Chad¹. Their relatives outside of Sudan and Chad transfer money to groups in Chad, which are then collected by the group in Disr. Some people from Disr use the cash remittances to buy goods from Chad and bring them back to sell them and then distribute the cash remittances. It is generally felt that it is better to bring back goods rather than cash. If cash is the choice, one person can bring money for many people.

Communications between Disr area & the outside world have been severely cut which has severely curtailed the flow of remittances. Before the crisis there were telephone communications between Disr and Kutum, now communications depend on the regular travel of women to Kutum. The previously regular transport between Disr and Omdurman has also ceased. This lack of access to towns means that those with bank accounts no longer have access to them, and one group talked of 'all bank accounts being frozen'⁵, but this could be because banks in Kutum were closed⁶.

The group in Goreij⁵ explained that communications with people outside Sudan generally have been cut off and that nothing had been received from either Libya or Chad. Communications with Omdurman were somewhat easier – either through merchants based in Kutum and communicating with merchants in Omdurman, or by sending hand-carried messages with travelers going to Omdurman from Kutum. There is no direct communication between families in Darfur and their relatives in Omdurman.

It is up to the women going to Kutum to seek out these travelers going to Omdurman to pass on messages to relatives living and working there. These same travelers may also have messages and even remittances for them. But the women cannot bring back goods with them from Kutum that have been sent from Omdurman, because of the restriction of being only able to carry the items on the security permit, and also because of the high risk of looting on the route.

Merchant trade Hawala system

The merchant trade hawala system continues to function, whereby a hawala is sent through the merchant in Omdurman to the merchant in Kutum. The hawala in Omdurman receives the cash remittance from the migrant worker, and uses it to buy the goods requested by the merchant in Kutum. These are then dispatched and in Kutum the merchants sell the goods sent by the Omdurman merchant and pass on the money to the women from Disr. There is no charge for this service as the benefit to the Hawala are

receipt of goods that he has personally requested. The type of goods very much depends on the requirements of traders⁵.

Humanitarian response in Disr

By October 2004, the people of Disr had received two food aid distributions - once on 28th august 2004 sufficient for one month, and another distribution was currently underway. IDPs were said not to have been included in this distribution, which was targeted at the 5,700 residents of the 15 villages¹. In addition there had been an emergency immunization campaign in August 2004 and a distribution of blankets. The people of Disr desperately need humanitarian assistance yet clearly have little confidence that it will continue.

Current and longer prospects and goals.

All focus groups and interviewees spoke of their hopes for peace and security. In terms of what is needed for peace, focus groups responded that 'Government should take seriously stopping the war against civilians, and stop the Janjaweed, stop looting and stop bombing by Antanov'. The importance of compensation for destroyed and looted belongings and livestock was raised, including the governments responsibility in this, as well as in developing services in rural Darfur^{4,5}. In addition, the importance of the opening of the routes to Libya, Omdurman and other parts of Sudan was recognized¹.

Conclusions and recommendations

The conflict has contributed to not only a massive loss of livelihood capital, but has also severely constrained all livelihood activities. The conflict has resulted in an economic embargo through tightly restricting access to markets that effectively places livelihoods in Disr 'under siege'. Limited mobility and poor communications restrict all labour migration and the sending back of remittances. Rebel control has contributed to overall security as people have been able to return their villages, and more able to go about their business (assuming aerial bombardments do not recur).

Women have shouldered a large part of the burden of keeping these communities alive in terms of traveling to Kutum to get supplies and also their role in gathering wild foods. Difficult household decisions have been made that select the least risk strategy - better to risk being raped than being killed.

Even within a relatively small geographic area there are differences in livelihoods along ethnic lines (all non Arab and supporters of the opposition). Some villages rely more on the risky route to Kutum, while others have established contacts and a means of accessing markets in Chad.

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1. Focus Group 3. Focus group with RD, AG and YA. Disr, 2004:1 October 2004.
2. Key informant 1. Interview with AM & HY. Disr, SLA area, 2004:1st October 2004.
3. Key informant 2. Interview HY. Disr, SLM area, 2004:1st October 2004.
4. Focus Group 2. Focus group with RD, YA, AJ. Goreij, Disr, 2004:2nd October 2004.
5. Focus group 1. Focus group of men with HY and BB. Goweij, Disr, 2004:2nd October.
6. Focus Group 4. Focus Group of Women in Jary Village with AO. Disr (SLM controlled area), 2004:October 1.
7. Key informant 1. Interview during transect walk HY. Kasab camp, Kutum, 2004:1st October 2004.

Livelihoods in El Geneina area

Introduction

The State of West Darfur is one of the most geographically remote areas in northern Sudan, located on Sudan's western border with Chad and the Central African Republic. The State is divided into six localities; El Geneina, Habila, Kulbus, Jebel Mara, Zalengi and Wadi Salih, with El Geneina as its capital.

Many of the tribes in West Darfur have either sub-tribes and or territories on both sides of the border, which has eased relocation or resettlement especially in periods of crisis¹. The Masalit, who are sedentary farmers, are the largest tribe and are concentrated in the southern half of the Dar, including the area to the east and west of Geneina. To the south of the Masalit around Fora Boranga are the Sinyar. North of Geneina are the Erenga, Jabaland Gimr (from the south to north). Other significant sedentary/ farming? population is Maba, Tama, Zaghawa, Daju, Burgo, Marariet etc.

Arab groups include the Turgem, Hottiyya, Otryya, Mahadi and Darok to the North East of El Geneina. In addition to these groups are the nomadic pastoralists who migrate to west Darfur from outside the region, including for example, northern Rizeigat, the Owwad Rashid, Salamat, Beni Halba, Zayadiya and Khuzam.

There is little data available showing the relative proportions of Arabs to non Arab groups. The last census to record such details was the 1983 census. This shows that North and West Darfur² in 1983 the proportion of nomads was highest in Kebkabiya (28%) and Kutum (16%) in North Darfur, and in Geneina (19%) in South Darfur.

The region has a relative abundance of rain³ as well as ground water especially in the Southern part of the State, which has attracted the nomadic groups from North Darfur as well as from across the borders. The northern aballa Arabs have long used the numerous Wadis that cross the State for their dry season grazing. The flow of movement and resettlement in the region from across the borders and north Darfur has increased in the last twenty years because of the drought in the north and the conflicts in Chad.

The State is characterized by a relatively rich natural resource base with fertile land suitable for agricultural production, grazing pasture, forests and water sources from the relatively good rainfall and the seasonal rivers (Wadis Kaja, Azoum and Bari). This high productivity is reflected in the higher population density as compared to north

¹ Historically, the boundaries of the tribal Dars of the Masalit, Gimr and Fur extended beyond the current national border of Sudan into Chad (Figure 3).

² Figures for South Darfur unavailable, but expected to be much higher because of southern Rizeigat, Beni Halba, Habbaniya etc.

³ The ten year average annual rainfall for El Geneina from 1970 to 1980 was just over 400mm per annum, and the average for 1980 to 1985 was 300mm. For El Fasher the same figures were approximately 200mm, and 150mm (Swift and Gray, 1989 quoting J.Morton).

Darfur. The areas along the banks of the Wadis provide the only dry season grazing (February to June) for almost all the agro-pastoralists as well as the Arab Aballa from northern Darfur and Chad?.

History of the Masalit and Gimr Sultanate

Historically Dar Masalit has had closer economic ties with Chad than Sudan. The State was the home of the Masalit Sultanate and the Gimr Sultanate. The latter was established in 17th century while the Masalit Sultanate was established following the conquest of the Fur Sultanate in 1874 by the Turkish forces. The establishment of the Sultanate brought the Masalit into wars with the Mahdist forces, the Fur and French to whom they lost part of the area they inhabited. The Sultanate remained independent until it was brought under the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in 1922^{1,2}. The British maintained the Sultanate with its tribal administrative system of Sheikhs, Malik and Fursha as the basis of indirect rule. The Arabs in Dar Masalit were also brought under Omdas who were directly responsible to the Sultan¹. The two ethnic groups (indigenous Masalit and the Arab nomads) managed to co-exist, cooperate and regulate the common use of land resources, up to 1995 when the government intervened to introduce a new system of native administration.

The tribal systems of the Sultanate continued to exist even after the Native Administration was abolished in other parts of Sudan in 1971⁴. At that time it was ruled that it would be wise and practical to gradually replace it with the new political and governmental institutions.

Customary land rights of access from pre-colonial Masalit culture have been carried on into the present. The Hakura as in other parts of Darfur constitute the land tenure system. A clan of a tribe owns the Hakura which is divided into plots of lands owned by families. The whole system is administered and managed through the Native Administration with the Sheikh at the village level, and the Dimilig above him as the custodian of the Hakura. The Dimilig reported to the Fursha (Omda), who held the trusteeship of the tribal land under his leadership on the one hand, and administrative responsibilities to the Sultan on the other. The organization of the land tenure system by these customary traditions is accepted and respected, however in some places especially around the large villages the system is now questioned by the newly emerging educated elite of landless groups³.

Comment [HY1]: Is this a special role linked to the Hakura? We need an entry for the glossary

History of conflict in Dar Masalit

Banditry and insecurity has long since been a characteristic of the borderlands between Chad and Sudan, gradually infiltrating all of Dar Masalit. Traditional rivalry for the frontier borderlands since the 19th century led to raiding, skirmishes and razzia by both sides⁴.

⁴ The 1971 Local Government Act divided the region into regional, district and area councils. This local administration replaced the Native Administration and abolished the jurisdiction and administrative authority of the tribal leaders.

Later drought and hard-times prompted further banditry which meant the borderlands were rarely secure. Also because of the relatively higher rainfall, Abbala camel herders would move between eastern Chad and Darfur in their search for grazing and food. In 1973, as a result of the Chadian civil war and drought, West Darfur hosted more than 200,000 Chadian refugees. A second influx of about 16,000 refugees occurred between 1979 and 1982, but these were supporters of Hisene Habre in exile in Dar Masalit. Many were political refugees – an army in exile, who had the political support of the Sudanese authorities⁵.

At a more local level the early movement of pastoralists into the irrigated agricultural areas before the harvest has been a constant source of conflict between farmers and nomadic groups. The frequency and intensity of these conflicts increased in the late 1980s early nineties as a result of drought and also other conflicts in North Darfur, which made their far north grazing areas inaccessible and their migratory routes shortened up to Seraif and Kebkabiya area.

This local level conflict between the Masalit tribe and the Arab tribes escalated from 1995 to 1999 leading to a recognized State of Emergency. The conflict was fought around local power, tribal territories and natural resources. It was made worse by the interference of the central government, who overlooked the Masalit and their traditional systems and favored other groups. During this period Darfurian Masalit fled to Chad for safety. So the current refugee displacement to Chad is part of a history of disruption and dislocation. The focus group at Chagawa village had spent two years (1996 to 1998) in Chad⁶.

In March 1995 the Governor of Western Darfur issued a decree that divided the traditional homeland of the Masalit into 13 Emirate, nine of which were allocated to Arab groups^{7,8} to create Arab emirates in Dar Masalit. The decree was issued without regard to local tribal customs and tradition and with no consultation with the tribal leaders of the Masalit⁹. This meant the fragmentation of territorial integrity of Dar Masalit, creation of a new independent Native Administration and accordingly the authority of the Masalit Sultan was demoted. Below is the new administration structure.

In accordance with the decree Dar Erenga and Dar Jebel in Kulbus Province became two different administrative entities outside Dar Masalit Sultanate. The Gimr Sultanate preserved its status with minor modification. These changes, which overlooked a long standing heritage of tribal administration in the area, were motivated by political interests. According to Abusin and Takana (2001) reconsideration of the whole system is necessary if security, resource management, tax assessment and collection and ethnic tensions are to be eased³.

Comment [HY2]: You mean they were created?

Insecurity began to prevail from this period^{6,10}. Roads became insecure, with frequent banditry and looting on the journey to Geneina by Jinjaweed; and looting of livestock in villages. Initially it started as individual lootings, with reprisals. But then it became more organized as groups armed themselves, and now relations are so bad 'we are only enemies, nothing else'⁶.

Figure 1
Native Administration Structure after the State Governor's Decree of March 1995

The period 1995 to 1999 was a period of devastating losses for the Masalit (Table 1 and Table 2). It was characterized by an administrative void and collapse of the traditional mechanisms of conflict resolution. The reconciliation conferences to settle the disputes in 1995, August 1996 and November 1996 were doomed to failure. Meanwhile the different ethnic groups established, trained and armed militia groups which form the basis of the forces in the current war.

Table 1 Estimate of Masalit losses (1995-1997) in the tribal wars with the Arabs

Year	No. Killed	Number Injured	Villages burned	Livestock Looted	Hut burned	Others
1995/ 1996	312	84	13	2743	607	92,038,109
1996/97	374	85	37	6060	2226	374,500,000
TOTAL	686	169	50	8803	2833	466,538,109

Comment [HY3]: NOT SURE WHAT THIS IS? VALUE IN SUDANESE POUNDS

Source: Takana (1998) compiled these figures from the documents of the reconciliation conferences between Arabs and Masalit at Geneina in 1997¹¹.

Table 2 Details of livestock looted from Masalit (1995-1997)¹¹

Year	Cattle	Camels	Horses	Donkeys	Goats	Sheep	TOTAL
1995/ 1996	758	142	80	61	1546	156	2743
1996/ 1997	1791	47	36	25	4011	150	6060
TOTAL	2549	189	116	86	5557	306	8803

The Masalit

Four Masalit focus groups were interviewed, including two in a village about 30 km south of Geneina^{6,10}, and two in the Kirundun IDP camp in El Geneina^{12,13}. Their

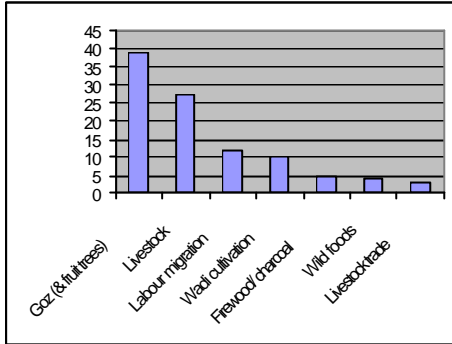
livelihoods before the crisis are very similar so this data has been combined, but their current livelihoods are considered separately as they raise different issues.

Livelihoods before the crisis

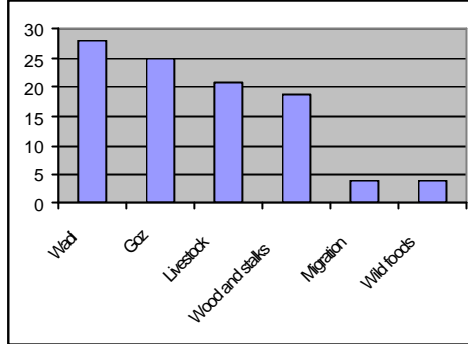
The Masalit are traditionally sedentary farmers, including cultivation of goz and wadi soils, with sedentary livestock production. The sources of food and income of the Masalit focus groups are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Livelihood strategies for the Masalit before the crisis¹³

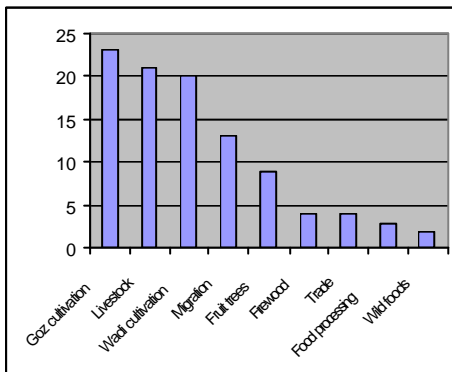
Gokur



Chagwa



Kirundun (IDPs)



In the rain-fed agricultural areas sorghum is cultivated on clay soils and millet on sandy goz soil with ground nuts. Irrigated agricultural is practiced along the banks of the seasonal rivers (wadis) in winter and summer seasons mainly for the production of cash crops (millet, sorghum, tomatoes, lubia, cucumbers, chillies, onions, fowl masri, small onions, potatoes, ladies fingers, sesame, watermelon, hibiscus (karkadeh), green leafy vegetables (*jirjir, bunga*) sugar cane).

Fruits, including mango, guava, oranges, are an important cash crop for the area, and traders would previously take mangoes, watermelons and other fruits from Dar Masalit to other parts of Darfur for sale. Food processing included processing of vegetable oil and milling.

Livestock

Farmers combined agricultural cultivation with livestock production. According to the Focus Groups livestock in order of importance include; sheep and goats, cows, camels, horses, chickens and donkeys. As mentioned before these livestock would stay within

their area and did not migrate far. The focus group commented that previously for them there were no problems of over-grazing or watering.

Typical livestock holdings before the crisis are shown in Table 3. Only the very rich farmers would employ herders to look after their livestock. Livestock is sold in local markets or taken to the larger livestock markets including, Geneina, Habilla and Fora Boranga. These markets are the primary markets linked to terminal livestock export markets of Nyala. Fora Boranga is an important center for cross border trade with links to Central Africa and Chad to the west.

Table 3 Typical livestock holdings before the crisis for Masalit farmers¹²

	Poor	Medium	Better Off
Goats	10	100	200
Sheep	5 to 10	50	200
Cattles	7	20 to 50	200
Camels	1 (massara)	2	5
Horses		1 to 2	1 to 2
Donkeys	Every family member has his/her donkey		

Livestock owned by the Masalit would stay within Dar Masalit and did not migrate far. The herders would stay with their animals. They used to sell about 40 - 50 goats and sheep in a year. They would isolate these and feed them up to increase the sale price. Similarly the off-take of cows would be 45 – 50 every year. In addition, butchers would go to the villages and buy animals for local sales of meat.

Livelihood strategies of the poorer farmers included; collection and sale of wild foods, collection and sale of firewood, grass for fodder; and hiring out ones labour and horse to plough wadi soils. For one group, charcoal was produced in their village, and collected by traders in trucks. In another village they used to cut wood for building materials for sale in El Geneina.

Wild foods grown in the area included Erdeb, lalob, girdem, nabak, yasur, mukheit. Erdeb and nabak was considered to have the best resale value. As a famine food during drought the most widely used wild foods were mukheit, erdeb and nabak.

- Labor migration and remittances

As early as the 1940s the Masalit have been engaged in both temporary and permanent labor migration outside of their Dar. These processes were motivated by increased standards of consumption and the impossibility of making enough money locally to meet those standards combined with opportunities for wage employment especially in the rain-fed mechanized agriculture. Early studies and censuses quoted by Tully (1985) noted a marked male deficit especially in the aged group of 11 – 50 age group in Dar Masalit in the 1950s and 1970s as a result of this migration¹⁴. In the seventies, there was a marked increase in female migration in 1970s as they were more likely to go with or join their husbands.

Apart from movements within Dar Masalit (which are not considered migration by the Masalit) there are three broad categories of migrant destinations:

1. Migration within the Darfur region usually temporary or seasonal to other parts of Darfur during the summer, for example to El Fasher (with livestock trade), and Nyala and south Darfur for 3 to 4 months seasonal agricultural work. This might also provide the opportunity of raising sufficient resources to migrate to other destinations. (62%)

2. Migration to other parts of Sudan especially eastern Sudan dates back to the 1940s and the development of irrigated agriculture⁵. Gedaref is a well known destination point for the Masalit where they have established villages in the area and are engaged mostly in agricultural activities and to some extent in non agricultural activities as their primary occupation. This is both temporary and permanent labour migration (where migrants lose touch with their relatives in Dar Masalit). 28%

3. Migration outside Sudan to Libya, Saudi Arabia and to a lesser extent Iraq. The decreasing wage rates in Eastern Sudan and the oil boom in the Middle East in the seventies and early eighties made destinations outside of Sudan more attractive. 20% Libya provided the most feasible option as compared to Saudi Arabia and Iraq. Travel to Libya was cheaper, required minimal processing of traveling documents if any; and most importantly labour migrants enjoyed strong support from Masalit communities established in Kufra and elsewhere in Libya.

There were two main land routes to Libya; first from Geneina to Tina in north Darfur and through the North Darfur desert to the Libyan border town of Aweinat; and second to El Fasher, and onwards to Mellit, where trucks frequently left for Libya. Most of the Masalit work as farmers in Libya taking advantage of their existing skills as farmers.

Previously migrants from Dar Masalit sent back both cash and other commodities such as clothing, beds, food etc. Temporary short-term migrants usually brought their savings back with them, when they returned home at the end of their stay⁶. The amounts of remittances sent back to relatives in Dar Masalit varied according to the responsibilities of the migrant (single or family provider). Labour migrants with families in Dar Masalit previously would be able to send back approximately 300,000 to 400,000 Sudanese

⁵ The cotton plantations of Gezira and Greater Khartoum, which received many western migrants, was not a major destination for the Masalit. Cotton picking was not economically attractive for the Masalit who are primarily men, while wage labor in Gezira was based on the predominance of women? Children? in the picking labor force of family groups (Tully 1988)

⁶ This finding is in an agreement with Tully (1988), who studied the savings made by Masalit migrants especially those in temporary migration. **14. Tully D. Labor Migration in the economy and society of Dar Masalit. Washington, DC, 1985:1985. 159-169.** He pointed out that the low rate of money brought back was not because savings are sent as remittances, but rather was because of poor communications and that migrants have little spare income to send as remittances. This was mainly due to the seasonality of labor, savings/ expenditure on food and lodging while hoping for another job in the dead season. Yet for many, labour migration was a source of cash and assets that was used as capital in Dar Masalit. He also found that families of migrants cultivated slightly more land per capita than families without a migrant in the household (ibid).

Pounds (US\$117 to \$156) every six months. And those who are single would send back around 100,000 to 200,000 Sudanese Pounds every year (US\$39 – US\$78)¹². The other group concurred with this and suggested that the amount sent was between 200,000 and 300,000 pounds (\$78 - \$120) two or three times a year.¹⁵

Migrant workers in Libya were expected to earn in the range of 100 to 150 Libyan dinar (\$75 - \$110) per month (between US\$900 and US\$1353). These figures were in broad agreement with the teams findings in El Kufra (Chapter 5). The migrants to Saudi Arabia are similar to the temporary migrants as they wait until they return back to Dar Masalit to bring their money.

Cash remittances were either hand-carried, sent through the Hawala system, or very occasionally through banks. Only the better-off ('rich') including traders and those working legally with regular income have bank accounts. Some Masalit migrant workers in Khartoum used to send money back to Darfur through the banks accounts of traders they knew and trusted.

Masalit - Livelihoods after the crisis

Large numbers of Masalit were living in displaced camps around El Geneina or had fled to refugee camps Chad. The team visited one IDP camp in El Geneina (two focus groups) and two groups of Masalit who were living temporarily in rural areas about 20 km south of El Geneina. In the IDP camp two focus groups, one for men and a separate one for women^{12,13} were interviewed. They represented communities from 15 Masalit clans from different villages.

Kirundun camp for displaced people in Geneina is a ghastly collection of tatty temporary shacks and shelters clinging to the side of the wadi. The contrast with the well-ordered and well-constructed shelters in the large IDP camps in Kutum and El Fasher in Northern Darfur is stark. The IDPs in Kirundun camp are all Masalit. Most people arrived in Kirundun in small groups between November 2003 and January 2004. Their villages had been attacked and burned in August 2003 in the early morning. They fled and were in hiding on the farms in neighboring areas for 2 to 3 months. Then they traveled on foot to seek safety, first to Habila, and then south from Habila, to north of Khorbanga but *'antonovs were attacking everywhere'*.

These IDPs lost much of their capital, particularly livestock, during the systematic attacks on their villages. What little was left has been exhausted, and in Geneina as an IDP there are few if any livelihoods strategies available to them.

None of the men or women interviewed from the camp was cultivating land in preparation for the current harvest. Although, some older family members (who were considered less vulnerable) had returned to their villages, to plant and harvest what they could. They would hopefully return later with some food.

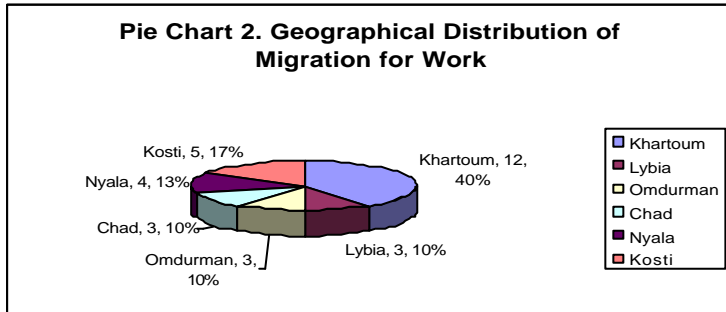
For the most part the IDPs depend on food assistance (85% of their food and income source). Some men work in Geneina as casual/daily labourers (2,000 pounds per day).

Daily labor firewood collection and begging are the only livelihood strategies available to them, but even they are extremely restricted, incur risks and produce low returns. They are not able to collect firewood outside the boundaries of the town as they will be attacked by Jinjaweed, who attack men and rape women. It is still safe to collect firewood from the wadi, but difficult to find. Older women, and some children continue to gather grass for fodder and firewood, as the risk of attack is less.

Young women constantly run the risk of sexual harassment and for that reason they are confined to the camp most of the time. Similarly men can not be involved in fire wood collection or any activities out side the town because they run the risk of being kidnapped and killed. Daily labor (2,000 pounds per day) in construction and building reportedly carries a high risk of injury, and given the large labour supply is very limited. A limited amount of domestic labour for women was also available.

Labour migration is not an option for most IDPs, because of insecurity and lack of funds for travel. Although large numbers of Masalit remain outside of their Dar working as labour migrants. A survey by Concern International in West Darfur showed that one in four families had a family member working away (Figure 3)¹⁶.

Figure 3 Geographical distribution of labour migration from Dar Masalit¹⁶



All the IDPs have their own sheikhs. Some of the previous sheikhs were killed by the Jinjaweed or have left for Chad, so new sheikhs had to be appointed particularly to deal with NGO related administrative issues. Also some old sheikhs had more people than they could cope with, which was another reason for appointing new sheikhs. There was generally little faith in the newly appointed sheikhs, particularly those who were selling ration cards thus restricting access to food assistance.

Those who arrived in Geneina earlier in 2003 had received food assistance four times, including sorghum, oil, wheat flour, lentils, and salt. There were many complaints about food distribution. There were many people without ration cards (15-30 people for each sheikh), which has prompted people to leave for Chad or to go back to their land temporarily, despite continued insecurity and presence of Janjaweed. Those returning to

the land were mainly older people, who were generally considered less vulnerable to attacks by the Jinjaweed.

Their goals for the future include guaranteed security, and getting back to their land and their livelihoods. Education was also mentioned.

Masalit 'squatters' in Gokur and Chagawa villages, Geneina^{6,15}

The people interviewed in Gokur and Chagawa villages had been on the move since their original villages were attacked in 2003 by men in military uniform on horses and camels, supported by aeroplanes and armed vehicles. They burnt their villages, and destroyed what they did not loot. Their families had split up, some gone to Chad others to IDP camps in Geneina. The group estimated that most people (about 75%) went to Chad, while 25% went to Geneina. This decision was mostly related to security.

They had suffered continued attacks since this time and they believed the Jinjaweed who attacked them recently were the same Jinjaweed who had previously looted their livestock and other possessions. One group claimed they have seen their looted livestock grazing in nearby areas¹³. They were surrounded by Jinjaweed who are very intimidating – randomly firing their guns in the air, allowing their camels to graze farms etc.

The group in Chagawa had returned to their original village after seeking safety in Geneina. Previously there were about 420 families who used to live in the village, and only about 10 families came back 5 months ago. In Geneina *'it was very difficult to get food, and we suffered so much we decided to come back to our village, to stay here, and to take grass to Geneina and sell it there'*⁶ They described how only some of them had been able to get ration cards, as this required a payment to the sheikh of 2000 to 5,000 pounds (2 US\$). They had been trying to raise money to pay the sheikh, but his supply of cards had ran out so this was no longer an option. The young women from this group were currently living in the camp in Geneina as it was considered too risky for them to be in the village. Those who had returned back to the village were generally older women members of the poorest families; their clothes were in tatters and they appeared very frail.

On their return they had found their land as it was; no-one had taken it but the Jinjaweed were present. The school was burned, the clinic looted and the pump destroyed by the Jinjaweed.

To reach to Geneina to sell their grass they have to travel on foot by hidden backways to avoid the Jinjaweed. They have tried as best they can to cultivate their surrounding fields, and following the harvest will return back to Geneina.

In contrast the group in Gokur were squatting in abandoned houses. Individual men, older people, women and young children had come to the area seeking the relative security and protection from the nearby military post. The new occupants were living

together in the abandoned houses struggling to cultivate nearby fields and so reap a harvest. Although they were a group, they were not relatives, and their only common feature was their tribe - Masalit and the fact they had all suffered attacks. There were visibly a lot of older people in the area, some of whom were included in the focus group. Some older women were suffering from iodine deficiency disorders, as indicated by the presence of prominent goiters.

Even though they are still living on the land most of their former livelihood strategies are now closed to them. All their assets and stores were stolen or destroyed. They can only cultivate land that is within the village and are afraid to go to their fields outside. They have no livestock, not even chickens, which is reportedly a sign of dire poverty in rural Darfur.

The road to Libya is now closed and no remittances are coming from there. One young man reportedly had returned to Dar Masalit from Kufra, southern Libya in April 2004. He traveled from Kufra in Libya through Kufra to Geneina and brought with him 800,000 pounds (US\$).

Also, no-one had reportedly traveled to or from Omdurman, so help from that source has also stopped. The road to Geneina is unsafe and little news gets through. In Gokur and Chagwa they risk beatings from the Jinjaweed if they move outside the village or far from the military camp, so they dare not leave the village to collect wild foods or firewood. In addition the trees and shrubs of wild foods had been grazed by camels.

For firewood they are using the wood from the abandoned houses which are empty. They were surviving from the food aid they had received and the previous limited sales of grass. Also they have received some help from their families in Geneina.

A few kilometers from their current homes, the camels of Jinjaweed graze freely in fields of growing millet and sorghum, and have also grazed the wild foods. The Jinjaweed are armed and generate fear by randomly in the air. The Masalit are anxious that soon these camels will come to their fields, and they have no means of stopping them grazing. They informed the military who come and talk to the camel owners and take information.

Their Sheikhs and Omdas are in Geneina, so they have no local leader and have come to rely on themselves. They occasionally meet with their sheikh when they travel to Geneina although he has nothing to do with them and cannot help them. They received no help or support from the richer members of their tribe. Before they would have been able to borrow money from a trader, but there are now no traders visiting the area.

Currently all the hopes of the Gokur group were in the coming harvest (goz cultivation), which is threatened by the camels grazing just nearby. If there is security they will have a small harvest but if not, and the harvest fails, they will be forced to leave to find help in Geneina. Security is therefore their most important goal. The Chagwa group were much more blunt 'the Jinjaweed should go away from here and unless they go far away there

will be no peace'. They had no trust in the government *'it killed them and burned their villages and took their property and animals. There is no justice in Sudan'*.

For the people of Chagwa their short-term goal is to try to raise cash to buy a ration card, and for the future want life as it was before, except they see no future with the Arabs.

Conclusions

The systematic attacks and asset stripping of the Masalit have drastically diminished their assets, and left them with very limited livelihood strategies. As a result their hopes and goals for the future focus on the immediate pressing needs of protection, security, justice and food. They dream of getting back to their land and livelihoods, where issues of access to education and health would once more become important.

Households were being strategic as they tried to cope with the collapse in livelihood strategies and insecurity. Displacement is not a 'one-time' option. Villages have broken up, some members going to Chad others to different parts of Dar Masalit, including Geneina. Among the IDPs in Geneina, some members were going back to their land seasonally, despite insecurity and high risks, in order to cultivate and to collect grass for fodder. This was in part because of the inequitable distribution of relief and corruption associated with it. The sums involved are small to outsiders but prohibit the poorest from obtaining aid. Therefore conflict is disproportionately affecting the poor who cannot play the system.

The plight of the elderly was highlighted – their responsibilities for collecting firewood, fodder for sale, and returning to the villages to plant, were among the few available livelihood strategies. More importantly they protected the younger men and women who were vulnerable to attack and sexual violence, but nevertheless exposed the elderly to high risks, which was a price they were prepared to pay. In this context, the particular needs of older people must be specifically assessed and addressed by the international community.

These findings raise questions as to how to monitor and extend security beyond the urban areas where people have returned, and allow freedom of movement in and out of the towns, particularly where livelihood strategies (cultivation, collection of firewood, fodder and wild foods) depend on it. Last years harvest is long finished, and next year may seem a long way off but leaves little time to re-start the local negotiations necessary to ensure that camel herders do not allow their camels to graze farmland. This must be seen as a pressing priority.

Among the relief community, there is a need to recognize the important seasonal dimensions of displacement and relocation linked with livelihoods. Also the heavy reliance of communities on older women who risk returning to their villages, and younger women who are working in the towns needs wider recognition.

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Livelihoods In Kebkabiya Area

Introduction

Kebkabiya province lies north of the Jebel Mara mountains and includes some of the most fertile agricultural land in Darfur. The province consists of four Localities (Seraf Umra and Seraif Beni Hussein in the west and Jebel Si and Kebkabiya to the east). Its capital is Kebkabiya town, the resident population of which is reported to be 21,000, while the number of IDPs there in October 2004 was estimated at 49,264.¹ Increasing numbers of IDPs were reported to be coming into Kebkabiya, people who were reportedly affected by drought rather than by conflict.

The atmosphere inside the town of Kebkabiya at the time of the team's visit was generally extremely tense – at curfew, people visibly fled the streets and were afraid to venture out. Foreigners were treated like welcome rescuers, with IDPs constantly greeting them and thanking them for coming. The overcrowding was visible: compounds were packed with temporary shelters and dwellings and often accommodated up to 20 or more families, where previously there had been only one. In contrast, there were certain areas of town that looked relatively normal and uncrowded.

The original tribes in Kebkabiya were Fur and **Tama**. The Northern Rizeigat Arabs moved here from Kutum area; they included Ireyyat, Iteyyat, Mahamid, Zabalad, Owwad Zeid and Owwad Rashid.² Zaghawa groups moved south from Dar Zaghawa in the 1970s and 1980s,^{3,4} including the 'blacksmith' group the **Haddahate**, who are a sub-tribe of the Zaghawa.⁵ The Gimr moved to Kebkabiya from the west, some from Chad. Other tribes in Kebkabiya include the **Berti and Tunjur**. The head of the Native Administration in Kebkabiya town is a Fur **Omodiya**, and there are sub-omdas of other tribes under him, including Zabalad, Zaghawa, Gimr, **Tama** and Crowbat (part of the Fur).⁶

How the conflict has affected the area

Attacks on Fur and Zaghawa villages reportedly took place between July and September 2003. People fled their homes and hid in the neighbouring area, and many made their way to Kebkabiya, where a camp for displaced people formed on the outskirts of the town. This IDP camp was repeatedly attacked in November and December 2003, and people moved into the town itself for safety.⁷

Security in Kebkabiya has reportedly improved with the arrival of African Union monitors and more international NGO staff.⁷ However, women still feel they are in danger, and cannot go out of the town to collect firewood as they risk rape.⁸ Pregnant women have been attacked and physically beaten, including being hit in the stomach. On the second day of the team's visit, 10 women were reportedly raped, although the team was not able to interview the victims.

Presence of opposition groups

None of Kebkabiya province is actually held by rebel opposition groups. There are frequent attacks by troops from both sides in the conflict, rebels and government forces. When rebel/opposition groups pass through an area they are frequently followed by 'Jinjaweed' (government armed militia), who attack local residents because they suspect them of supporting the rebels. Conversely, military posts are attacked by rebel groups, and rebels have also reportedly stolen livestock.⁹

Not all of Kebkabiya province has been equally affected. Detailed descriptions are given below for a number of different groups, including IDPs (Fur and Zaghawa in Kebkabiya town), Gimr residents and IDPs in Kebkabiya, and Arab groups in rural areas west of Kebkabiya.

Displaced Fur people in Kebkabiya

Following the attacks on Fur villages in Jebel Si locality, there was almost complete displacement of the people there to either El Fasher or Kebkabiya. There are reportedly 32,000 IDPs from Jebel Si living inside Kebkabiya town.⁶ Estimates of the numbers living in the mountains vary from about 5,000⁸ to about 26,000.⁷ These figures are extremes, and the correct number is somewhere in the middle. Fur are still living in the mountains behind Kowra (on the main road from Kebkabiya to El Fasher). Most are not living in their original villages but are hiding in the nearby mountains. Their Omda is living in Kebkabiya.⁸ The original population of Jebel Si locality was 68,000, which indicates that 45 per cent have left the area, or that much larger numbers are unaccounted for within Darfur.

One group of women from Kumomo village in Jebel Si described the attacks that took place in July 2003. Armed men on camels or horseback, supported by government troops directly attacked people in their villages, burned their houses and either stole or destroyed their property, including livestock. Trucks were used to carry away the loot. Girls and women were raped and, in the desperate flight to safety, some left behind children. People were in hiding for one month to 40 days and lived in very tough conditions, living off wild foods and relying on relatives who took them food as best they could. Some lived in the wild for two months or more before arriving in Kebkabiya.⁸

Out-migration from Darfur

Better-off households could afford to travel to Khartoum, El Fasher or Nyala.¹⁰ The costs of travel are considerable; the journey by bus to Khartoum costs SP 100,000 (about \$40).⁷ Local leaders estimate that approximately 30 per cent of the Fur groups in Jebel Si have left for Khartoum, while the other 70 per cent are in Abou Shouk and Kutum.⁶ Life in Khartoum is reportedly very hard and some have returned, as they could not find a place to stay or the means by which to live.¹⁰

Fur groups in hiding

There reportedly remain a significant number of Fur (about 10 villages) living in the mountains behind the settlement of Kowra (about 45 minutes drive east of Kebkabiya).

Because of their topography these areas remain relatively inaccessible and it is difficult to verify numbers. It is not clear whether people are able to live in their original villages or are in hiding in the mountains, **but** they are reportedly able to cultivate land.² Some relief has been organised by the Sudanese Red Crescent (SRC) and ICRC.

Livelihoods before the crisis

Fur leaders described how before the crisis in Jebel Si 'life was easy'. People bred livestock (goats, sheep and cattle) and farmed (sorghum, millet and cash crops such as sesame and groundnuts) on terraces built on the rocky hillside.⁶ There was some goz, but otherwise terracing was used for all crops. Wild foods were available, but were only eaten in the drought years – for example mukheit, which grows only in the goz areas.⁶

Fur women from Kumomo village described how they used to cultivate millet on the sandy goz soils and cash crops in the wadi, including okra, watermelon, sesame and groundnuts. They also had many fruit trees, including oranges and mangoes. Land holdings varied according to wealth: for example, a poorer family might have only 3–4 **mukhamas**, while a medium family would have 5 **mukhamas** and a better-off family up to 50 **mukhamas**.⁸

Similarly, ownership of livestock differed according to wealth groups. However, even poorer households owned some livestock: for example, 3–4 donkeys, 4–5 cows, 25 goats and 20 sheep. An average or medium household might have owned 5–7 donkeys, 40 cows, 50–60 sheep and 50–60 goats.

Labour migration and remittances

Labour migration was common among these groups. About 30 per cent of households had a male member who travelled in the summer to Khartoum and who returned in the autumn (April–May). In Khartoum they worked as labourers or in 'traditional trade' in small shops, or selling cigarettes, **soap**, '**local hats**'.⁶ Fewer men travelled to Libya or to Saudi Arabia (about 5 per cent went overseas). Very few women went, and then only to accompany their husbands.

Both clothes and money used to be sent back from Khartoum. A typical remittance before the crisis might be SP 100,000 monthly,⁶ and this would be used for basic needs, such as meat, sugar, clothes and schooling. From Khartoum, labour migrants were able to send money back either hand-carried, through banks or through the *hawala* system, which was more commonly used and continues to function even now.

The *hawala* system is organised around trade. The *hawaldar* agents are traders who agree on a transfer of goods from Khartoum to Kebkabiya, to the value of the monies being sent. The system depends on the agent knowing the migrant worker personally, while the worker trusts that the money will be handed over to the right people. There is no charge for sending a *hawala* and it is quicker than using the banking system. Sending money through a bank is more difficult as it requires documents (ID or a pas sport). The *hawala* system continues to work as far as Kebkabiya, where there are *hawaldar* agents, **but there were no agents in Jebel Si**.

Many young Darfurians went to Libya for a period of a few years, saving their resources and bringing them all back with them on their return, rather than sending remittances periodically.⁶ From Libya, the only way to send goods or cash to rural areas in Jebel Si was to personally hand-carry them.⁶

Livelihoods after the crisis (IDPs in Kebkabiya)

During the attacks there were widespread destruction of homesteads, looting of livestock, burning or looting of grain/food stores, poisoning of wells and destruction of.² Some villagers were unable to save anything though others, attacked later, were able to save some possessions.¹⁰ Grain stores were burned and grain stolen, including seeds. Nearly all livestock was stolen by the Jinjaweed as people ran to save themselves. One person described how the herd of stolen livestock was so big you could not see where it ended.

Clearly, the loss of assets has been considerable. Estimates of livestock losses are difficult to obtain. Local government officials estimate 6,000 head of livestock have been stolen,⁹ but this seems like a gross under-estimate, given that there are at least 7,000 displaced families in Kebkabiya.

The current livelihoods of displaced people in Kebkabiya bear very little resemblance to their previous livelihoods. Many more women are working than men, usually as domestic servants for very low wages, typically SP 1,000 (less than \$0.5) per day (SP 25,000 a month). There is some work for labourers constructing buildings (at SP 3,000 per day, or just over \$1). The high level of unemployment has led to a fall in wages – previously casual labourers received SP 5,000 per day. Since the conflict, the cost of the journey to Libya has increased due to the change in the route, which now runs through Chad. A trip costs SP 300,000 (\$117); in 1995 it was SP 3,000 via Mellit, although the exchange rate then was lower.⁶ IDP groups in Kebkabiya were able to communicate with their relatives in Abou Shouk IDP camp in El Fasher, via public telephone located in the El Fasher *souq*.

The cost of living for IDPs in Kebkabiya has increased since 2003. The cost of renting a one-room house, for example, has risen from SP 20,000 per month to SP 100,000 (from about \$8 to \$39).⁶ Renting a house is only an option for those with some cash resources which, according to one leader, account for about 20 per cent of the IDPs. Another 20 per cent live with relatives, while 60 per cent of IDPs live in the open or in hastily constructed shelters.

Another major household cost is firewood, which is used for cooking, heating and light. One donkeyload of firewood costs SP 7,000–8,000 (\$2–\$3), while previously it was SP 2,000–3,000 (about \$1). People used to have the option of collecting firewood for themselves, but currently this presents huge risks. IDP women cannot venture more than 1km beyond the periphery of the town because of the risk of attack and rape by armed militia/Jinjaweed. Only the pro-government groups, such as the Gimr and Tama can bring in firewood for sale.

Zaghawa IDP women in Kebkabiya¹¹

The Zaghawa women interviewed were from Suburna village, near Misteriya, 10–15km west of Kebkabiya.¹¹ The original population of their village was more than 20,000 and included many sub-tribes.

The Zaghawa moved to this area in the 1970s and 1980s from Korbia Dam, west of Kutum. In Suburna they came under the administration of the Fur Omda who gave them new, uncultivated land, for which they had to pay a fee. Those who arrived first, in 1972, were allocated larger farms of around 6–7 **mukhamas**, while those who arrived later got smaller farms of 3–4 **mukhamas**.

Their village was first attacked on 27 July 2003, at 8am. Armed Jinjaweed chased them and forced them to flee their homes. They were in hiding in the valleys for three days, before coming to Kebkabiya. The Jinjaweed took their animals in Saburna and also attacked their livestock herds, which were with their relatives on the livestock migration routes further north at a place called Janga. At first they did not know what had happened to their animals in Janga, but they have since seen them in the market at Kebkabiya, and could do nothing about this. Looting of livestock on the migration routes had happened before, in 2001, when a particular Arab group from Charad Zawia stole their animals.

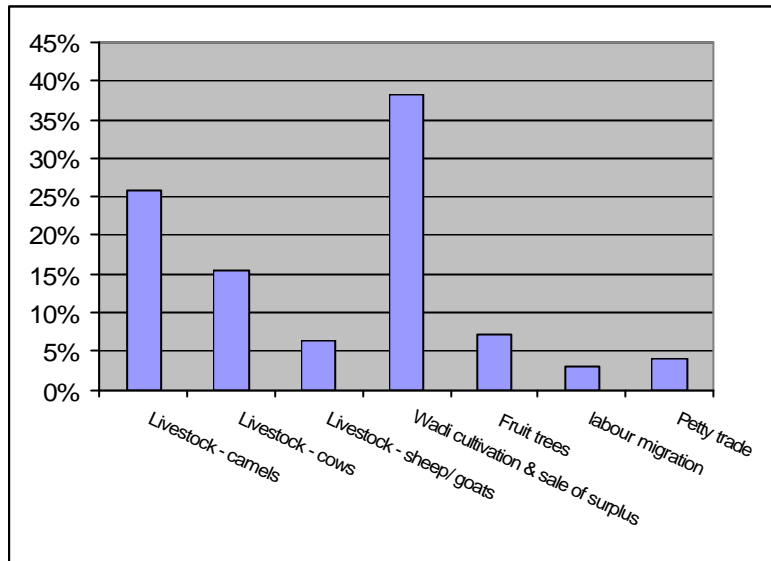
Livelihoods before the crisis

The livelihood strategies of the Zaghawa before the crisis included:

- wadi cultivation, including millet, onions, etc., with the surplus sold in Kebkabiya and El Fasher markets
- fruit trees – lemons, oranges, guava, mangoes
- livestock production and trade (cows, camels, goats and sheep)
- labour migration to Libya, Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

The relative importance of these strategies is shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Zaghawa in Saburna – sources of food and income before the crisis



This analysis represents the strategies of the better-off households: poorer families would depend to a larger degree on cultivation and less on livestock production. For better-off families, livestock accounted for 46 per cent of livelihood wealth, which from the same as for Arab groups.

The Zaghawa in Kebkabiya followed traditional livestock migration routes:

- in the autumn (July–September), they would drive their animals to Dar Zaghawa, **Wadi Seyrah[not Wadi Saleh?]** or Seyrou, **[or are Wadi Seyrah and Seyrou in Dar Zaghawa?]** where they would stay for about 15 days to one month
- in the winter (November–March), they went to Janga, west of Kutum, which is a Fur area
- in the summer (April–May/June) they would head south to Wadi Bari.

Livelihoods after the crisis

These IDPs have been in Kebkabiya for 14 months. In **the compound where the interviews took place** there were 25 families, all women and children, with no men present. Women have a chance of finding work as domestic servants and are paid SP 1,000–2,000 per day (about \$0.5), but for men there is very little chance of finding work.

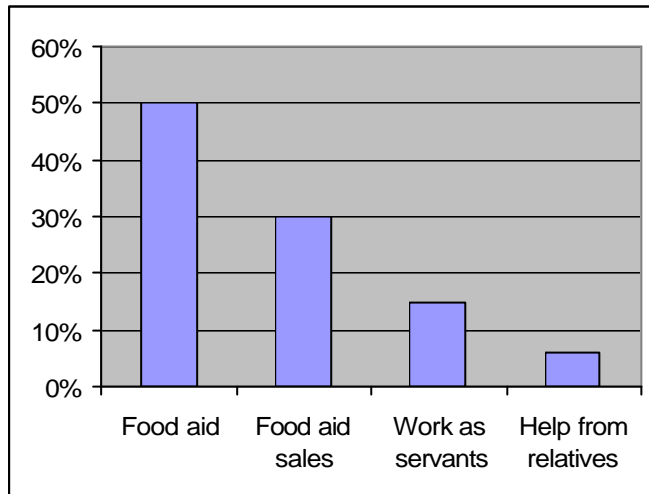
Their main source of food and income is currently food aid. The first food distribution was in October 2003, and they now receive food assistance every month. They sell a part of the wheat they receive to meet their other needs, and get SP 400 for one kora (US\$0.20). The price of sorghum is SP 250 per kora. They must pay rent for their compound, which is SP 10,000 per month per family (about \$4). There is one donkey in the compound.

When they first arrived, they tried to collect firewood outside of the town but were chased many times; now they have to buy it from the market. The costs are considerable;

one donkey load costs SP 12,000 (\$4-\$5). They try to use very little firewood when they cook, and have decreased the number of times they cook from three times to twice a day.

They are not able to borrow money because, as IDPs, they are deemed uncreditworthy. When they first came to Kebkabiya they brought some goats with them, but these were stolen outside the town.

Figure 2. Sources of food and income for Zaghawa IDPs in Kebkabiya



Relations between the Fur and Arab groups of Wadi Bari

The Arab and Fur groups of the Wadi Bari area, which stretches westwards, south of Girgo, and is administered by a Fur omda, have a unique agreement that allows the Fur to remain in their villages, protected from attack.¹¹² [differentiate footnote/endnote, or combine?] This agreement has its origins in earlier Fur/Arab agreements made before the current conflict, which were intended to address individual disputes between farmers and livestock owners and which provided protection against looting.

The Arabs came to the Wadi Bari area from Kutum and settled in Misteriya 40 or 50 years ago. They arrived in small groups seeking pasture for their livestock, and the Fur gave them land. Wadi Bari is currently an important area strategically for the Arabs, as it borders both West Darfur and North Darfur and attracts Arabs from different directions. There is an abundance of water and grass for their livestock.

According to the Fur leaders, the Arab and Fur ‘exchange benefits’. All market traders in Wadi Bari are Fur and the Arabs’ interest in these markets explains why they have made these agreements. Previously, markets were open as far as Golo in Jebel Mara, but currently sales are for local consumption only and market activity is drastically reduced (just 2 per cent of previous levels). Lorries used to come to collect sugarcane grown by

¹ The Fur omda in Birka Saiyra was also said to have made an agreement with Arabs.

Fur farmers, but during the conflict the area where it is grown has become insecure and livestock has been allowed to graze it.

The agreement is with members of the Um Jalloul, Ireycat, Mahadi, **Gimr and Tama groups**. Since the rebellion in mid-2003, the nature of the Fur/Arab agreement has changed and the Fur now pay for protection against other Arab tribes. The groups who protect them wear military uniform and are armed with guns, and are considered to be ‘an army of the government’.¹² Some members of the Fur in this area have joined the government armed forces themselves, and some have left for Khartoum.

There are approximately 30–40 village councils under this particular Fur omda, and to a large extent they have been ‘saved’ from attack, although there have been individual disputes. However, the local agreement does not protect their livestock, and other Arab groups who were not party to it have taken their animals. In addition, if individual families cannot pay, they are left unprotected.

The Fur do not work for the Arabs, but they do pay for protection in cash: SP 2,000 per person per month, which is **about SP 60,000 [per family/village?]** (\$24) per month. One village has around 10–20 armed soldiers, who secure its farms and protect the routes to and from other places. The Fur are forced to do this, as otherwise there would be insecurity and they would not be able to farm or rear their livestock. The Omda claims he has been **shot 28 times in local conflicts**. He knows if his people go to Kebkabiya, their houses will be lost. However, other Fur groups view the agreement with the Arabs as a type of exploitation or slavery.⁶

There are major concerns about the current shortages of rain and an expected drought in the area (some Arab farms have also been affected by drought). With far fewer livestock **than before?**, the Fur depend to a much greater extent on growing crops, and this year they have failed to produce what they need. The major concern is that if they do not receive assistance they will be forced to become displaced and will lose their homes.

Pro-Government groups – Arab, Tama and Gimr

Groups that describe themselves as ‘pro-government’ in Kebkabiya include various Arab groups and the **Tama** and the **Gimr (who do not identify themselves as Arab[but see p8 above])**. The Zabalad are responsible for the Native Administration of several Arab tribes in Kebkabiya, including the Mahariya, Sa’ada, Owwad Zeid, Mima and Shertiya.¹³ Areas in Kebkabiya where Arab groups are found include El Harar, Burjango, Jendama, Shoba Rohal, Johannai and Murgag but in the past they used to move around all over Darfur.¹³

Tama leaders described to the team how they were drawn reluctantly into the current conflict.¹⁴ Following various incidents of looting in 2002, which included some involving fatalities, they believed they were being targeted by certain Fur and Zaghawa groups. To begin with, they rejected the idea of mobilising their members by arming them and giving them military training. Eventually however, as a result of further incidents, including

government attacks on their villages, and their exclusion from discussions with groups supporting the opposition, they decided to support the Government and provided both men and money in response to the its call.¹⁴

Tama villages (Um Roota and Endaadi) and Gimr villages on the way to Birka Saiyra were left largely unscathed during the GoS counter-insurgency attacks. However, pro-government groups have been affected by rebel/opposition activity. Many Gimr were displaced to other Gimr villages after their own villages, such as Tairai and **El Shallal** were burned.¹⁴ Ori village was not burned but its people were displaced because they were scared of attacks. **Those Tama** who have been displaced to other **Tama** villages have been able to farm there.

The local deputy commissioner has sheets of complaints from individuals and groups who complain that, although they remain in their own areas, the crisis leaves them without resources, and therefore they also need support. This includes Arabs whose villages have been burned.

Arab groups also report rebel kidnappings. In one focus group, interviewees reported rebel attacks on their *fariq* (family-based herding unit) three months previously, when livestock was stolen.¹⁵ The military provides limited protection, but military posts are spread far apart.¹³

Arab groups in Wadi Shallal and Wadi Shoba area

Arab tribes in the Wadi Shallal area include the Owwad Zeid, the Owwad Rashid, the Um Jalloul, Turgem, Mahadi, Mahariya, Mima and Naweyba. A single sheikh can exercise administrative control over members of many different tribes. In Wadi Shoba, various Arab groups are administrated by the Mahamid group. Generally the groups interviewed felt that support from their own tribes was good – *‘the Sheikh and the Omdas are always present’*.¹⁰

There are 10 *fariqs* in the Wadi Shallal area. One *fariq* comprises approximately 3–5 families, and one family has 10–12 members. They stay in one place for about a month before moving on. The *fariqs* visited were adjacent to a deserted, burnt-out village, where a number of camels were seen to be grazing. In the wadi were many hand-dug wells, where women and children were watering large numbers of livestock (approximately 400–600 head of cattle, and many sheep, donkeys and horses).

Relations with non-Arab groups have become increasingly polarised since the start of the conflict. The Arabs reported insecurity and attacks by rebel groups, and said that in August 2003 around 150 houses were burned and destroyed in Wadi Umsunout.^{10,15} In the Kutum area, Arab villages that were burned included Girare, Barak Alla and Amo.¹⁰

Livelihoods before the crisis

Before the beginning of the conflict in 2003, those with livestock were mobile and could move freely to pastures and improved grazing, which meant that milk production was

high, and they could travel to get the best market prices.¹³ The Owwad Zeid interviewed in the Wadi Shoba area were originally camel herders, who established farms in Kebkabiya and Norgay.¹⁰ They then started to herd cattle and sheep along with the camels.

Before the crisis, livelihood strategies for Arab groups living in the Wadi Shallal area included:

- goz cultivation (millet)
- wadi cultivation (tomato, onion, millet, sorghum, ladies' fingers, sesame)
- livestock production and herding (camels, cows, sheep, goats)
- livestock trade (cows, camel, sheep)
- sale of milk, firewood, grass for fodder (tasks carried out by women)
- wild foods (gidem, mukheit, lalob, koreb, nabak, difra, jirjir)
- labour migration to Libya, Saudi Arabia, Egypt
- labour migration to Khartoum, Omdurman
- labour migration to Zalingi, Nyala, El Fasher.

Livestock provided the mainstay for several key livelihood strategies, including production, herding, sale via middlemen (agents) and traders, and small-scale trading of animal products (meat and milk). Interestingly, cultivation was listed first in this discussion, because in general everyone in this community cultivated crops, but not everyone had livestock (about 30 per cent did). Farmers acquired land through inheritance, and some bought it. There were very close relations between Arabs in this area and other non-Arab groups, including the Gimr, Tama, Fur and Burgo.¹³

Herders

Non-Arabs, including Fur, often used to employ Arab herders to look after their livestock. 'Friendly' herding agreements stipulated the terms – for example, in return for looking after 20 cows, the owner paid one cow per year. Before the crisis, agents would also recruit herders to take livestock to market in Kebkabiya, El Fasher or even further afield. Travel to Egypt and Libya was very often related to trade in livestock. On their return, herders would bring back goods, such as clothes, sugar, dates and soap.

Agents and traders

In the past, traders would come to Kebkabiya and send their agents to find the nomads from whom they would buy livestock. In addition to these outside agents, there were local livestock trade agents in El Shallal. These agents worked on behalf of larger livestock traders based in Kebkabiya, and travelled to the *fariqs* to purchase livestock. Traders provided loans to the agents of SP 1-2 million (\$400–\$800) to purchase livestock. The agents then received a commission or fee for each animal bought on behalf of the trader. Examples of agents' fees were:¹⁵

- camel SP 10,000 (about \$4)
- cow SP 5,000 (\$2)
- sheep SP 1,000 (\$0.5)
- goat 1,000 (\$0.5).

Livestock migration routes

In autumn (July–September), the camel herds were driven north to the El **Gisou** and Wadi Hawa area (Table 1). In summer (April–May/June), they went west to Um **Dukhon/Dokhon** near the border with Chad, and then started to move north from there to **Wadi Saleh**. After this, they moved to Tirage, Wadi Azoum, Saga, **Um Bari, Kebkabiya, Giar, Abusnuot**, [cf El Seraif study] **El Dor, El Jenag** and then on to **El Wakhaim** and the El **Gisou** grazing area in August, if the rainy season was good. **El Wakhaim** provided the best grazing sites for the camels, and here they would gain weight and condition and get pregnant.¹⁰ Access to this grazing land is no longer available, due to insecurity.

There are many routes north and south. Previously, Arab land owners would reach agreement with farmers about crossing their land; a member of the group would go ahead of the main herds to negotiate access and, if conflict arose, agree compensation. This was necessary because of the large size of the herds (200–500 camels at once).¹⁵

Cattle moved south to Um Bari, and Wadi Azoum during summer (April–June), and in autumn stayed in the Wadi Shallal area. Sheep and goats stayed with the cows.¹⁵

Table 1. Livestock migration routes, pre-crisis and current¹⁰

Season	Month	Area on the migratory route, pre-crisis	During the crisis
Winter – dry season	January	Wadi Azoum – Eltiraig	Area inaccessible
	February	Wadi Salih [Saleh?]	
	March	Kibar	
Summer – hot season	April	Um Dokhon[Dukhon?]	Wadi Azoum
	May	Wadi Salih – Eltiraig	
	June	Wadi Azoum – Saga	
Autumn – rainy season	July	Kebkabiya – Baray	Saga
	August	Um Sunoot[?] – Eldour	Kebkabiya – Um? Bari[Baray?]
	Sep/Oct	El Wakhaim – El Gisou	Jidar and Kebkabiya
Winter – dry season	November	Kebkabiya area	Area inaccessible
	December	UmBari/[Baray?] – Saga	

Camel breeding normally takes place in February (with a gestation period of 12 months) and depends on these traditional migration patterns, as they provide camels with the conditions they prefer.

Labour migration

The most common destinations for Arab labour migrants included Khartoum, **Wad Medani, Damezein** and **El Fao** within Sudan, and further afield to Libya, Egypt and Saudi Arabia. In addition, some migrants looked for work in **El Fasher, Nyala, Ed Daien** and **El Geneina**.¹³

As explained above, in the past young men frequently worked as herders, taking commercial livestock to markets in Libya and Egypt, where they would stay on to work

for a period of usually 3-6 months. Most worked as herders or as agricultural labourers, and rates of pay ranged from LD 150–200 (Libyan dinars: \$113–\$150) per month. Most would send back remittances to their families, ranging from LD 150 to LD 900 per annum (\$113–\$677). Remittances were previously hand-carried in the form of cash, or in kind as tents or clothes. The cash was used to invest in livestock and to meet daily expenses, especially food. Herders on the routes to Libya and Egypt would also hand-carry messages for their fellow tribesmen.

Livelihoods after the crisis

Livestock previously provided the core of the Arab groups' livelihoods, but the production, herding and trading of livestock have all become extremely difficult due to the situation of insecurity that limits migration and movement to markets. Clearly the Arab groups still own large numbers of livestock, though it is impossible to say to what extent their herds have been supplemented by livestock that has been looted.

Traditional camel migration routes used by the Northern Rizeigat have been problematic since 1997 (due to conflict between Arabs and the Zaghawa). Livestock movements are now confined to less than half of the normal migratory route (see Table 1). Herders may go up to West Darfur, but they cannot go north to **El Gizou**. There is subsequently a problem of overgrazing, which this season has been particularly bad due to the lack of rain.

The fact that livestock cannot be driven north in the autumn (July–September) affects the health of the animals. Previously, different types of livestock were kept apart from one another, but now they are all together in relatively close proximity (this was visible around the wadi area).¹⁵ Herders report that this has affected the condition of animals, leading to high rates of abortion and an increase in livestock diseases, such as tick-borne disease, *Jufar* and internal parasites.¹⁰ These conditions are particularly unsuitable for camels, 'which need fresh, clean air and hate bad smells'.¹⁵ One group estimated that two-thirds of its camels had already died, but no evidence was seen of carcasses and this was impossible to verify.

Routes to primary livestock markets are now closed and no outside agents have visited Wadi Shallal for more than a year. Lack of security along the main routes is one reason for this, especially in the case of the journey on foot to El Fasher, which passes through an insecure area between Kowra and Taweila. Currently all livestock sales are for local consumption only.

Figure 3 Changes in livelihood strategies among Arab groups living in the Wadi Shallal area

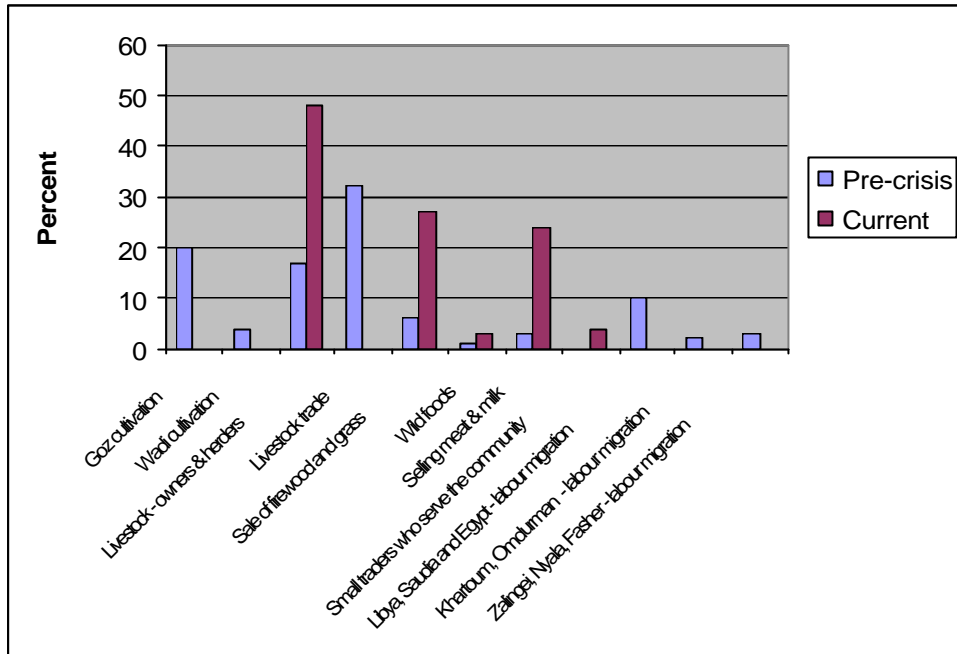


Figure 4 Changes in livelihood strategies among Arab groups in the Wadi Shoba area of Kebkabiya

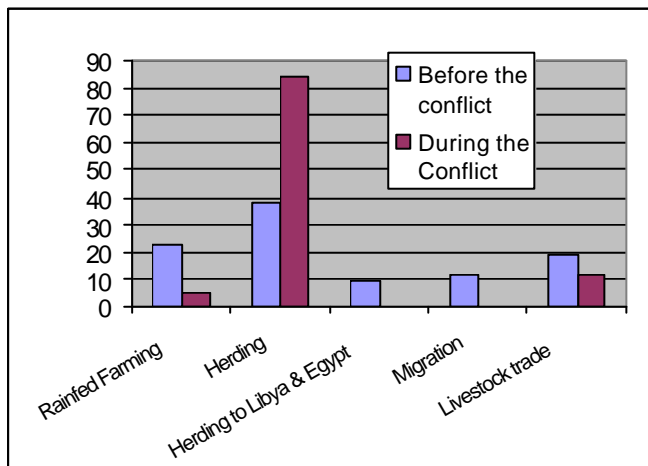
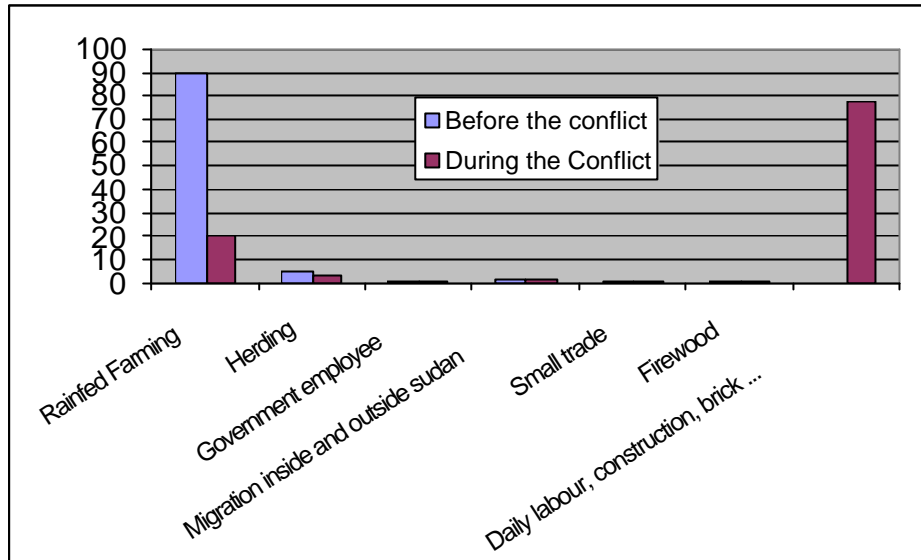


Figure 5. Changes in livelihood strategies among Gimr groups in Kebkabiya



There are also few communications between labour migrants in Libya and their families and the routes are generally considered closed. The only possible routes currently are by air or through Egypt. The amounts sent back as remittances have decreased substantially.

Rain-fed farming of goz and wadi has decreased dramatically for Arab and Gimr groups (Figures 3, 4, 5) due to insecurity, which has limited their access to land. Herding of commercial livestock to Egypt and Libya has stopped because markets are not functioning, and exports have ceased. Many of the poorer groups previously worked as herders on these routes. They now stay in livestock camps where they depend on other people. [?]

Rain shortages have aggravated the situation for all rural groups. This year, drought will particularly affect the food security of those groups trying to cultivate crops and rear livestock. Local government agriculturalists are expecting many people to be displaced because of drought and failing production systems.¹⁶

Livelihood goals

Local Arab leaders particularly wanted to highlight the lack of education and the high rates of illiteracy among Arab groups. Literacy rates, they report, are:

- Arab herders – 20 per cent
- non-Arab agro-pastoralists – 50 per cent
- richest livestock herders – 65 per cent
- traders (livestock and crops) – 85–90 per cent.

They attribute these low rates in part to the relatively limited access of Arab groups to educational resources and their general marginalisation within Darfur.¹³ They have undertaken a feasibility study and have been trying to mobilise support in Khartoum for their own efforts to develop Arab schools in the area. The immediate goals in the Wadi

Shallal area included education, security and peace, which underlines the real importance attached to education, alongside resolution of the current conflict.¹⁵ In Wadi Shoba, the immediate goals were security and food, while in the longer term people prioritised education, health and the purchase of farms.¹⁰

Clearly Arab groups feel marginalised within Darfur; they recognise that ‘the displaced are numerous [far outnumbering themselves] and they are seeking some kind of strength’.¹³ Similarly, non-Arab, pro-government groups feel marginalised by the international community, believing that international relief agencies see Darfurian people in rural areas outside the towns as the cause of displacement, with the result that they limit relief to the Fur and Zaghawa and to those who are displaced to the town.

Livestock trade

Prices of livestock in Kebkabiya have fallen significantly during the past year (Table 2).¹⁷ This is a result of the increasing difficulties involved in exporting livestock, caused by insecurity on the main route to El Fasher.

Table 2. Livestock prices (Sudanese pounds)¹⁷

	Prices per head before the crisis	Prices currently
Camels	Up to SP 2 million	Female SP 600,000 Male SP 500,000
Cattle	Average SP 800,000. Best-quality female SP 1.5 million	Best-quality female SP 600,000–1,000,000 Male 350,000
Sheep	Medium-size SP 80,000–90,000 Largest-size, up to SP 150,000	Medium SP 75,000. Largest-size SP 100,000
Goats	SP 80–100,000	Best-quality female SP 55,000
Donkeys	SP 60,000–100,000	SP 25,000–30,000

Before the crisis there were four or five big traders, and approximately 10 agents or middlemen, operating in Kebkabiya.¹⁷ Outside Kebkabiya, the main livestock markets were El Fasher for goats and sheep, Nyala for camels and Kuda (between Kebkabiya and Nyala) for cattle. Arab herders identified other markets in addition to the primary market in Kebkabiya: Seraf Umra (on the route to Nyala), the *souq el Arab* in Noumou, Misteriya, Kalla, Kasyia, Dir and Kurgul (all in Kebkabiya locality). Agents now tend to use these smaller markets, although they are still buying only for local consumption.¹⁵

The routes to Nyala and El Fasher are now closed to traders because of insecurity, and the only way that is safe is the El Geneina route. There are now reportedly between 5,000 and 15,000 sheep waiting for export in the area. The traders who bought livestock now cannot export them, and have lost substantial capital and are having to take loans from banks to stay afloat.¹⁷ As a result of the insecurity, the ‘big’ traders are said to have already stopped buying and left.

Conclusions and recommendations

The implications of drought in the area are extremely serious, both in terms of food insecurity among previously food-secure pro-government groups **and likelihood of increasing the risk of displacement; and in terms of the** impact that limited production will have on market supply and prices.

The international humanitarian response is reaching IDPs in Kebkabiya and is providing urgently needed life-saving assistance. There is no doubt that this relief is mitigating the very worst effects of the crisis.

However, among some groups the response is not considered to be impartial and, given the current scale of the crisis, it is generally felt that many citizens, in addition to IDPs, are in need of assistance. Among some groups, it is widely perceived that some organisations have not clarified real needs but rather have focused only on the displaced. This is obviously a difficult issue and must be dealt with sensitively, but at the very least international NGOs must be seen to be undertaking impartial and objective assessments of all needs, including those resulting from market failures, limited mobility, drought and food insecurity.

The risks facing IDPs as they try to collect firewood present the most pressing protection issues linked with humanitarian response. The issue of firewood further polarises the groups living in Kebkabiya, as pro-government groups are able to fully exploit a livelihood strategy that is lucrative in the current circumstances, while the IDPs have no choice but to buy whatever they can afford. Firewood for cooking fuel is an essential need that the IDPs are unable to secure, both because of the risk of attack if they try to collect it themselves and because of the lack of income to buy it.

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Annex 3

Livelihoods in Seraif, Beni Hussein

Seraif town, with a population of 39,000 people, is situated in the north of Seraif Locality, in the west of Kebkabiya Province.¹ At the time of the 1993 census, there were 109,000 people in the Seraif Area Council. The Beni Hussein are the majority tribe, while other tribes include the Fur, Zaghawa, Tamir, Gimr and Masalit, and Arab groups. Approximately 25 per cent of the Beni Hussein are pastoralists, while the other 75 per cent are sedentary.²

History of the Beni Hussein

The Beni Hussein are an Arab group that for some time have had their own '*dar*' or traditional homeland – Dar Seraif – and Nazirate (Native Administration). The location of the *dar* has shifted eastwards since 1928 (Figure 1, Chapter 2), when it was located closer to El Fasher than to its current location. During the Mahidiya era, many Darfurian tribes were forced to move east to Omdurman to support the Mahdi (see Chapter 2). The Beni Hussein refused, however, and instead migrated westwards to Dar Burgo in Chad. They later returned after the defeat of the Mahdi and settled in Jebel Elatasha in north Darfur.¹

Dar Seraif was established as an administrative division during the Turkish era, and confirmed as part of the Native Administration under colonial/British rule. Beni Hussein leaders still proudly display a pair of drums that were a gift from the British administration, and which symbolised their traditional distinction as rulers of a *dar*. They have managed to keep their tribal administration, despite the dissolution of the Native Administration by the government in 1970. The Nazir of the Beni Hussein has participated in all the reconciliation conferences that have taken place in Darfur.³

The Beni Hussein's traditional leadership proudly claims that they were one of the first Arab tribes in Darfur to form strong and stable relations with other tribes, including:

- with the Zaghawa to the north
- with the Fur and the Tamer to the east
- with the Gimr and the Masalit to the west
- with the Fur and the Arab tribes to the south.

They say they have no conflict with any other tribe, and have been careful not to attack or provoke other tribes. They consider their *dar* to be both stable and peaceful,¹ and have achieved this by using traditional systems of control over their own people, which have been maintained up until the onset of the current crisis. Before this, conflicts with neighbouring tribes generally involved isolated incidents that were often connected with looting. These could be dealt with through agreements:¹ for example, if there was any theft of livestock, it was the responsibility of the tribe that had control over the area to return animals to their owners. However, now that neighbouring tribes have become rebels, it is more difficult for the Beni Hussein to make agreements with them, as this

would cause problems with other groups. It is beyond the tribe's capacity to address this wider level of conflict on its own.

Local impact of the conflict

The Beni Hussein tribal administration has been approached by both the Government and the opposition, seeking its support in the current conflict.¹ However, the position of the Beni Hussein is that they have no wish to 'take sides', and they want Dar Seraif to provide a safe haven for different communities and tribes. They have now been left alone. Their geographic location has enabled them to maintain their neutral position, in that they represent a buffer zone between government troops, especially in Kebkabiya, and the rebel groups to the north.³

The Beni Hussein have suffered looting and the deaths of some of their members, partly because they have no alliance with the rebel Zaghawa/Bideyat groups to the north. Rebels have also targeted them when looting supplies, particularly of meat and other foodstuffs. When they have pursued looters, further conflict and deaths have resulted.¹

Despite this, the conflict has had relatively little impact on Dar Seraif; according to one source, 'they did not attack anyone and no-one attacked them'.² However, villages on the borders of the *dar* have been affected. For example, in November 2003 at Goz Naieem on the northern border, a quarrel between the Beni Hussein and the Zaghawa led to the Beni Hussein being attacked by rebels, with 14 people killed and 17 wounded.¹ The rebels have now taken control of that area.

Links with GoS, Khartoum

Members of the Beni Hussein have been trained as part of the Popular Defence Force, but the tribe has an agreement with the government that such men should only be deployed locally within the *dar* i.e. under local control and with the aim of keeping order and providing security locally.¹

Local informants suggested there were differences between senior officers and local men.⁴ One important Beni Hussein army official is General El Hadi Hamid, Director of the Border Intelligence Force, who is based in Khartoum but is from Seraif and is the brother of the tribal leader.

In the north-south conflict, individual Beni Hussein members have participated in the *jihad* in the south, although this was not supported by the Beni Hussein tribal administration. Similarly, some individual members have responded to the government's call and joined its armed militia. The tribal administration sees this as an individual livelihood choice, and does not support or encourage it.¹

Traditional systems of security and protection

The *Ageet* system is the tribe's traditional system of control and protection.¹ The Beni Hussein are divided into a number of groups each under the command of a leader known as an *Ageet*, whose role is to provide protection and security in a given area. There are many *Ageets* within the tribe, and they function as a kind of security force. These

commanders know everyone in their territory – ‘*who he is and why he came*’¹. If there is any conflict or looting, the *Ageet* will collect his followers to go after the transgressors. The *Ageet* system is an ancient and traditional one that the Beni Hussein have managed to maintain, but it is facing new pressures caused by the current level of conflict and looting.

Livelihoods before the crisis

Livelihood strategies of the Beni Hussein before the crisis included:

- livestock production (cows, goats, sheep, donkeys, horses, some camels)
- cultivation of crops, including on goz or sandy soils (millet, sesame, peanuts, ladies’ fingers, beans) and on alluvial wadi soils (sorghum, tomatoes, ladies’ fingers, watermelons, chillies)
- labour migration within Darfur and to Omdurman and to other countries, especially Libya
- small-scale trading, tea stalls, sale of prepared foods (kisra, foul,[explain?] yoghurt)
- sale of firewood/charcoal (the latter is limited to poorer groups)
- consumption of wild foods (difra, koreb, mukheit, nabak, lalob, girgedem, gidem): used mostly by poorer groups but more generally in years of scarcity.

The relative importance of these food sources is shown in Figure 1.

Seasonal migration of livestock

The seasonal migration of livestock involves movement south to summer pastures during the hot summer months, and northwards at the beginning of the rainy season.^{3,5} In summer (the hot season is from April to May/June), herders move their cattle southwards from Zalingi to summer pastures in Um Dokhan and Wadi Saleh. In July, at the beginning of the rainy season, they begin to move north and by August they reach Seraif and continue to Abusnuot. In October/November they move further north to Genit and in January they move up to the Gisou, returning to Seraif in February. By March they are in Wadi Bari, and in April back in Wadi Saleh once again.⁴ Their movements are dictated by the rainy season and by issues of security.

Table 1 Livestock migration routes for the Beni Hussein, Dar Seraif³

	Month	Area on migration route (pre-crisis)	During the crisis
Winter – dry season	January	El Gisou	Cannot access these areas
	Feb–March	Wadi Bari and Wadi Azoum	
Summer – hot season	April–June	Wadi Saleh	
Autumn – rainy season	July	Start to move north from the summer pastures	
	August	Seraif Abusnuot	Currently in Abusnuot
	September	Abusnuot	Cannot access

Winter – dry season	October–December	Move northward to El Genit	these areas
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Labour migration and remittances

Labour migration – mostly to Libya, but also to Egypt and Saudi Arabia – was very common before the conflict. According to one focus group, every household was said to have a member living and working in Libya⁵ (out of a population of 39,000, this would mean 6,500 men). The numbers of men going there reached a peak in the drought years of 1973, 1984 and 1991.

Libya was a popular destination as it was easy for men to travel there by lorry or as herders working their passage with the camel caravans. The majority of those in Libya are there illegally, with no identity papers or passport, working as herders, farm labourers, guards, construction workers, etc.¹ The period spent in Libya varies from one to two years, though some '*stay so long their wives ask for divorce*'.⁵ Hardly any women go, except for a very few who are the wives of officials.

In the past, groups of men from Beni Hussein travelled to Libya together and stayed together as a group. Remittances for the entire group were hand-carried back by an individual member returning home. The amounts sent back varied from SP 100,000 to SP 150,000 (\$39–\$58) a year.⁵ Apart from remittances sent to cover basic household needs, money was sometimes sent back to pay for festivals (e.g. Eid) or to pay for marriages or funerals.

The numbers working in Saudi Arabia, by contrast, are very small, with only five men from Seraif known to be working there at present.⁵ Most of those who go to Saudi Arabia do so legally. Remittances from Saudi Arabia were sent through the banking system and collected from banks in El Fasher, Kebkabiya or Zalingi, indicating that the work these labour migrants were undertaking was on a more official basis and was better paid. There is no *hawala* system in Dar Seraif because there are none of the larger traders who are needed to make it work.

Markets

There was a weekly market in Seraif, which was accessed by people in the surrounding rural areas. The important livestock markets were considered to be those at El Fasher, Kebkabiya, Seraf Umra, El Geneina, Nyala, Zalingi, El Obeid, Gebeish and Omdurman. There were no livestock traders with links to Libya in Seraif. The largest market for camels in North Darfur was in Mellit, though Seraf Umra was the main supplier to Mellit.³ Approximately 2,000 to 3,000 camels were exported annually to Libya through traders in Seraf Umra and Mellit.

Livelihoods after the crisis

The Beni Hussein have been among the least affected by the crisis of all tribes in Darfur, yet the indirect impacts of insecurity on access to markets, the availability of goods in

local markets and mobility (both of livestock and labour) have significantly affected their livelihoods. Changes in livelihood strategies are shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. Livelihood strategies in Seraif, pre-crisis and currently⁵

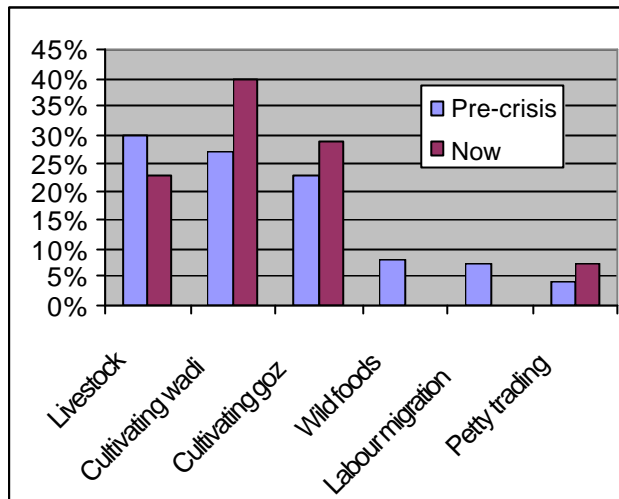


Figure 1 shows the importance of the cultivation of crops, on both goz and wadi soils, which previously accounted for about 50 per cent of household sources of food and income, while livestock contributed 30 per cent.⁵ These proportions were considered to be similar for poorer groups, although the amounts generated were smaller. The poorer groups also relied more heavily on wild foods and on the trading of firewood and charcoal.

The relative importance of cultivation (of both goz and wadi) has increased as that of livestock has declined. Of all the areas visited by the team, fields in this area appeared to have the best harvest prospects, with fields of millet and sorghum in particular appearing promising.

Curtailement of livestock migration

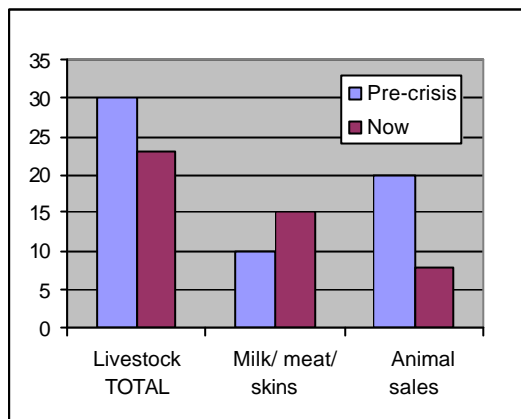
Currently livestock movements are severely restricted, and herds can move only within the *dar*, as far north as Abusnuot or as far south as Wadi Saleh. In the past, the Beni Hussein provided protection to nomadic members of the tribe. However, now that the level of conflict has escalated beyond individual disputes, the tribe cannot guarantee the safety of nomads, who might not be known to the warring parties. Previously, any theft or looting within the area of an *Ageet* was his own responsibility. The Beni Hussein predict that their inability to move with their livestock will quickly result in over-grazing and water shortages and will increase the potential for outbreaks of disease.^{3,4}

Direct consumption of livestock products

Since the crisis, livestock as a source of food and income has declined from 30 per cent to 23 per cent of the total. Livestock represents a source both of food and income through the production of milk, meat and skins (for own consumption and for sale) and through the sale of live animals. Before the crisis, about one-third of livestock-based food and

income came from milk, meat and skins, while the other two-thirds was from livestock sales (Figure 2). This pattern has now been reversed, with less than one-third of livestock revenue coming from sales, while the rest is direct consumption. When livestock production declines, households focus on wadi cultivation.

Figure 2. Proportion of food and income provided by livestock sales (live animals) and milk, meat and skins in Seraif, pre-crisis and currently⁵



Market shortages of basic commodities from Libya

The prices of goods imported from Libya have increased: a sack of millet now costs SP 10,000 compared with SP 100,000 previously, while the price of a pound of sugar has increased from SP 750 to SP 1,500. The reason for this is that roads are closed, because they are no longer safe.¹ In the past, a very important strategic trade route ran from El Kufra in Libya to Tina and on to Nyala through Seraif. However, this has been closed since March 2003, which has led to shortages of many basic commodities, such as sugar, flour, oil, wheat, rice, fuel, batteries and clothes. Very few lorries now pass through Tina to El Geneina.

Before the crisis, livestock owners would take their animals to the most favourable market – for example, El Fasher, El Obeid or Omdurman. Because of insecurity this is currently not possible, and livestock prices are now falling in Seraf Umra.

Communications and remittances

Women describe the two main implications of the wider conflict as being an increase in the numbers of IDPs in Seraif with whom they share resources, and their own inability to travel far, including for potentially life-saving trips to hospital in Kebkabiya or El Fasher. People travelling on these roads are frequently attacked.⁵

IDPs in Dar Seraif

The Beni Hussein Native Administration has allowed IDPs to settle within its *dar*, provided they abide by its systems. This effectively provides the IDPs with protection. The Beni Hussein Omdas estimate there are 13,000 IDPs in their area, mostly in small groups rather than in camps. Some IDPs have brought their livestock with them. Displaced people include the Owwad Mann and the Darok tribes, who were forced to move from Abou Jidad (in the Kulbus area) in July 2003, and are now in Octani.¹

Humanitarian assistance

Seraif town has received food aid once, in July 2004, but many people missed out as they were absent.² Immunisation was also carried out in August, 2004.

Goals

The current goals of the Beni Hussein are peace, education, development and the building of proper roads, particularly to Kebkabiya and to Nyala. Education is a particular concern: there are few teachers, and they are leaving as they are afraid to stay. Children cannot travel to town to take their examinations as the road is unsafe. University students returning from El Fasher have been attacked and robbed of their possessions along the way.

Conclusions

Seraif Locality is unusual in that the Beni Hussein Native Administration has striven to maintain security and stability within its *dar*. To do this, it has resisted supporting either the rebel opposition movements or the government counter-insurgency. Nevertheless, its traditional security systems have come under increasing pressure and they can no longer guarantee the safety of pastoralist groups in particular.

Unlike in other areas, few households have been attacked directly and therefore people have not suffered the direct loss of livelihood assets. However, the wider economic impacts of the conflict have been felt here, particularly the lack of mobility caused by the general situation of insecurity, which restricts livestock migration and the sale of livestock, and also labour migration, which has led to a loss of income from remittances. While income from livestock sales has declined, the use of livestock products as a source of food has increased. There are also shortages of basic commodities that were previously imported from Libya. Although the Beni Hussein are still better off than many other tribes, they are fearful of what is to come.

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Chapter 4

The Livestock Sector In The Darfur Crisis

The Livestock Resource in Sudan.....	1
Livestock Resources and Migration Patterns in Dar fur	3
Flock And Herd Structure In South Darfur.....	4
Livestock Trade In Darfur	6
Cattle and sheep - Muweli Terminal market (Omdurman).....	7
Camels to Egypt.....	8
Libya (Kufra) Route.....	8
Trekking costs.....	9
Off-take	10
Drought and Conflict-based Production Orientation	12
Shifting livelihood trends.....	12
Trade-Induced Production Expansion.....	14
The Impact Of The Conflict On The Livestock Sector In Darfur.....	18
Forceful Transfer of Assets.....	18
Changes in livestock migration patterns	19
The Collapse of the Livestock Trade	20
Trade to Libya	20
Trade to Muweli (Omdurman) and Egypt.....	21
Formation of crisis trade routes	22
Parallel Perceptions	22
The Rise In Consumer Commodity Prices.....	23
Increase in the prices of livestock.....	24
Tombac production and trade	25
Inefficiency of Grain and Commodities markets.....	25
Conclusion.....	25
References.....	26

The Livestock Resource in Sudan

Livestock production provides livelihoods for some 20 per cent of the population¹ and remains one of the major resource bases in Sudan. The livestock population in Sudan was estimated, in 2002², at 39,479,000 head of cattle, 48,136,000 sheep, 41,485,000 goats and 3,342,000 camels. These figures are equivalent to 52,504,000 tropical livestock units (TLU)¹. The Ministry of Animal Resources (MoAR) projects the annual growth rate in livestock population at 3.2 per cent for cattle, 3.3 per cent for sheep, 2.5 per cent for goats and 2.3 per cent for camels², despite an estimated off-take rate of 16 per cent for camels, 37 per cent for goats, 45.7 per cent for sheep and 20 per cent for cattle per

¹ 1 TLU = 250 Kg live weight = approximately 1 head of cattle; 1 camel = 1.3TLU; 1 sheep = 0.12 TLU; 1 goat = 0.07 TLU

annum, which is considerably higher than in the regional countries². The projected annual growth estimate³ shows Sudan as having the highest livestock population in Africa. The growth trend in the last five years is represented in the following charts.

Livestock is reared in all the 26 states of Sudan, although camels are not reared in some southern States. However, Blue Nile, El Gedaref, El Gezira, the Greater Darfur, Greater Kordofan, White Nile and Sennar states account for 56 per cent of Sudan's 52,504,000 TLUs.

Livestock used to generate 20 per cent of the national foreign exchange earnings¹. However, after the discovery of oil, this contribution has declined to below 8 per cent³. Livestock production in Sudan is predominantly pastoral¹ and a significant proportion of the livestock population is owned and managed by this sector. However, export demand-led production, particularly of sheep, and the growth in demand for local consumption of red meat⁴ is gradually gaining importance in the agro-pastoral sector and by those who invest in livestock.

Sudan is probably the leading livestock exporting country in the region in the past few years. Livestock and meat exports from Sudan are channeled through four routes. Nearly all live sheep and goats (and occasionally racing camels) are exported through Port Sudan. Chilled red meat is exported by air from Khartoum and occasionally from Nyala to various destinations. Exports through these two routes are formal and follow international trade procedures. Live camel export to Egypt is a cross-border operation through Dongola where only part of the export proceeds (amounting to \$175/head) is paid in foreign currency and the balance in Egyptian Pounds with which traders import goods into Sudan. Camel export to Libya is also a cross-border operation but this is considered unofficial. Traders import goods with the proceeds from Libya. On average, Sudan has been exporting over a million live sheep, about 150,000 camels (including the Libya route which is not officially accounted for) and less than 10,000 tons of red meat annually in the last decade except in 2001 due to the Rift Valley Fever (RVF) ban. As such, Sudan also served as a cross-border outlet for camels and sheep from Chad and also for cattle, camel and sheep from Ethiopia and Eritrea to some extent. The volume and value of livestock trade for 2000–2004 are summarized in the following charts (2001 is omitted for live animals due to the ban imposed at the time).

Sudan's annual export earnings from live animal are between US\$100 - \$125 million. The bulk of these earnings are from live sheep exports to Saudi Arabia where there are about 1 million Sudanese migrant workers⁴. Despite the conflict in Darfur, export earnings from livestock for the first two quarters of 2004 are close to the 2003 figures. Livestock authorities in Sudan continuously search for new markets and recent agreements with Egypt² will boost chilled/frozen beef or live cattle exports from Sudan.

²In Kenya: 25 per cent for shoats and 10 per cent for cattle. In Ethiopia: 8 per cent for cattle and 32 per cent for shoats.

³ The last census was carried out in 1970s.

⁴ Preference is for mutton but beef is cheaper

The annual value of chilled red meat exports is approximately over US\$20 million at peak.

Livestock Resources and Migration Patterns in Darfur

The Ministry of Animal Resources (MoAR) figures show that 18 per cent of Sudan's TLUs are from the Greater Darfur region. With Greater Kordofan, the two regions account for one-third of Sudan's total livestock resources. The bulk of the country's live sheep and camel exports, and cattle and sheep for domestic consumption are sourced from these two regions. Livestock species in Darfur include camels, cattle, donkeys, goats, horses and sheep. According to MoAR (2001), Darfur accounts for 21 per cent of the cattle, 22 per cent of the sheep and goats, 24 per cent of the camels, 31 per cent of the donkeys and 63 per cent of the horses in Sudan². Please note that these figures reflect the livestock numbers and not the TLUs.

Table 1. Estimates of livestock population in Darfur ⁵

	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Camels	Donkeys	Horses
N. Darfur	628,530	3,396,505	2,656,808	397,172	700,293	16,907
S. Darfur	3,851,663	3,471,773	2,756,688	74,950	535,129	233,986
W. Darfur	3,702,195	3,528,225	3,236,112	286,989	805,997	175,828
Total	8,182,388	10,396,503	8,649,608	759,111	2,041,419	426,721
Per cent of national herd population	21 per cent	22 per cent	22 per cent	24 per cent	31 per cent	63 per cent

Source: MoAR (2001)?????

In Darfur, livestock production is interspersed with crop production resulting in pastoralism, agro-pastoralism and crop farming. Economic activities in turn differ (overlapping in some cases) with the varying agro-ecological zones as explained in Chapter One.

The Baggara (cattle rearing) and the Abbala (camel rearing) are the two main pastoral groups of Darfur. They are traditionally nomadic but are increasingly becoming agro-pastoralists. The majority of these groups claim to be of Arab descent but there are also non-Arab Baggaras and Abbalas who, by adapting similar livelihoods, have assimilated with them over time. Such groups include the Fellata Arabs and Gimir in the Baggara group and the Zaghawa and Meidobs of the Abbala. The distribution of the Baggaras and the Abbalas within and outside Darfur relates to the particular needs of the livestock species they rear amongst other things. Thus, the Abbalas inhabit the semi-arid north and the Baggaras occupy the higher precipitation areas in the center and the south. The major Abbala groups in the north are the Meidob and Zaghawa and the dominant Baggara groups are the Beni Halba, Habbaniya and Rizeigat in the south.

The livestock migratory routes of both groups follow a general north (wet season) – south/southwest (dry season) direction. Few groups also move from northwest to

⁵ Livestock figures obtained from the MoAR in Khartoum differ from the respective Directorate of Animal Resources in Greater Darfur.

northeast direction. The Baggara move south to the Bahr El Arab River and, in some cases, enter the Central African Republic during the dry season. In the wet season, they return to Adila, Ed Daein and Nyala with some groups moving as far north as south of El Fasher Town (parallel 13.5) or westwards into North and West Kordofan. The dry season migration of the Abbalas is towards west or east of the Jebel Mara Mountains. Some of the Abbala groups move to Kubum and Rahaid El Birdi areas of Sudan or as far south as the Central African Republic. Others move into the northern fringes of West Darfur, Dar Reizeigat or into Chad. During the wet season, the Abbalas return north, some towards Wadi Howar and others as far north as the oasis of El Altrun in the Sahara Desert. Cattle and camels swap grazing areas during the dry and wet seasons. The dry season grazing areas for camels becomes the wet season grazing area for cattle when camels migrate further north. The wet season grazing areas for cattle becomes the dry season grazing reserves for camels as cattle move further south in the dry season⁵.

There are well-established traditional stock routes in Darfur, which have been in use for many years. The stock routes run in north-south direction. Within the national boundaries, these routes extend south into some areas of Kordofan, West and South Darfur and into the northern, southern and western parts of Bahar Gaza l. These routes are officially gazetted, have an average width of 100 – 120 meters and run into hundreds of kilometers. Cultivation and campfires are illegal along these routes. However, some of the routes have been altered due to weak law enforcement, expansion of farmlands and gradual changes for various reasons.

Table 2 Officially recognized stock routes⁵

Northern End	Southern End	Total length (Kms)
Wakhaiem	Um Dafogg	606
Wakhaiem	Foro Burunga	588
Wakhaiem	Garsilla	380
Wadi Howar	Dar El Taaisha	673
El Ba'ashim	Dar Fellata	467
Um Siddir	Dar Rizeigat	386
Um Sayala	Dar Fallata	357
Birka Jowro	Towal	371
Um Sayala	Dar Rizeigat	400
Khazan Kulkul	Dar Rizeigat	252
Tabous	Dar Rizeigat	391

Flock And Herd Structure In South Darfur

The traditional system flock and herd structure is related mainly to meat production with early off-take of males for sale and domestic consumption. A study undertaken by Dr Abdal Jabar in Daresalam area⁶ (North Darfur) indicates that the off-take rate for sheep (90 females and 10 males) at the agro-pastoral household level could be around 40 per cent. This figure concurs with findings of the FAO study⁷ for a flock of sheep comprising

52 breeding females in South Darfur. The off-take rate for a herd of 43 breeding cows in South Darfur is around 8 per cent per annum. Males are sold at 3.5 years old.

The FAO (1997) field study⁷ in South Darfur further indicated that:

- Sheep and goats flocks averaged about 43 head.
- Females account for more than three animals out of four in sheep and goats collectively; in sheep, females account for 77.8 per cent of the flock (breeding 55.8 per cent) and males 22.2 per cent (4.2 per cent older than 15 months);
- Flock structures are related to milk and meat production and dominated by females especially in age groups that are over six months; females thus account for 75.9 per cent of the flock with 49.8 per cent being breeding females that are more than 10 months old;
- In the agro pastoral sedentary system, 38.0 per cent of the animals were less than six months old, 15.7 per cent 6-12 months old (females accounting for 11.6 per cent and males for 4.1 per cent), 32.7 per cent were 13-24 months old (females accounting for 30.6 per cent and males 2.5 per cent) and 13.2 per cent were older than 24 months (no males) with 55.4 per cent of the flock being breeding females; and
- Sheep flocks in North Darfur comprised 90 per cent females⁸.

The study showed the following figures for cattle:

- An average of 106 head of cattle per herding unit with 80 per cent of herds having 50-150 cattle;
- Only 6 per cent of the herds have less than 50 cattle, 39 per cent hold 51-100 head, 39 per cent have 101-150 head, 14 per cent are in the range 151-200 head and 2 per cent comprise more than 200 head; and
- Herd structure is related to the dual functions of milk and transport: males account for 31.2 per cent and females 68.8 per cent of all animals. Males that are over 30 months old and are raised for pack use slightly outnumber those for breeding but only a few animals are castrated. Males that are over 30 months are in the ratio 1:6 to females of the same age in more mobile herds and in the ratio 1:7 in sedentary herds.

Table 3 Cattle herd structure in the Baggara system^{7,9}

Age (months)	Breeding	Males Pack	Total	Females	Combined Sexes
<7	-	-	8.7	10.7	19.4
7-24	-	-	8.4	10.1	18.5
22-30	-	-	4.4	5.2	9.6
31-39	1.8	1.3	3.1	5.2	8.3
40-48	1.4	1.3	2.7	6.3	9.0
>48	1.5	2.4	3.9	31.3	35.2
Total	4.7	5.0	31.2	68.8	100.0

Livestock Trade In Darfur

Major livestock production areas are scattered in the range of some 600-1,200 kms from the terminal markets of Sudan, the furthest production area is West Darfur. Migration patterns bring the herders close to the primary and secondary markets during the wet season and vice versa during the dry season. The efficiency of the marketing system is co-related to the distance of production areas and the seasonality of supplies, which in turn have led to the development of a unique internal livestock marketing system.

The livestock markets of Darfur, like in the rest of western Sudan, are highly broker-dominated. Some of these brokers may work as independent small-scale traders (Jelaba) and others as agents (wakils) or sub-agents for the big traders. The brokers collect cattle, camels and shoats from the scattered villages (through guarantors) and sell them to another broker in the primary markets. The second broker may sell to a third broker in the same market or in a secondary market and this process continues until the livestock are bulked into larger lots and reach the terminal markets. The final transaction in the terminal markets is also processed through brokers. The main agent of Hadub, a livestock trading company in Nyala, reveals that the Company operates through ten agents (wakil) who receive direct money transfer. He estimates that three to four middle-men operate between the producer and the each main agent¹⁰.

Agents also organize the trekking of livestock to the terminal markets for the big traders. Livestock are said to change hands a minimum of two and a maximum of six times between points of purchase and the final point of sale. In the process, stock may change hands, if not actual ownership, a number of times. Terminal market prices may double and in extreme cases increase to four times as much as that of the producer's price¹¹. Livestock for export are selected based on weight and appearance after reaching the terminal market.

The livestock marketing system is fraught with shortage of working capital (cash flow) from bottom to the top because of too many traders/brokers operating in a confined market and the rather too long turn-around time required to complete a transaction between points of purchase and the terminal markets. Despite operating largely on the 'trust system'⁶, most traders in Darfur exporting camels to Egypt and Libya or sheep and cattle to Muweli (Omdurman) and Port Sudan cannot manage more than two shipments per year because of the lengthy process of purchasing, collecting, assembling (fattening) and finally trekking the livestock for 45–70 days depending on the season, to the point of origin and destination markets. Keeping animals in feedlots for 60-90 days is also common even after reaching the terminal market of Muweli if animals appear weak or if prices are depressed because of excess supplies.

The seasonality of livestock supplies has led to the purchasing of cattle in bulk (mostly under trust transaction) and keeping them mainly on communal grazing areas and also in ranches before shipment.

⁶ A system by which only partial payment is effected to the producer/middleman/traders for animals purchased. The balance is paid after the animals have been sold at terminal or export markets.

Livestock from Darfur mainly trek to terminal markets in the following seasons:

- Between July and September (sometimes up to October) during the rainy season to take advantage of the available pasture and water. Stocks trek at leisure during this time (cattle for about 60 days and sheep for 70 days) to allow grazing and putting on of weight when they reach terminal markets.
- The trek during the winter season takes place between January and February when the temperature is low. For the rainy season shipment, trade stocks are collected and assembled locally between April and June and between October and December for the winter shipment. Stocks that are trekked in summer move faster to reach the terminal markets in 45 days, to minimize the risk of mortality. Occasionally, large traders may use trucks for the final leg of the journey, for example, from El Obeid to Muweli when transferring stocks on the railway at Kadero (Omdurman) if the final destination is Port Sudan.

High transportation costs by truck or railway deters traders from using such services after the collapse of the subsidized railway service⁷. This service used specialized block wagons to transport mainly cattle but also sheep from Nyala in the 1970s and 1980s. Traders mainly use the following trade routes from Darfur to various destinations.

Cattle and sheep - Muweli Terminal market (Omdurman)

- The Northern Route - Sheep from Kebkabiya, Seraf Umra and West Darfur are trekked through El Fasher, Umm Keddada and Foja to Muweli, Omdurman. Small numbers of cattle are also trekked on this route through North Darfur (about 3,500/year). Sheep from Mellit are trekked through Wadi Ousher and Maraya to Umbitetih, Jabra and then to Muweli. From Malha, trekkers pass through Hamrat, Alsheikh to reach Jabra. Trekking from El-Fasher to Muweli takes about 45-50 days.
- The Southern Route - Sheep and cattle from Fora Boranga, Reheid El Bedri, Bahar Al Arab and Tulus converge at Nyala. They then follow the 'early rain' route to north of the railway line to Mahartya and El Lait reaching Muweli through Foja or El Obeid. Foja serves as the last point, where traders monitor the market situation in Muweli. If the market situation is not to their advantage, they advise the drovers to keep the animals at Foja, (since there is no pasture from this point onwards) until the market improves. Up to Foja, stocks are trekked for 7-8 hours a day and from this point onwards at an accelerated rate of 14 hours a day. The distance between Foja and Muweli has to be covered in 15 +/- 1 days. Drovers receive extra pay for the last stretch from Foja. Some traders transport their stocks by truck from El Obeid to Muweli and/or Port Sudan.

⁷ A World Bank financed project that is no more operational since late 80's.

- The ‘late rain’ route runs south of the railway line crossing the railway at Ed Daein. The route then runs towards Guebesh and branches either to Foja or El Obeid before proceeding to Muweli.
- Mortality rate is estimated at 1 per cent for sheep and 4 per cent for cattle (some get lost). More camels are lost due to raiding – about 5 per cent.
- The Nyala Abattoir exports chilled mutton/chevron/beef by air intermittently to Jordan, Kufra (Libya) Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (UAE).

Camels to Egypt

- Id Ahmed serves as the converging point for camels from Darfur destined to Egypt. From Mellit (in North Darfur) trekkers heading for Id Ahmed travel through Mareiga or Umbitetih. Camels from West Darfur are herded through Kebkabiya and Seraf Umra to El Fasher and then proceed to Id Ahmed. Camels from South Darfur require armed escorts up to Umbitetih because of the prevalence of camel bandits. The animals then pass to Id Ahmed through El Fasher. It takes about seven days from Id Ahmed to Dongola (where official documents are processed) and a further 10 days to reach Wadi Halfa, the border point. In total, it may take about 30-35 days from North Darfur to reach Wadi Halfa. Donkey traders from Dongola use this route in the reverse direction. The route from South Darfur to El Fasher was not secure during the mission’s visit. Some areas north and east of El Fasher along this route are not secure at all.
- The famous forty-days (darb al arbaeen) route through El Altrun has been abandoned because of the drying up of wells and the Government’s directive that all camels exported to Egypt should be processed through Dongola for customs purposes.

Libya (Kufra) Route

- Mellit serves as a merging point for camels coming from West Darfur (through Kutum), South Darfur (through El Fasher) and North Darfur. From Mellit, trekkers proceed to Kufra through Qarab Village, the last converging point for camels coming from further north, such as Malha. Trekking from Mellit to Kufra takes about 17 days often with no water and feed for the herd. By truck, it only takes five days (mainly for sheep during the Id season). At times Libyan traders come with feed and water to meet the trekkers at the border point at Aweinat. This route crosses the Sahara, so trekking is only during night until mid morning. Drivers and camels sometimes perish in the desert. Experienced lead drivers are required on this route to deliver the animals and the crew safely to destination.
- To a lesser extent, camels from West Darfur are trekked through Tina on the Chadian border and through Chad to Kufra.
- Prospective migrants from Darfur are employed as support drivers on this route to Kufra, where they work for a year or two before they return home. Hence, this route doubles as a migrant labor supply channel to Libya. Remittances from migrant workers in Libya were sent through traders using this route (see Chapter 6).

- Mercantile traders imported most of the basic consumer commodities required in the northern part of North Darfur from Libya before the crisis.

Traders of Arab origin dominate the livestock trade between Darfur and Muweli (Omdurman), Egypt and Libya, although not completely. Producers and small-scale traders sometimes also combine their herds trek them to the terminal market. The Berti, Meidob and Zaghawa tribes practice this system for stocks originating from the northern part of North Darfur (Mellit, Malha, etc). Drovers, by and large, belong to the same ethnic groups as the traders. Cattle and camels from South and West Darfur and camels from North Darfur are trekked to destination markets by Arab drovers. Sheep are trekked by Arabs and non-Arabs.

Trekking costs

Livestock trekking provides reliable livelihoods for many people in Darfur. The art of trekking requires memorizing all the alternative routes for the particular season, planning and decision-making skills against the elements, skills in herd management and animal behavior, knowledge of all the water points and available pasture on route, some level of veterinary knowledge, negotiation skills to deal with authorities and bandits and proper planning of provisions. Trekking crew include the lead drover, who is in charge of the operation, assistant drovers whose numbers may vary depending on the herd size, and cooks.

Box 11 The making of a lead drover

The professional life of a lead drover begins with cooking for drovers. After serving as a cook for 2-3 years, he is promoted to an assistant drover for daytime trekking. Two or three years later, he moves to nighttime trekking, still as an assistant drover. After studying the various routes for a further two years in this position, he may then be promoted to a lead drover. It could take between 6 - 8 years to become a lead drover.

Payment for trekking is based on standard trade herd/flock size, which varies according to species. The size of a trade herd/flock (for each species) may also vary slightly across the three regions of Darfur. Trade herds/flocks belonging to various traders are bulked together for trekking purposes to reduce costs. One lead drover is responsible for a number of trade herds/flocks belonging to various traders but the number of assistant drovers for each trade herd/flock is usually fixed. The average number of livestock per trade herd consists of 50 head of cattle or camels and a trade flock, 300-350 sheep. A lead drover is usually responsible for up to four trade herds/flocks (200 head of cattle or camels or 1,200 sheep), which require eight assistant drovers (two per trade herd). Payment for trekking depends on the point of origin and the route to be negotiated. Costs in the following table are calculated in US dollars.

Table 4. Trekking and other costs for various destinations from Darfur

From – to	Species	Trade herd size	Payment to Lead Drover	Payment to Asst drovers	Other miscellaneous costs (i)	Taxes, vaccination, levies etc	Average cost/ head (ii)	Remarks
Mellit – Kufra	Camels	100	586	781	475	12.57/head	30.99	Asst. drovers are paid low on this route as potential immigrant laborers.
El Fasher – Muweli	Cattle	200	586	1,250	1,172	9.7/head	24.74	
El Fasher- Muweli	Sheep	1,200	585	1,718	1,367 (iii)	2.54/sheep	5.59	Excluding income tax and zakhat
Nyala – Muweli	Cattle	200	628	2,531	781	13/head	32.7	the Lead drover is given the profit of 5 cattle additionally
Nyala – Al Huwey (iv)	Sheep	1,200	313	1,250	390	3.71/head	5.33	Sheep are trucked from Al Huwey
Nyala – Dongola	Camels	100	1,367 (v)	1,562	391	15.6/head	48.4	
Geneina – Dongola	Camels	120	586	1,406	390	28.9/head	48.75	
Geneina – Kufra	Camels	120	923	781	808	14.3/head	35.24	Tax is low because of the cross -border operation

i. For water, feed, road taxes etc

ii. The cost doesn't include 10 per cent income tax and 2.5 per cent Zakhat paid on a yearly basis

iii. 1,562 for dry season and 1,171 for winter season

iv. 60 Kms west of El Obeid

v. Includes payments for 3 armed escorts up to Umbitetih

Off-take

Off-take in Darfur is channeled through eight primary and four secondary markets. The primary markets supply the secondary markets, which in turn supply the terminal markets of Muweli, Egypt and Libya. The specialization of the secondary markets is determined by the dominant species produced in the market shed and relative proximity to the terminal markets.

Table 5 Primary and secondary markets in Darfur

Primary markets	Secondary markets
Al Geneina	Nyala (i)
Kebkabiya	El Fasher
Kutum	Ed Daein
Buram	Mellit
Fora Boranga	
Zalengei	
Rihad El Burdi	
Gimalaya	

Source: Livestock Traders

i. Nyala could also be considered as a terminal market since chilled red meat is exported by air from Nyala

In the absence of reliable data, estimating the total off-take is difficult. The only plausible approach is to combine the estimates of various informed sources (Livestock traders,

regional veterinary staff and MoAR sources). A review of such estimates indicate the following:

- Darfur supplies 25 per cent of the live sheep exported through Port Sudan (this amounts to 250,000 sheep) and a further 25,000 sheep to Kufra, during the Id. Each lot of sheep exported to Middle East from Sudan contains a proportion of 30 per cent sheep from Darfur. However, about 5 per cent of this Darfur sheep is estimated to come from Kordofan.
- Additional 300,000 sheep are estimated as being shipped from Darfur for local consumption to Muweli; 50,000 head of cattle and 80,000 camels, (60 per cent to Egypt and 40 per cent to Libya). It should be noted that some of the sheep, cattle and camels originate from Chad. Numbers were difficult to estimate.

The financial value of this trade can be estimated by combining informed estimates and available data at each level of transaction. For the purpose of this approximation, SCF-UK market data are used for primary and secondary markets⁸ and producers' estimates were averaged for prices at the producer level. Similarly, traders' estimates were converged for the particular export markets.

Table 6 Value chain for livestock from Darfur (US dollars)

Type	Quantity	Value at Producer level	Value at Primary market level	Value at secondary market level	Value at Muweli (Omdurman) (i)	Value at Egypt (Wadi) (ii)	Value at Libya (Kufra) (iii)
Export quality sheep	250,000	3,906,250	5,371,093	7,324,219	14,423,000	-	-
	25,000	390,625	488,281	634,766	-	-	1,250,000
Sheep for local consumption	300,000	3,515,625	4,101,562	7,031,250	12,807,692	-	-
Cattle	50,000	6,835,937	7,812,500	8,007,812	13,671,875 (iv)		
Export Camels	48,000	13,440,000	14,400,000	16,320,000		24,000,000	
	32,000	8,750,000	9,375,000	10,625,000	-	-	13,600,000
Total (v)		36,838,437	41,548,436	49,943,047	41,941,029	24,000,000	14,850,000

- Note that significant trekking costs are incurred between primary, secondary and terminal markets (table 6).
- Camels for Egypt are bigger in size than those for Libya. Prices are also better in Egypt. A mean price of \$500 is recorded for the years 1992-2003 by the National Camel Research Center of Sudan. The National Bank of Sudan records only the foreign exchange portion of this transaction (\$ 175/head).
- It should be noted that the export to Libya is not accounted for by the National Bank of Sudan. Camels exported to Libya are smaller in size compared to those exported to Egypt. Camel price in Libya averages about \$425 per head.
- Cattle are fattened for 3-4 months in ranches or for about 1-2 months in feedlots before being sold
- Note that only ¼ of the value of the camels exported to Egypt is recorded by the National Bank of Sudan on this route.

Data on local consumption within Darfur is hard to come by as slaughtering in rural areas and elsewhere outside of the designated areas in major towns, such El Fasher and El Geneina and Nyala are not recorded. On the other hand, experts (including FAO) doubt the MoARs' estimate of 24 kg per capita meat consumption² on the basis of differing assumptions on carcass weight, the livestock population and off-take. MoARs' estimated

⁸ The data entry for year 2002 was chosen – as it was indicative of the prevailing price just before the conflict.

per capita meat consumption is considerably higher than the neighboring countries of Kenya (with a higher per capita income) or Ethiopia (which owns an equivalent number of livestock if not more). By weighing, in the average, carcass weight for each species and considering the population and the off-take assumption, a FAO mission has suggested a per capita consumption level of 12.3 kg, composed of 30 per cent mutton and goat meat, 65 per cent beef and 5 per cent camel meat. This assumption, still higher than the neighboring countries, seems plausible particularly for urban centers. Meat consumption in urban areas of Darfur may, therefore, be about 9,000 tons (given that 15 per cent of the Darfur population-about 750,000, is urban) at 12 kg/year. Meat consumption for rural areas is difficult to estimate in the absence of plausible data.

Livestock marketing is one of the mainstays of the economy in Darfur. It plays the following roles:

- Provides direct livelihoods for an estimated 575,000 pastoralists⁵ and additional substantial income for agro-pastoralists;
- Offers jobs for numerous middlemen, sub-wakils, wakils and drovers;
- Attracts investment in the region from livestock traders and others;
- Is the main source of revenue for the state; and
- Its multiplier effect is felt in almost every household.

Yet, the on-going conflict has put this major economic resource in jeopardy threatening the livelihoods of so many that depend on it.

Drought and Conflict-based Production Orientation

Shifting livelihood trends

Factors such as recurring droughts (desertification), growth in human and livestock population and market pull has fuelled the competition for resources that are increasingly shrinking. The compound effects of this phenomenon are seen in the changing nature of species distribution and continually shifting livelihood systems in Darfur. Export-led demands and the rise in the domestic consumption of red meat since the 1970s have influenced changes in the herd mixture in the livestock production system by turning a significant proportion of the cultivating population into agro-pastoralists and creating a new class of wealthy groups investing in livestock production.

Conversely, despite practicing pastoralism, pastoral groups (especially the Baggara) have also taken up farming⁹, in a bid to secure land that is increasingly being fragmented but also to increase their income from the demand for export crops. Lately, the tribal conflict in West Darfur from the early 1990s and the current conflict between Government and rebel forces in other parts of Darfur have significantly altered the production, the migration and the trade pattern including, as is the case today, the ownership of livestock resources.

⁹ Some documents state that only 10-15 per cent of the Baggaras are pure nomads at present

Elders' oral accounts¹²⁻¹⁴ indicate that cattle and camels were once the dominant species in North Darfur until climatic changes resulting in the depletion of resources pushed cattle herders from North to South Darfur. Consequently, South Darfur became prominent in cattle production enhanced by the relatively higher precipitation and the reduction in the tsetse population due to clearing of vegetation and the intensified drought¹⁰.

The same oral accounts reveal that the production of sheep, one of the major species raised before the 1960s, gained dominance in North Darfur since early 1970s as a result of the export-led demand⁸. It provided alternative livelihood for farmers whose harvests were repeatedly affected by drought. The Abbala Arabs who raised mainly camels as recently as 40 years ago were also persuaded to include sheep in their herd due to the readily available market but also to compensate for the income loss as donkeys, donkey carts and transport vehicles replaced their camels as means of transporting farm produces¹⁵. Likewise, sheep production intensified in South Darfur following the 1985/86 drought when large numbers of the Birgid, Ma'aliya and Zaghawa tribes from North Darfur and Kordofan moved into South Darfur with their sheep¹⁶. Some of the camel rearing tribes of North Darfur and Chad (Dar Zaghawa, Gimir and Missiriya), who switched to sheep production after the 1985/86 drought, also migrated to West Darfur as a result of the conflict that has been on-going since 2000. Market demands have led to changes in the herd mix resulting in the domination of high value species over low value ones.

Pastoral and agro-pastoral communities living in harsh and fragile environments in Darfur have always had to cope with drought or the threat of drought as a central feature of their existence that influences the patterns of production or reproduction. Droughts in the 1970s and 1980s, affecting the entire Sahelian zone, contributed to starvation, death, loss of animals, labour migration or migration to refugee camps. According to official data, mean average rainfall in Sudan declined by 6.7 per cent between 1960-69/1970-79 and by 17.7 per cent between 1970-79/1980-86¹⁷. Ten year rainfall data collected by SCF-UK for El Fasher Town indicates wide fluctuations in the annual rainfall amount ranging from as high as 314 mm in 1994 to 155 mm in 1997 and from 377 mm in 1998 to 152 mm in 2003. In the four years since 2001, the precipitation rate in El Fasher has dropped sharply¹⁸.

At a minimum, the impacts of droughts are crop failure and decline in livestock outputs. Adopting new coping mechanisms becomes a necessity leading, in many cases, to over exploitation of fragile resources - clearing new farm lands, overgrazing, community owned land changing hands to private ownership, farmers trying their luck in livestock production and pastoralists in crop farming, families splitting up to earn a living as laborers and migrant workers in Sudan and abroad. When governments fail to realize the root causes of such problems early enough and make wrong prescriptions (either deliberately or due to wrong perceptions) tensions that have been building between communities over the years erupt into violence, as is the case in Darfur today.

¹⁰ Tsetse is still prevalent in the southern part of South Darfur with higher level of precipitation

Trade-Induced Production Expansion

Despite recurrent droughts, the livestock population has been on the increase in response to market demands¹¹. Using the MoAR's annual livestock growth projection (of 3.2 per cent for cattle, 3.3 per cent for sheep, 2.5 per cent for goats and 2.3 per cent for camels) as an indicator, the growth in livestock numbers in Darfur can be approximated.

Although pastoralists own most of the livestock resources, the increase in livestock numbers is partly attributed to the non-pastoral population that is increasingly engaged in livestock rearing as a secondary source of income or as investment. The contribution of this sector to the growth in livestock population in Darfur (and perhaps in other parts of Sudan), particularly shoats and to some extent cattle, has always been underrated.

First, many small-scale farmers have ventured into shoats production due to less capital requirements, the readily available market, short reproductive cycle and quick return on investment. The number of shoats or other species of livestock owned by farmers-turned-agro-pastoralists co-relates with the relative fertility of the soil (goz or wadi) and the area under cultivation (in other words, to the relative status of the family).

Of the five crop-dependent food economy zones (FEZ) identified by SCF-UK in Northern Darfur (excluding pastoralists), all are involved in livestock production. Given the relative high proportion of the FEZ population in the respective administrative units (see table 7), the significance of this sector in contributing to the livestock population increase becomes apparent. While the SCF-UK study is limited to North Darfur, the picture may not be any different for the other two states. There is also evidence that ownership of livestock by small-scale farmers in the other two states could even be higher due to the relatively better rainfall and pasture. Despite the common view that North Darfur has more sheep than the other two states (probably due to the routing of sheep from West Darfur through North Darfur to terminal markets), figures from the regional livestock offices and the MoAR indicate an almost equivalent number of sheep in all the three states (a little less than 4 million sheep on average in each state).

The significant differences are larger cattle populations in the south and west states and North Darfur having a larger camel population. The following table depicts the average herd size for poor, medium and better households in the farming and pastoral communities of North Darfur (with the exception of the *Tombac* FEZ for which figures were unavailable).

¹¹ The increase in the livestock population is estimated to be less than the MoAR's projection.

Table 7 Average land and livestock holdings by small farmers in North Darfur¹⁹⁻²³

FEZ	Poor	Medium	Better-off	FEZ population	per cent Of the total pop.
Agro migrant	1-2 <i>mukhamas</i> 0-10 shoats	1-3 <i>mukhamas</i> 5-20 shoats 0-5 cattle		118,587	46 per cent
Goz	5-10 <i>mukhamas</i> 5-10 shoats	20-30 <i>mukhamas</i> 10-20 shoats camel 0-1 cattle 0-3		248,137	68 per cent
Mixed cash crop	1.5-14 <i>muk.</i> 7-16 shoats	5.3 – 32 <i>Muk.</i> 25-45 shoats 1-4 cattle 0-1 camel	20-125 <i>Muk.</i> 78-175 shoats 5-15 cattle 2 camels	207,378	78 per cent (i)
Wadi	0-1.6 <i>Mukhamas</i> 20-25 shoats 0-2 cattle	1.6-3.2 <i>Muk.</i> 40-50 shoats 10-15 cattle	2.4-8 <i>Mukhamas</i> 80-100 shoats 8-20 cattle	167,463	46 per cent
Pastoral	H. hold size 4-8 5-15 shoats	H.Hold size 5-9 25-60 shoats 0-15 camels	H.Hold size 6-9 60-200 shoats 5-150 camels	339,911	81.25 per cent

(i) excluding IDPs

Secondly, wealthy and influential people, town dwellers, government employees and self-employed people have increasingly invested in livestock. Some of them raise livestock in privately owned ranches. In South Darfur, four private investors own ranches equaling some 20,000 hectares¹⁰, which were once communal grazing areas. Others raise flocks running into thousands and hundreds of cattle and camels on communal grazing lands without the need to establish ranches.

Thirdly, large-scale traders double as livestock producers and livestock traders. In Mellit, for example, each of the fifty local-based *jelabas* raises more than 1,000 ewes and over 100 camels²⁴. In addition, livestock traders also assemble trade herds running into tens of thousands of cattle and camels and hundred thousands of sheep, which are usually kept on communal grazing land for 3-5 months (for cattle) and for about two months (for sheep) for assembling or fattening before shipment. Most traders manage only two shipments per year (to Khartoum, Egypt or Libya), therefore, trade herds share the available communal pasture with pastoral and agro pastoral herds for four to ten months of the year. The pressure on the pasture and water resources becomes apparent when considering the annual volume of trade herds/flocks from Darfur (consisting of some 550,000 sheep, 80,000 camels and 50,000 head of cattle)

Pasture and water sources are over-exploited by livestock belonging to pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, livestock traders and investors through competitions aimed at converting communal into individual wealth. Bonfiglioli (1992) coined a term for the latter two groups – *absentee non-herders*. Absentee non-herders employ herders to manage their

production systems. Middle-class and wealthier agro-pastoralists also employ herders as their herd size increases beyond what the family members can manage, prompting poor families to send young boys to work as herders to earn additional income for the family. In the process, herding has become a steadily growing occupation for teenagers in Darfur. Common herders are paid in terms of food and cash or food and newly born lambs (usually 8 lambs for a herder looking after 200 sheep). Cash payments go to the herder's family and payments in lambs are used to build up the family stock, from which the young herder will have a share when starting a family. The success of this commercial production depends on experienced herders, who are employed during the mating season to ensure that, for example, lambing takes place within two weeks for the entire flock¹², for herd management and commercial reasons.

Commercialization of livestock production has brought some tangential dimensions from the pastoral mode of production. For *absentee non-herders*, livestock production is a pure investment with no social-value. Ownership and management of herds are completely separated. Herds are kept only at reasonable distance from the owners' residential areas reducing the herders' migratory movements and increasing environmental degradation. Additionally, herders cannot make decisions concerning herds they manage but not own. In addition, commercialization has altered the traditional and ecologically balanced herd mix. High value species are dominating low value species, which impacts negatively the equilibrium in the ecosystem due to selective grazing habits and varying water needs of the different species. For example, the dominance of cattle in Southern and Western Darfur meant the depletion of water sources rapidly as cattle require frequent watering. The dominance of sheep in North Darfur impedes the regeneration of pasture as the pasture is continuously grazed.

As pressure on pasture resources increases, pastoralists are taking new initiatives to protect and utilize common resources exclusively, as a group or individually. Many, particularly in the middle belt, have taken up farming in addition to pastoralism (by splitting family members) and produce millet on the Qoz or sorghum on alluvial wadis. Wealthier pastoralists have invested in groundnut production for which they employ cheap labor from further south. Few have gone into mechanized large-scale sorghum production on the clay plains between Bahr al-Gazal and the Qoz zone assisted by the communal land tenure system that has allowed them to expand the areas they cultivate considerably. For family units that have taken up this initiative, the income from cultivation is probably as important as the income from livestock depending on the scale of the farm.

Use of enclosed pasture is increasing for the exclusive well-defined groups. This practice is more pronounced in the Savanna range of South Darfur than in the semi-arid north. MONEC (2003) states that owners of large herds, who are also wealthy, command social standing and dominate local politics are the ones who have erected the biggest enclosures⁵. Currently, the high cost of fencing is prohibiting most pastoralists from copying the trend. Some pastoralists like the Beni Helba of South Darfur have taken steps

¹² The heat period in sheep lasts for only 19 hours every 21 days. Experienced herders are required to time the lambing period for the whole flock within this short period.

at the community level by extending perimeter fences around their farms to include large areas of pasture as dry season reserve²⁵. Farmers, too, extend thorn bush fences around their farms to include parcels of less used pastureland for expanding their farmland or for grazing purposes later. Sizable tracts of rangeland were also enclosed for IDP resettlement in Sanam al-Naga, some 85 kms south of Nyala. Plots that have remained unoccupied have attracted outsiders to set up grazing enclosures⁵. Initiatives of this nature take place between parallels 11 and 14 North, where the population density is high due to favourable environmental factors²⁵.

Commercialization has altered century old traditions where farmers allowed pastoralists to feed their livestock on crop residues. Instead crop-stalks are now harvested and sold against this age-old tradition. This has created resentment amongst the pastoral communities sometimes leading to localized conflict when pastoralists let their animals into farms. Such conflicts can be serious if pastoralist herds move into farms before harvest. Expansion of farmlands has blocked some of the migration routes forcing pastoralists to take longer and circuitous routes. Seasonal water points have become a source of conflict between pastoralists and farmers during the dry season. Stock theft or cattle rustling is common in Darfur leading to the organization of armed groups on the basis of returning stolen animals but with some ulterior motives too. Banditry is common along some trade routes, for example, between Nyala and Umbitetih, traders concede to loose an average of 5 per cent of trade camels en route to terminal markets despite employing armed escorts²⁶. Camels are targeted largely because they are sold in Egypt or Libya where they cannot be traced.

Chapter Two considers in more detail the local and national processes contributing to the current conflict in Darfur. Here causes of conflict related to the increasing commercialization of livestock production involving all ethnic groups and patterns of seasonal migration are considered.

Table 8 Risks associated with pastoral migration routes

Name of Route	Length Km	From	Via	To	FEZ across	Main tribes	Risk associated
Al Wakhayem – Um Dafoug	606	Wakhaiem-Kutum. N. Darfur	Kebkabiya & Wadi Barei	Um Dafug West Darfur	Pastoral & Wadi	Nomads: Arab (Jallol) Residents: Fur Zagawa	Pastoral - pastoral (Arab – Zagawa) conflict over water sources; Pastoral and Kebkabiya Wadi Farmers (destruction of farms)
Al Wakhayem – Forbaranga	588	Wakhaiem-Kuttum. N. Darfur	Karnoi, Abu Geddad, El Serief Saraf Umra	Forbaranga W. Darfur	Pastoral	Nomads: Arab (Bin Hussain & Jallol) Resident.: Zagawa, Fur, Gemer, Bin Hussain	Conflict between Arab & Zagawa of Kutum; Pastoral destruction of farms; Extension of farms to the nomads routes
Wadi Hawar - Dar El Taisha	673	Wadi Hower – Kutum. N. Darfur	Kutum, El fasher & Dar El Salam	Rehaid El Berdi S. Darfur	Pastoral, Goz & Tombac	Nomads: Arab (Mahreya,) Resid: Tujur, Zagawa	Unusual seasonal movements damage farms; conflict with Goz farmers (Tunjur); Extension of farms to nomad routes
Al basheem - Dar Falata	380	Al Wakhayem – Kuttum	Anka Kutum El Fasher, S.Jebel Si Bardey Eid Elnabag Wadi Bari, Maylo	Garsella West Darfur	Pastoral, Agro-migrant & Wadi	Nomads: Arab (Mahreya + Eraigat) Resid. Fur	Competition over water and pasture sources between Kutum Arab, Zagawa pastoral; Conflict between Agro-migrant of Jebel Si (destruction of farms by nomads' animals) Wadi farmers and nomads
Al Wakhayem – Garsela	400	Um Sayala – Kutum. N. Darfur	Kutum Abu Sakeen, Al Fasher Shangeltobaya	Dar Reeizgat S. Darfur	Goz and Tombac	Nomads: Arab (Etaifat) Resid.: Tunjur, and Zaghawa	Unusual seasonal movement, destruction of farms (rare conflicts)

Source: SCF-UK

The Impact Of The Conflict On The Livestock Sector In Darfur

The livestock economy of Darfur has been immensely affected by the current conflict. The decline in livestock production is not surprising given the deaths of tens of thousands of people, the displacement of 1,600,906 persons and 419,691 affected residents by OCHA's account, in October 2004²⁷. However, in such conflicts, economic interests usually drive political motives. Easily transferable assets such as livestock ('assets on the hoof') provide the economic incentive for deepening and widening conflicts of this nature in pastoral and agro-pastoral settings. The impact of this resource-based conflict, in which the Government of Sudan has been implicated by international agencies²⁸, on the lives and the livelihoods of the civilian population have been enormous. Its implication on the livestock economy has been disastrous.

Forceful Transfer of Assets

In economic terms, livestock has been the primary target of this conflict as detailed in the individual case-studies. It is difficult to estimate the total value of assets (livestock and otherwise) looted by the pro-government forces from the non-Arab population of Darfur. However, the level of impoverishment (aside from the psychological and physical

trauma) inflicted upon the non-Arab population is apparent. Even if peace prevails, rehabilitating the victimized communities is not going to be easy because the victims rightfully request for the return of stolen animals and/or some kind of compensation from the Government¹³. The impact of this wanton destruction has critically affected the livestock economy for worse in terms of ownership, production, marketing and migration patterns.

Changes in livestock migration patterns

A visible outcome of the conflict is changes in livestock migration patterns with potentially disastrous consequences. Increasing hostility between the Arabs and non-Arabs and the control of some critical areas by the SLA along the traditional migratory routes have resulted in the restriction of access for the pastoral population to the wet season grazing reserves. Camels and sheep belonging to the Abbalas were confined south of the Jebel Mara Mountains during the mission's visit. During the wet season (July to October), camel herds and sheep used to migrate further north up to Giza, Wadi Hawa and El Altrun to the southern fringes of the Sahara Desert. Similarly, cattle belonging to the Baggara have been confined around the railway line close to Nyala Town (the furthest northern point they could reach) and to Nyala-Kas Zalingi Road in the west. Normally, the Baggaras used to go further north up to parallel 13.5 close to El Fasher Town and to Kordofan in the north and northeast direction. While most of the restricted areas are under the control of the SLA, some areas have become inaccessible to pastoralists because of banditry and attacks and counter-attacks between various ethnic groups. Lawlessness is spreading in areas that do not fall under the control of the Government or the SLA restricting wet season grazing access to pastoralists. There is potential for further restriction extending into some of the dry season grazing reserves if the conflict intensifies. This has resulted in the concentration of pastoral livestock in the dry season grazing reserves at a time when livestock should have been in the wet season grazing reserves.

Ironically, livestock looted from the non-pastoral population, which were usually grazed around farm plots by their rightful owners, are now added to the pastoral stock and kept in the dry season grazing reserve. Normally, calving and lambing take place in the wet season grazing reserves (usually, July to October with few groups staying on until December). Newborns are raised in the wet season reserves until they gain strength for the subsequent migration to the south in the dry season. The conflict has thrown this time-tested livestock management system into disarray. The concentration of livestock in the dry season grazing reserve during the wet season means that there will not be enough pasture for livestock in the coming dry season. Moreover, this phenomenon will also

¹³ 'Compensation by the Government' is the view of many IDPs and affected residents interviewed in various places in Darfur.

enhance the outbreak of diseases with potential threats to the newborn and some of the adult population. Water sources, in the dry season reserve, will be depleted and may not last the length of the dry season. Livestock will not only die of thirst but also of water-borne diseases. Desperation may persuade pastoralists to move further south than where they used to travel (deep into Central African Republic or Bahar Gazal areas) towards the middle or the tail end of the dry season. This move could spark new conflicts with other tribes.

Similarly, production and grazing patterns in the SLA-held areas of the north have been affected largely due to Government attacks. Villagers in Disr report that helicopters shelled flocks that could not be looted by soldiers²⁹. Elders in Mellit reported that water points north of the town consisting of surface dams and wells in Abuhila, Abugemera, Amboru, Disr, Farawaja, Karo Karwoy, Musbat, Orshi, Shige and Tina have been destroyed by aerial bombardments, intentionally buried by soldiers or poisoned²⁴. As a result, livestock that should have grazed north of Mellit and Dar Zaghawa between August and October were moved to eastern parts of Mellit and El Fasher. There is fear that water sources and pasture in these areas could be depleted at the start or in the middle of the dry season.

The conflict in Darfur has significantly affected the critical element in any pastoral production system – mobility. Natural resources, livestock and humans, in a pastoral system, are balanced through mobility. When mobility (seasonal migration) is compromised to a scale observed in Darfur, its impact on livestock production could be enormous. The depletion of pasture and water resources in dry season grazing reserves coupled with the outbreak of diseases due to the concentration of animals in confined areas are likely to increase livestock mortality in the coming seasons.

The Collapse of the Livestock Trade

The disruption of livestock trade within and from Darfur signals the downward spiral of the economy in the region. The repercussion of this disruption is felt, though in varying degrees, in almost all households of different segments of the population (pastoral, agro-pastoral, traders, middlemen, drovers etc). During the missions' visit in Darfur, the trade disruption was more pronounced in the areas discussed below.

Trade to Libya

This route was closed following the murder of 10 camel drovers and the confiscation of 3,000 camels in April 2003 near Wadi Hawa en route to Libya. In September 2003, additional 3,500 camels were intercepted on this route and taken to Chad by the SLA³⁰. The border has been closed officially since then. Some 32,000 camels and 25,000 sheep were exported annually through this route. The total value of camels and sheep exported through this route amounted to almost 15 million dollars. At least 300 lead drovers and 1,280 assistant drovers¹⁴ have lost their jobs and the possibility of employment as immigrant workers for the latter due to the closure. Individual traders that were allowed

¹⁴ This figure is arrived at by dividing the total export volume in trade herds/flocks

to import goods from Libya up to a value of \$3,759 each have lost this opportunity. Darfurian migrant workers who used to send trade goods through Libya to avoid taxes can't do this anymore. Migrant workers find it difficult to send remittances to relatives since the closure of this route. Trade camels that used to be routed from Chad through Darfur are now using the reverse route to Libya through Chad (especially for camels from Western Darfur). However, the volume exported through Tina is far less due to its inconvenient location, insecurity and the difficult terrain.

Trade to Muweli (Omdurman) and Egypt

The northern route is insecure and a substantial reduction is expected in the volume of sheep to be sent to Muweli, Omdurman, both for export and local consumption. The northern route served Egypt for camels and Muweli for sheep and some cattle. In total, the annual traffic on this route was approximately 450,000 sheep, 48,000 camels and about 3,500 head of cattle. The southern route is out of bounds because of insecurity. Ordinarily, some 50,000 head of cattle and 100,000 sheep were trekked along this route annually. The closure of this route follows the capture of some part of Eddaen by the SLA, attacks and counter-attacks between tribal groups and the prevalence of bandits. Recent security problems on this route include the interception of some 1,300 sheep by the SLA at Labado, 60 kms east of Nyala. The sheep, which were transported by trucks, belonged to a Saudi company (Al Merdi). The SLA imposed a fine of 100,000 SDD on each truckload and also confiscated seven sheep from each truck, and the company obliged. The company was subsequently forced to airlift the remaining flock (5,700 sheep) from Nyala by relief cargo planes³¹. It is also reported that the SLA had intercepted some 3,400 sheep in October 2003 on this route.

The Nyala abattoir has a throughput capacity of 2,000 shoats and 350 head of cattle a day though actual output was subject to contractual commitments. The abattoir used to export chilled meat, chevron and mutton directly from Nyala to Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and the Gulf States. In April 2004, the abattoir was contracted to supply 3,000 tons of chilled red meat to Libya at the rate of 60 tons of mutton and 35 tons of beef on a weekly basis³¹. The abattoir could not honor the contract because of price hikes and shortage of supplies and production stopped in June 2004. Workers had to be laid off indefinitely.

There are some indications in Khartoum that the price of meat and live animals is on the rise but not to the level expected. The rise could not be attributed to the decline in supplies from Darfur as the price of oil was increased at the same time. Despite the interruption of supplies from Darfur, Sudan has exported nearly the same volume of sheep in the first two quarters of 2004 equivalent to the whole of 2003. This implies that other livestock producing states mainly Kordofan and also White Nile, Blue Nile, El Gezeira, Sennar and El Gedarif are increasingly filling the supply gap from Darfur. Informants state that sheep and camel owners are moving from Darfur to Kordofan boosting the supply volume from that state. Some speculators link the movement of resources from Darfur to Kordofan and the recent attack on the latter by the SLA.

Formation of crisis trade routes

Some livestock traders are attempting to establish new trade routes to bypass security-affected areas in the south. The traders are based in El Geneina and belong to Arab groups. A livestock trader³² in Geneina stated that they were persuaded to use a new route after trade herds consisting of some 10,000 head of cattle, belonging to 50 traders, were stranded in Kebkabiyah (on their way to El Fasher) for about a month. The cattle were then moved back south first to Saraf Umra and then to Zalinji. They were then driven far south to Buram, and further east to Oadela bypassing the SLA controlled Eddaen area with the intention of joining Guebesh after crossing the railway line. Traders estimate that trekking from Seraf Umra to Muweli through Buram will take 100 -120 days and from Nyala about 80-90¹⁵ days. This will increase the cost of trekking by 20-40 days (depending on the point of origin) and puts more stress on the animals to be trekked. At the time of the missions' visit, this route was on trial and traders were not certain whether it will work and more importantly if it is profitable.

Traders in El Geneina are waiting to see if this new arrangement works. The significance of this route depends on whether the area around Buram stays under Government control or not (Boram was under SLA control for some time before the Government recaptured it). Even if Boram was under Government control, the SLA may be tempted to intercept trade stocks at some point either before or after Boram to interrupt the trade flow. The route through Boram goes through a tsetse-infested area, the prevalence of which increases particularly during the rainy season. Coupled with the stress of going through a much longer route, livestock mortality could be higher than usual on this new route. Moreover, the volume of animals trekked along this route will be far less than the other two routes for the following reasons:

- This route cannot replace both the northern and the southern routes totally;
- The turn around time for return on investment is far longer due to the longer trekking days;
- Traders' working capital will be tied up on inventories for long;
- More importantly, the *Jelabas* and the big traders from Khartoum have stopped coming to Darfur because of the risks involved; and
- The volume of animals that can be purchased and trekked by local-level *toujars* in El Geneina, with smaller capital base, cannot match those of the big *jelabas* in Khartoum.

Parallel Perceptions

The perception of traders regarding the conflict, the prevailing trade and security situation are divided along ethnic lines. Livestock traders of Arab origin in El Geneina emphasize that the security situation has greatly improved in the last eleven months since the government took control of the surrounding areas compared to what it was in 2002 and 2003. They complain bitterly about the SLA attacks on trade herds, traders and drovers in Saraf Umra and the surrounding areas in 2002 and 2003. They emphasize that the improved security situation in the last eleven months enabled them to trek / truck

¹⁵ Drovers and sub-drovers will charge 1,500 SDD per day for trekking that takes more than 80 days

livestock from Saraf Umra and Beda (in Chad) to El Geneina and ultimately ship them to Libya (through Tina) or to Muweli (through Buram). One outcome of this development is local-based *Jelabas* in Geneina are now trying to directly trek cattle and sheep through Buram to Muweli. Before the conflict, they were supplying the secondary markets of Nyala and El Fasher.

Similarly, small-scale local livestock traders of Arab origin in South Darfur share the same view. Three traders interviewed in the Nyala livestock market insist on the improvement of the security situation since the Government took control of the area³³. These traders buy sheep from Foro Boranga and from southwest and western part of the Jebel Marra area. On average, they visit the Nyala Market three times a month. However, they complained that the *Jelabas* from Khartoum are not coming anymore and that demand is much less than the supply. The livestock market clerk confirmed that ‘you see the same animals week after week in the market, as there are not many buyers.’ It is rumored that some of the animals brought by these traders were looted from the non-Arab population.

Totally different views are heard from livestock traders of non-Arab origin. The contradicting views are more pronounced in North Darfur but also prevail in South Darfur. The decline in supplies to important secondary markets, such as El Fasher, is attributed to the closure of some primary markets, security problems along trade routes and some IDPs identifying stolen animals in the market. Important secondary markets like Mellit, where some 20,000 camels and 25,000 sheep were processed to Libya annually (including some 25-50,000 sheep for Muweli), have been closed for the last ten months. Since then, out of the fifty local *toujars* in Mellit, about forty of them have left for El Fasher and Khartoum²⁴. Mellit is nothing more than a ghost town at present. Kutum is also suffering from capital flight, where only two local *toujars* are left out of the original twenty before the conflict³⁴. The price of meat in El Fasher and Kutum has doubled (the cost of 1 Kg of meat has risen from 500 to 1,000 SDD between January and June 2004) because of security problems on the supply route. Cattle that were trekked from Nyala to El Fasher at the cost of 2,000 SDD per head are now costing 10,000 since transporting them by trucks is the only available option. A trader who supplies cattle to Kutum from Nyala states that it takes two to three weeks to sell 15 head of animal for local consumption because the purchasing power of the population has gone so low. According to one trader, the collapse of the livestock trade in Northern Darfur has put so many middlemen out of business ‘they are currently eating their assets.’ Of the thirty local livestock traders in Gure village (Disr), only five are still active in livestock trading. Whereas better-off Gure-based traders (before the conflict) were capable of buying between 75-100 goats, the capital base of those who still remain in the area does not allow them to buy more than 15 goats²⁹. The story is the same for Birmaza village, further north. In Nyala, local non-Arab *toujars* are reluctant to trade in animals since the crisis because of the suspicion that some of the animals brought to the market were stolen from fellow Darfurians.

The Rise In Consumer Commodity Prices

The total and partial closures of strategic trade routes have increased prices for basic commodities due to increased transport costs, risks from bandits, the need to obtain

commodity supplies from new sources and also as a result of Government embargo. Price increases are felt all over Darfur but are more pronounced in parts of northern Darfur such as Disr, Kutum and Mellit. Mellit used to get most of its supplies from Libya (Kufra) before the conflict. Kutum and Disr, in turn, got their supplies both from Mellit or Libya and to some extent from Omdurman. Approximately 30 per cent of the money from livestock sales in Omdurman was brought back in stocks (commodities) on the return trip. In addition, large commodity traders used to distribute consumer goods for village level traders on credit. In Birmaza (Disr), consisting of some 15 villages (and 5,700 individuals), there were some thirty commodity traders who relied upon this credit system before the conflict. Only three to four commodity traders are still in business. They buy their supplies from Tina, Chad, a one-month round trip. Since the closure of the Libyan route, Mellit and Kutum also get supplies from Omdurman. Of note is the unofficial government embargo, which restricts the supply of commodities to SLA-held or SLA sympathizing areas. Consumers from Gure (SLA-held area), for example, are allowed to purchase only 5 *kora* (8 Kg) of grain at a time in Kutum. They have to pay 200 SDD to soldiers to get a paper permit that lasts only for a day, despite a round trip of five days between Gure and Kutum. Animals for sale from Gure to Kutum have to be driven in a roundabout way to pretend that they have originated from government-held areas, south of Kutum. Middlemen in the IDP camps are entrusted to sell the animals in the market, while the animal owners stay hidden in the camp.

In the process, prices of basic commodities such as sugar, tea, wheat flour, rice, and pasta brought from Tina (Chad) or Omdurman have doubled in Birmiza, Gure and Mellit. Oil prices have gone up by over 400 per cent in Birmiza and Gure. The price of millet has increased by over 700 per cent in the SLA-held areas of Birmiza and Gure.

Increase in prices is also observed in Nyala and El Geneina since trucks have to be re-routed through El Fasher to reach the two destinations after the disruption of road and railway services to Nyala through El Obeid.

Increase in the prices of livestock

Increasing banditry and insecurity have reduced the level of supplies from primary to secondary markets raising the price of meat and livestock in the latter. It is also said that livestock prices are on the decline in some primary markets that are cut off from the secondary markets such as Kebkabiya. Meanwhile, shortage of supplies from primary markets has pushed livestock prices in the secondary markets. SCF-UK's livestock market price data indicate a significant increase in the price of livestock observed in 2004 compared to 2003.¹⁶ The increase is more pronounced in El Fasher followed by Nyala. An increase in price is also observed for all species in all markets except for camel in Mellit.

Source: compiled from SCF-UK livestock Market Data; N.B: No camel transaction in Daresalam

¹⁶ Comparisons for the two years were made for the months ending up to September 2003 and 2004, as price data was not yet collected for the months after September 2004 during the missions' visit.

The above graph masks the temporary sharp drop in livestock prices during the peak of the crisis in January and February of 2004 in El Fasher, when people fled their homes from the pro-government forces. Secondary markets like El Fasher were flooded with livestock that escaped looting. Prices hit rock bottom for a short while during this period before they picked up again as the supply volume dwindled once the livestock resources of the fleeing population were exhausted. People who fled the attacks on villages had to part with their livestock for salvage value before they entered the IDP camps.

Tombac production and trade

Tombac (chewing tobacco) is a major cash crop produced in Taweila, Korma and in the western parts of Daresalam and Al Fasher. Though labor intensive, *tombac* production provided better economic incomes for the population whose livelihood depended on it. Annual volume of trade in the Tabit, market was between 130 – 145 tons. The *tombac* market in Tabit (which falls on Friday) used to attract twenty *tombac* exporters and some 50-60 small traders and middlemen. Middlemen earned between 3 and 5,000 SD on each market day and laborers between 2 and 3,000 SD. WFP and SC UK studies show that *tombac* production zones attained over 50 per cent of their food requirements and 75-80 per cent of their other requirements. However, following the attack of pro-government forces in May 2004, the areas under *tombac* cultivation has declined to less than 20 per cent. As a result, none of the exporters come to the Tabit market anymore. Only less than 10 per cent of the middlemen operate in the market. Most of the tobacco farmers now live as IDPs in El Fasher.

Inefficiency of Grain and Commodities markets

The inefficiency of the urban and particularly the rural markets of Darfur are directly associated with distance from major production areas (supply sources) and poor roads, among other things. A market study indicated that, 'Darfur grain markets are not integrated with central Sudan grain markets because of the high transportation costs which represents 60 per cent of the market price in Darfur'³⁵. The study estimates current grain and transportation prices at SDD 35,000 per ton from El Obeid to Nyala and El Fasher and SDD 45,000 per ton for El Geneina. The cost of transport for locally produced grain is also estimated at 100 SDD from farm produce to the nearest market for each 10 Kg of grain³⁵.

Yet, this inefficient market system has been worsened by the closure and partial operation of some of the important markets in Darfur. Of the total 154 village-level, primary and secondary markets that used to operate in Darfur, 61 are operating partially and 49 are totally closed³⁵ eroding the coping capacity of rural livelihoods.

Conclusion

Livestock has been a critical livelihood resource and form of investment for virtually all livelihood groups in Darfur. Consequently livestock have been central to the many local tribal conflicts, in terms of livestock looting, migration routes, and grazing rights. As a

result there is also a long history of inter-tribal conferences and meetings aimed at settling disputes and reaching agreements relating to livestock.

But the more recent conflict between the pro-government forces and opposition groups is of a different scale and proportions. While large sections of society have been 'asset-stripped', groups associated with the looting of livestock have enriched themselves but have also become victims of their own making. They can neither access the wet season grazing reserves nor sell their animals (including the looted ones) as they wish, as trade routes are not safe anymore.

This conflict has directly impacted upon productivity, in terms of farming and livestock production, both of which have spiraled downwards. Livestock trade, in which Darfur region previously excelled, has collapsed. Migration and trade routes are no longer secure as a result of violations of the humanitarian ceasefire, and the increase in banditry. Mobility, the key element in pastoral production system, is at stake.

While the future economic development for Darfur depends on a well-functioning livestock sector, including livestock trade, this will not be possible in the absence of security and mobility for all groups. This is perhaps obvious, but less obvious is that to be successful peace and reconciliation initiatives must incorporate livestock as a central pillar of response. To put it simply, there can be no real reconciliation and development unless grievances relating to livestock are fully addressed.

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Chapter 4

The Livestock Sector In The Darfur Crisis

FIGURES

Figures 1-4. Growth trend of livestock population in Sudan (source MOAR, 2002)

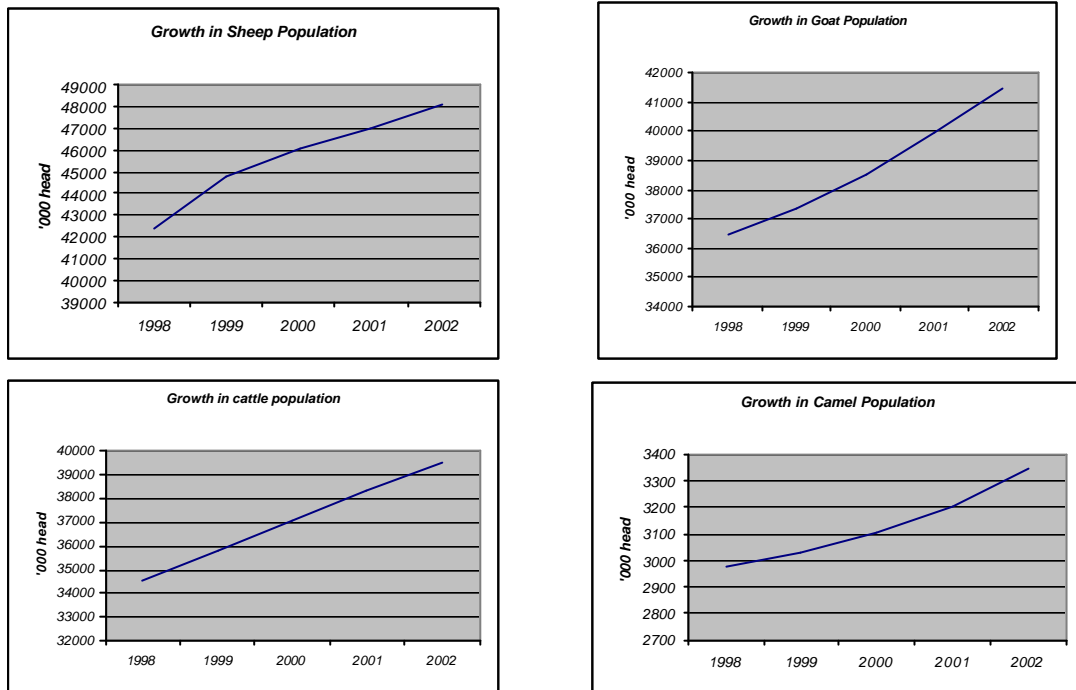


Figure 5 Distribution of TLUs within Sudan states

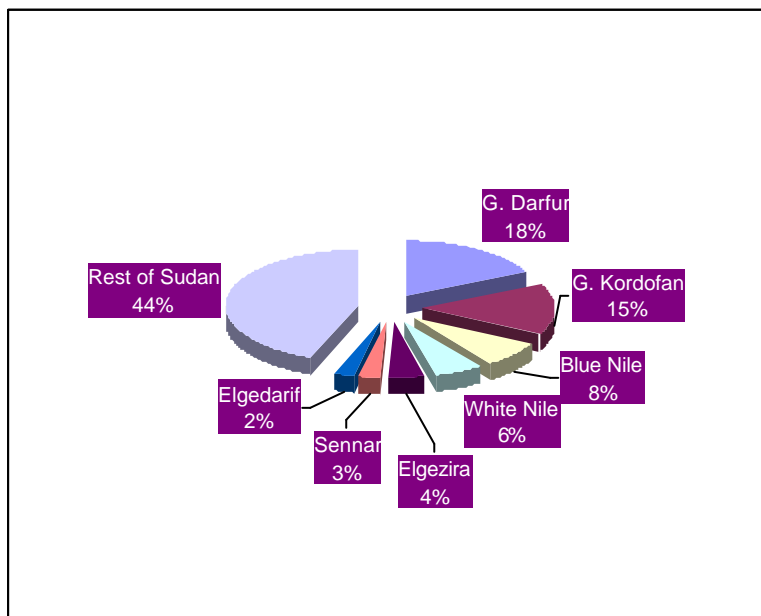


Figure 6 Live animal exports from Sudan Source: Bank of Sudan; the figure for 2004 refers to the first two quarters only

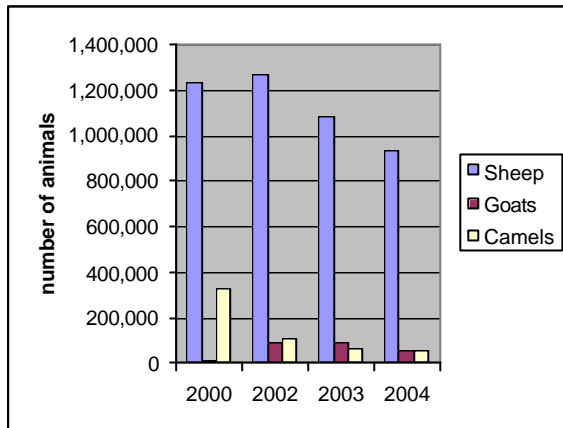
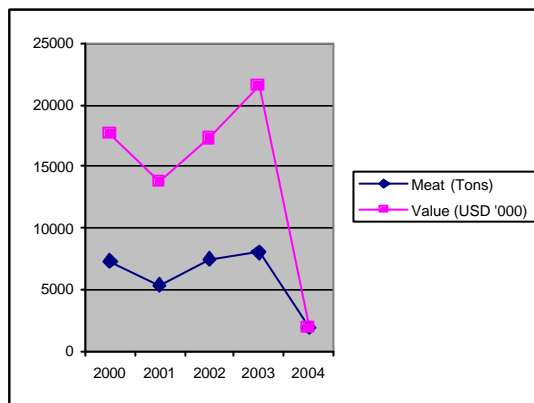
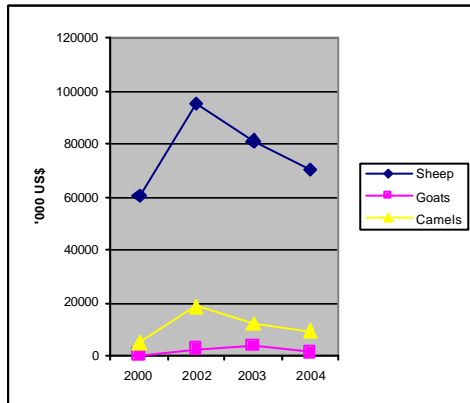


Figure 7 Value of live animal exports **Figure 8 Volume and value of chilled meat exports**



Bank of Sudan (2004) The figure for 2004 refers to the first two quarters only

Figure 9. Cattle and sheep productivity and off-take models in a Darfur traditional system¹

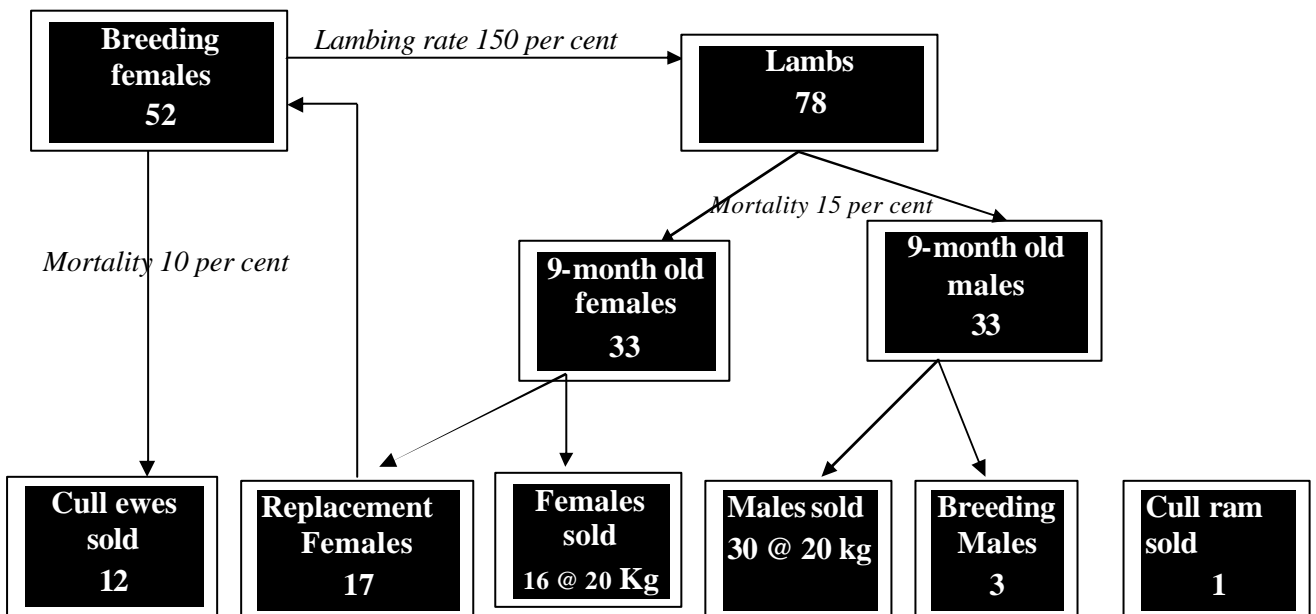
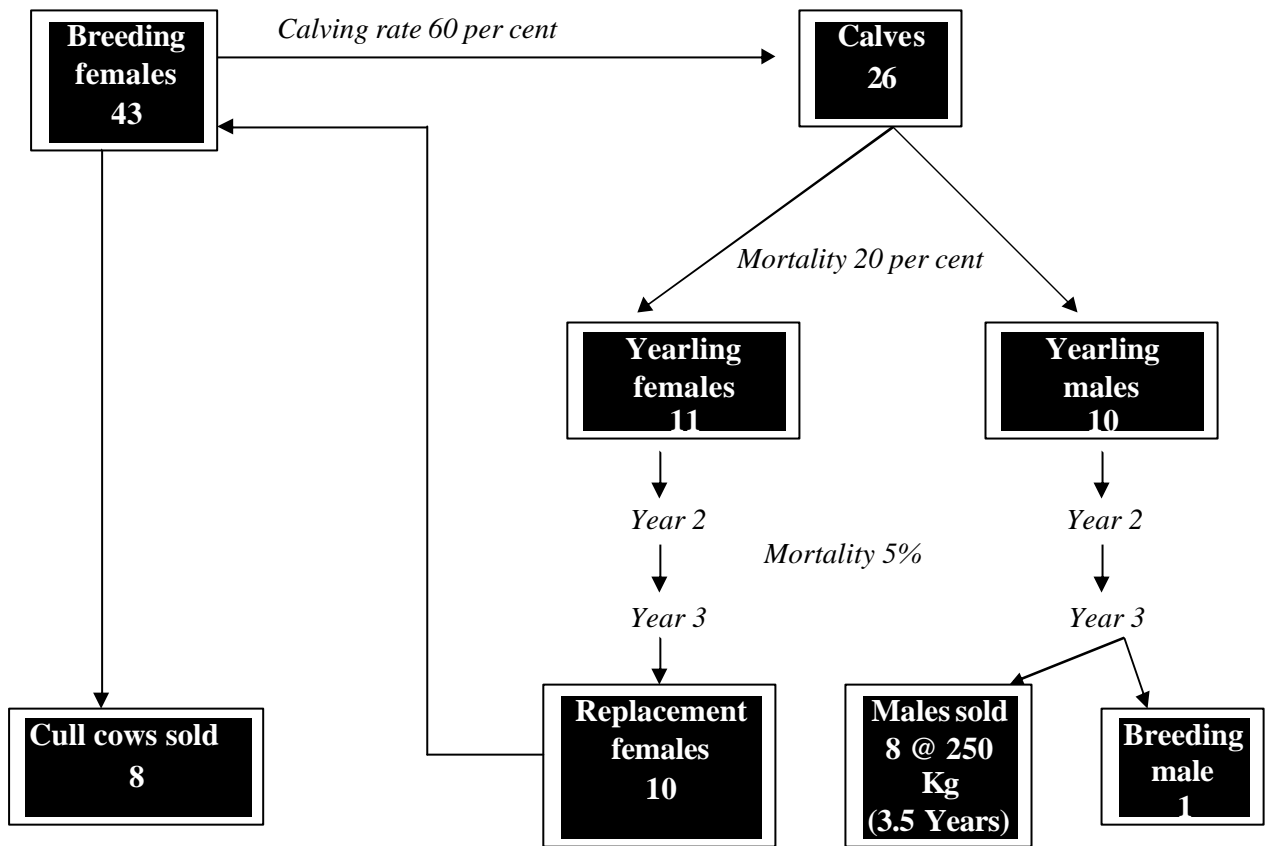


Figure 10. Schematic diagram of the livestock marketing chain in Sudan (source FAO, 1997 adapted by Aklilu, 2001)

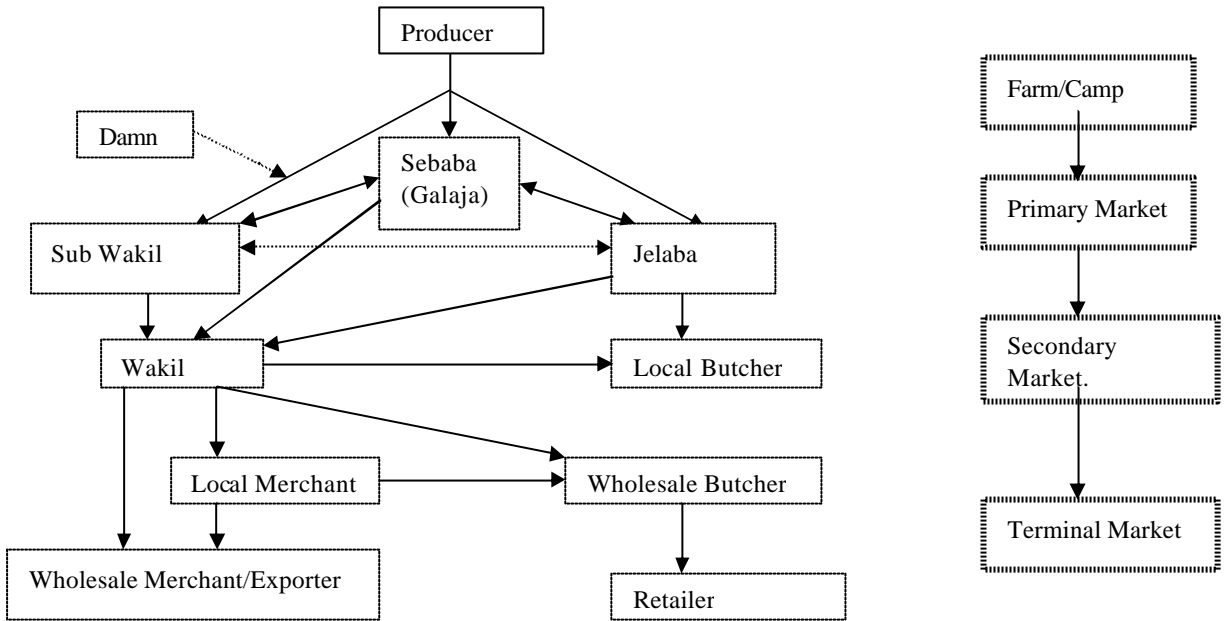


Figure 11 Camel and Donkey Trade Routes from and to Darfur

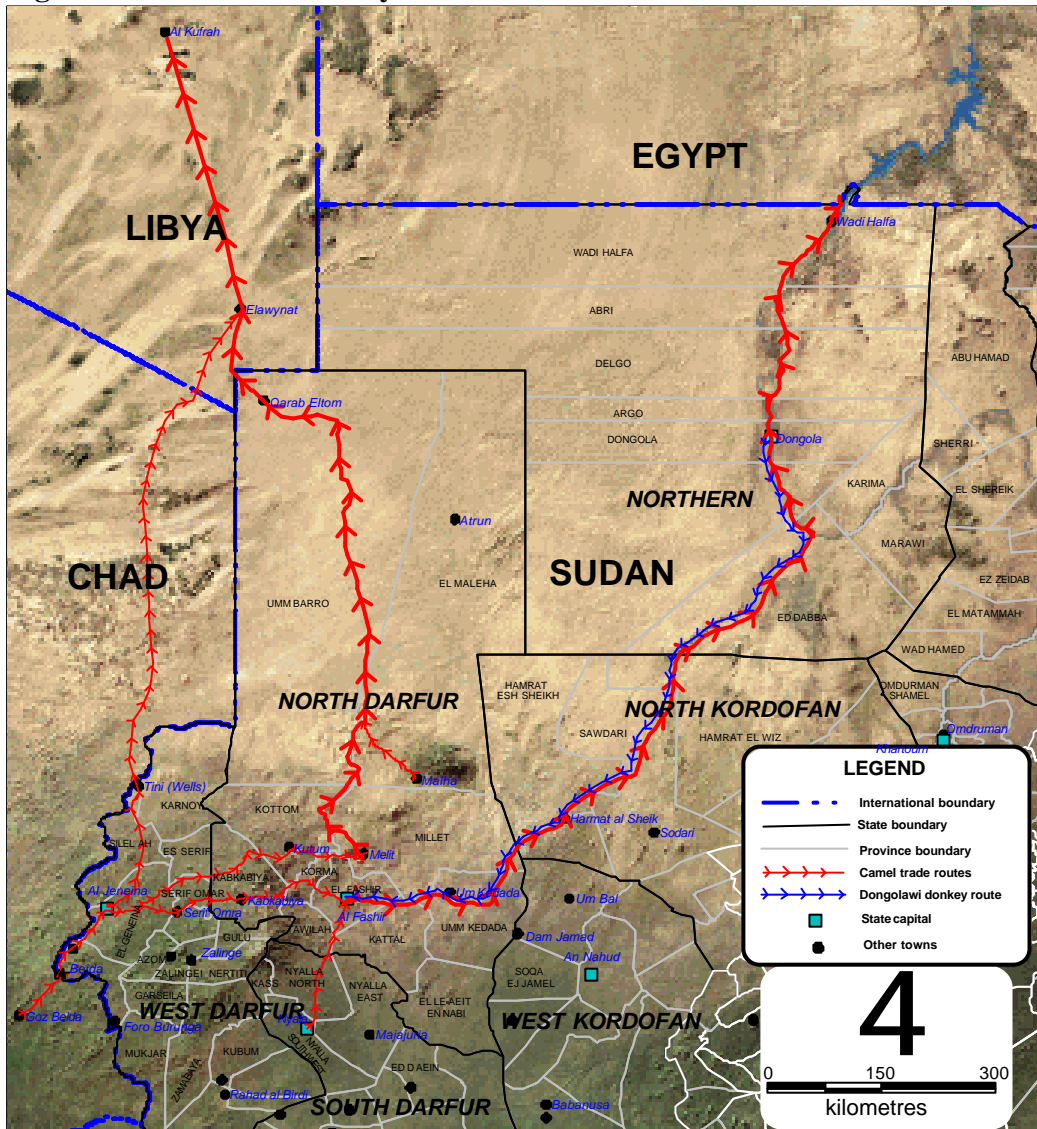


Figure 12 El Fasher rainfall record²

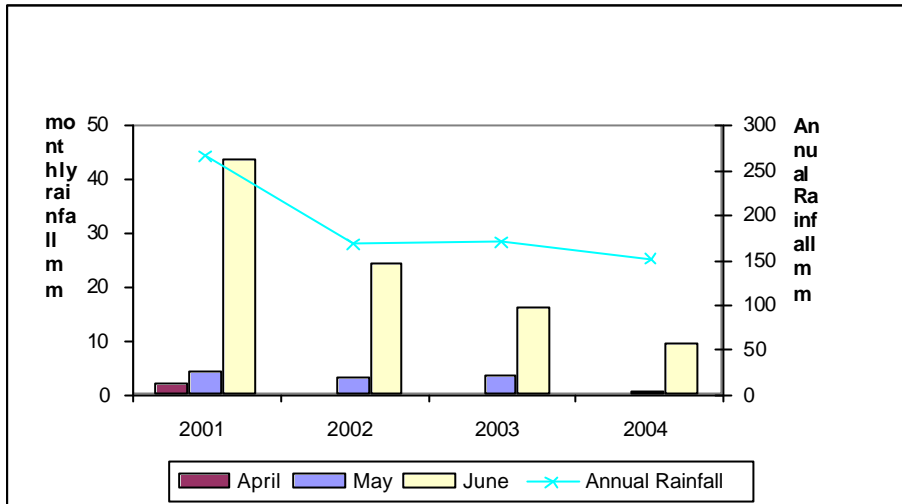


Figure 13 Livestock growth trends in Darfur³ (MOAR, 2002)

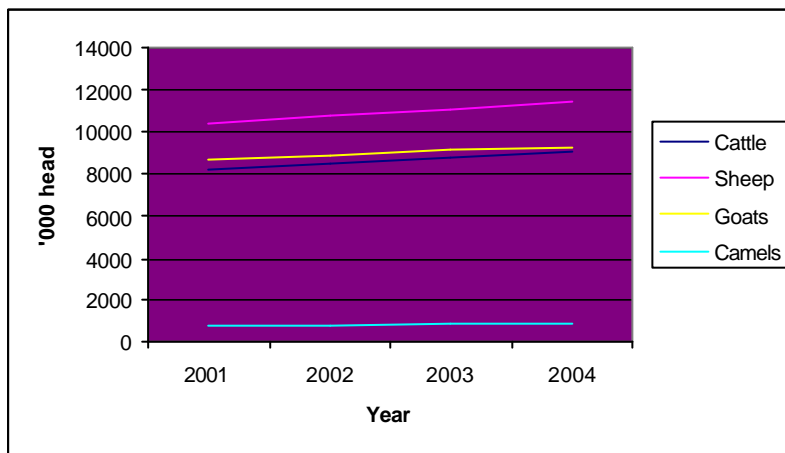
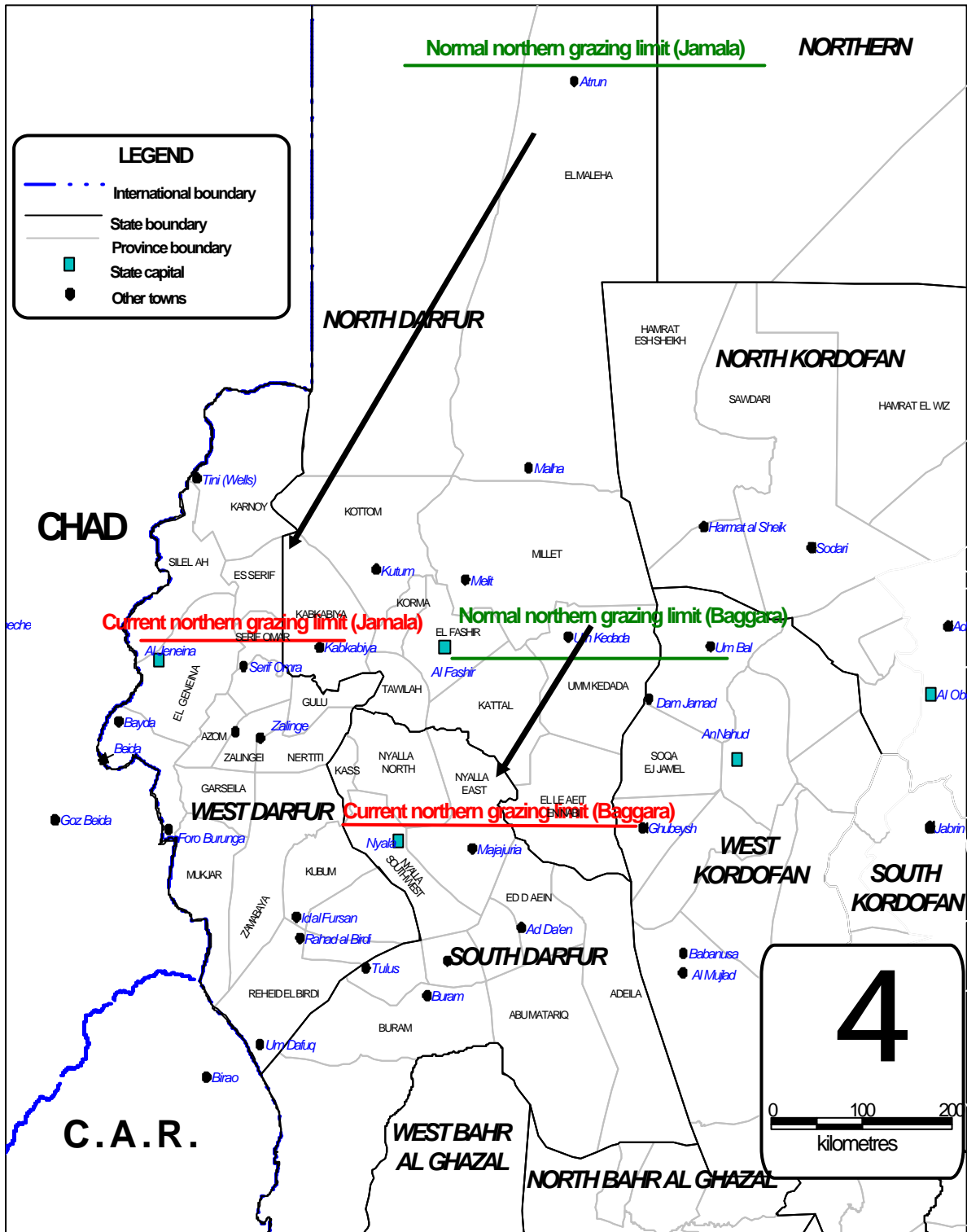
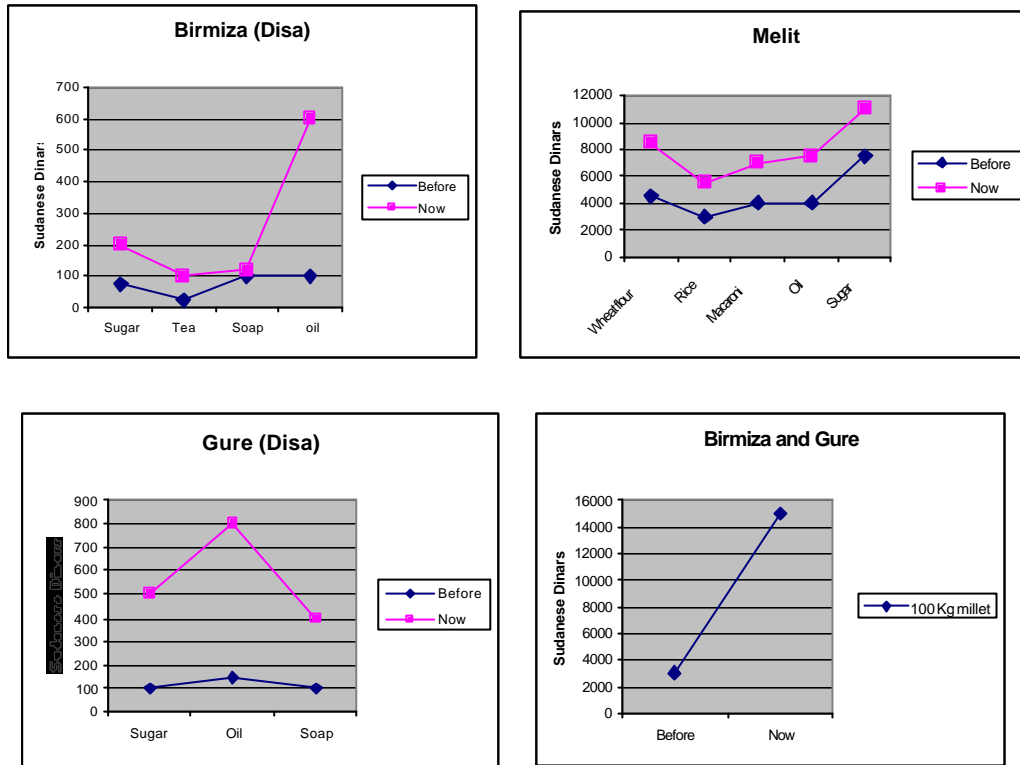


Figure 14 Normal and Crisis Migration Limits for Abbala and Baggara pastoralists

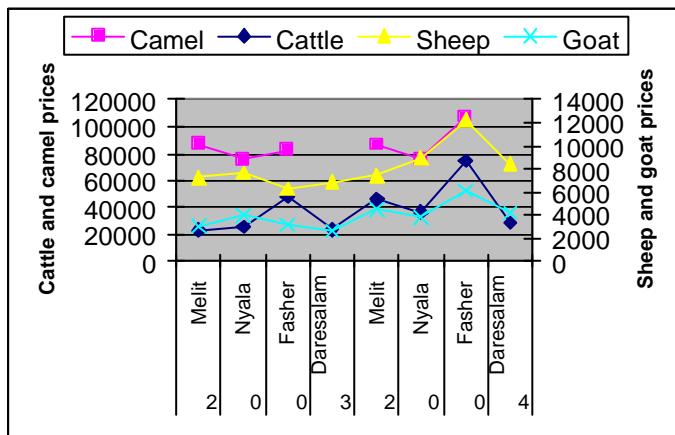


Figures. 16-19. Price fluctuations before the conflict and after the conflict (North Darfur) ¹

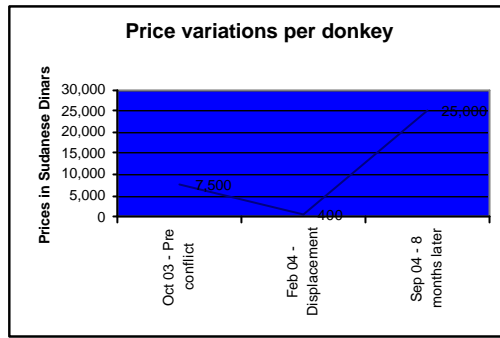
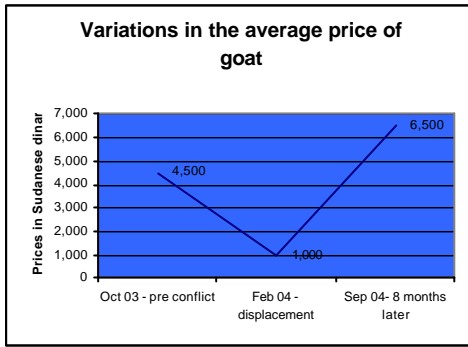


¹ Standard quantities of commodities are as follows: Sugar = ½ Kg in all places except in Mellit where it was measured in 50 Kgs; Oil = 750 ml except in Mellit where it was measured in 20 Kgs; Tea = 28 grams; Soap = 4 or 5 bars; wheat flour = 50 Kgs; Macaroni = 20 Kgs

Figure 20 Livestock price trends in selected markets



Figures 21-22 Immediate Impact of the Conflict on Livestock Prices at El Fasher



Source: Key informants at El Fasher

Chapter 5

Labour Migration and Remittances A Mainstay of Livelihoods in Darfur

Contents

Introduction.....	1
Labour migration to Libya	2
Recent migration trends	5
Numbers of Sudanese.....	6
Kufra – a hub for Darfurian migrants	7
Migration Routes.....	7
The social and economic situation of the Sudanese migrant workers in Kufra.....	9
Social organization.....	10
Employment.....	11
Labour rates.....	12
Sudanese women in Libya	14
Remittances from Libya.....	14
The Hawala system.....	17
Communications	18
Labour migration to Libya - Concluding remarks	18
Internal migration to Khartoum and Gedaref.....	19
Reasons for migration.....	20
Characteristics of Darfurian migrants.....	20
Internal migration routes from Darfur	22
Accommodation.....	22
Employment.....	23
Challenges	24
Conclusions	25
References	27

Introduction

Migration across national boundaries in search of work has long been a feature of peoples' livelihoods in Darfur. There has always been considerable uncertainty about the number of migrants involved, the nature of their employment and their remittance behaviour. Estimates of global remittances by migrants are generally rising to levels that are on par with global development assistance and foreign direct investment in the developing world³. Choucri (1986) estimated remittances contributed more than 3 billion to the Sudanese economy. However such estimates are difficult to obtain given that formally recorded remittances generated by migration across national borders represent only the tip of the iceberg of the hidden economy⁴. Clearly the 'formal economy' inadequately represents the 'true' economy.

Studies and reports have continually remarked on the widespread scale of labour migration from Darfur, and the significance of the remittances sent back to Darfur⁵.

Surveys in north east Darfur in 1988 revealed that 20 per cent of households had a member working in Libya and sending back remittances. Wealth ranking exercises showed that receipt of remittances were a feature of better off wealth groups; the top wealth group often had a family member legally employed in Libya, while the migrant workers of medium wealth groups were more likely to be working without proper papers. Poorer wealth groups did not receive remittances⁶. The Food Economy profiles developed by SC UK indicate the importance of labour migration as a livelihood strategy in all Food Economy zones, and even have one zone titled 'Agro-Migrant Zone' for whom remittances are the second most important source of income for middle income groups⁷.

There are essentially three broad categories of labour migration, including:

1. Internal migration within Darfur for seasonal agricultural work, work as herders or drovers, or to find work in the main towns.
2. Internal migration to central and eastern Sudan, including Omdurman and Khartoum, and Gedaref in Eastern Sudan.
3. External migration to other countries, including Libya, Egypt, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and other Arab States. Relatively few Darfurians reach Europe.

This chapter focuses on external migration to Libya, and internal migration to Khartoum and Gedaref, Eastern Sudan. The individual case-studies in Chapter 3 provide the specific details of labour migration from each of the areas visited, and also impact of the crises on receipt of remittances and communications.

Labour migration to Libya

Labour migration and commerce across the desert through the trans-saharan routes and oases to Libya has been a historic feature of livelihoods in Darfur. The discovery of oil in Libya and the oil boom of the seventies and eighties intensified these existing patterns of migration and became a consistent feature of the region. The journey from Darfur to Libya on foot and by camel, lead by a desert expert, took around 30 to 35 days. The caravans traveled by night and rest during the day. The introduction of trucks and four wheel drive vehicles accelerated this process of labour migration and trade.

Little is known about the impact of economic sanctions in Libya on economic opportunities for Sudanese workers. For certain, high inflation and a contracting economy in the nineties in Libya significantly affected this phenomenon. Declining rates of exchange in the mid to late nineties were also to the disfavour of the Sudanese.

More recently, Libya has attracted world attention with the lifting of UN and US commercial sanctions. On April 23 2004 the United States lifted the majority of sanctions imposed on Libya under the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act of 1996, thus opening up opportunities for political and economic dialogue. Far more important than sanctions, the economy of Libya is bound up with the price of crude petroleum and the export quota's agreed by OPEC. With the recent lifting of sanctions a

significant increase in foreign investment is to be expected, which combined with the increase in export quota's of crude petroleum (as compared to the nineties) bodes well for the Libyan economy. But these positive affects will take some time to increase the demand for migrant labour as a critical input for economic performance.

Box 1 Oil and the economy of Libya

The Libyan economy still depends on oil exports for 95 per cent of its hard currency. Libya is said to have about 36 billion barrels of known oil reserves (3 per cent of the world total) but only 25 per cent of its reserves have been explored. Libya also has plentiful reserves of natural gas. Many multinational oil companies have shifted their focus from Iraq to Libya since the lifting of sanctions and growing security fears and uncertainty over that Iraq's investment climate. According to oil industry analysts quoted in the New York Times, Libya produces about 1.5 million barrels of oil a day, but is thought to be able to double that to 3 million barrels a day in a decade with foreign, particularly American investment and the introduction of new technologies⁸. Another reason given for the interest in Libya is that the crude oil produced there is low in sulfur, and thus is relatively easy and cheap to refine for consumption in the United States and Europe. And Libya's location provides relatively easy access to southern Europe and the United States.

Although the focus of American companies re-entering Libya is overwhelmingly on oil and gas, there are expected to be developments in tourism, business-class hotels and sales of technical equipment previously unavailable to Libyans⁸.

Libya's foreign workforce

As a result of Gaddafi's ideals of African Unity and Pan-Arabism, Libya has had a relatively open door policy to most other African nations. By the mid-nineties the open door policy was changing, as numbers of migrants had increased, inflation was at a record high and the economy was contracting (in part due to sanctions). The once welcoming environment was becoming increasingly hostile.

In 1995 Libya announced that it was ending its dependence on foreign workers to open up jobs for Libyans (rate of unemployment was 30 per cent), and to reduce illegal immigration. In response, over 335,000 foreigners were sent home in 1995, of which 200,000 were deported and the remainder left voluntarily⁹. This crackdown by the authorities included intensive raids or forced repatriation (known as *kasha*) in 1995. In these *Kasha*, the migrants were forcibly transported in trucks to Kufra and then across the Sahara to El Fashir and Mellit in north Darfur. Sudanese interviewed in Kufra also reported that people were given a seven day warning to give them the chance to leave, but after that people were rounded up and put in detention centers.

The *kasha* were prompted by the increasing security concerns of the Libyan government caused by the infiltration of fundamentalist Islamic groups who were thought to be trained in Afghanistan as *mujahedeen*. The infiltration of these groups into Libya was claimed to be facilitated by the Sudanese government¹.

In 1996 an estimated 4,000 Sudanese migrants broke out of the detention center in Hawza Elenab and marched to the Sudanese embassy. Interviewees claimed that around 300 to 400 were shot and killed. The mounting international pressure and criticism of the Libyan authorities over this incidence prompted the Libyan

¹ Since the lifting of sanctions, the Libyan Government has expressed renewed concerns over the Islamic extremists infiltration of Libya and other parts of the region to create a buffer state in the border regions of Niger, Chad, Sudan and Libya. These claims, however, came under the umbrella of fighting Islamic terrorists.

government to relax their clampdown, especially on the Sudanese. New waves of migrants quickly followed, smuggled by trucks from El Tina, Mellit and Kornoï in north Darfur to Kufra or from Chad to Sabha in Libya.

By 2000 the number of immigrants in Libya was estimated to be more than 2.5 million (one immigrant for every two Libyans). In the closed society of Libya, where it is unusual to openly discuss issues as democracy and economic policy, the open door policy and the increased number of migrants provided a vent for complaints from Libyans that quickly spilled over into expressions of general unhappiness. Immigrants were blamed for threatening the social fabric of Libya and for a wide variety of social problems such as crime, prostitution, drugs etc.

The withdrawals of the official and unofficial welcome for the immigrants in Libya lead to an increase in the number of migrants expanding their horizons to Europe just across the Mediterranean. *“We are trapped. Life here is not going to get better, and no one wants to go back across the Sahara to his home. I think Africans may try to take any risk to get to Italy”* said a Somali immigrant (www.ghanaweb.com). However, the trip to Europe is expensive costing \$1,200 to \$1,800. The financing of such a trip is usually provided by relatives already in Europe and the U.S. The money from these sources has to be transferred through the Hawala system between Europe and Libya for both Sudanese and non Sudanese immigrants (Box 2).

By August/September 2000 the resentment and tensions boiled over into violence in Zawiya and Zahrah and other locations in Libya. Reports for the figures for those killed range from 50 to 500. Many Sudanese were reported to be killed in those attacks.

Press reports describe an order by the Libyan authorities to crack down on employment of foreign workers with the aim of ‘the libyanization of employment’. The press reported that 130 died in the town of Zawiya, west of Tripoli, while Libyan officials later claimed only four died in the September fighting. In Benghazi the violence against migrants was said by interviewees to be more limited as there was government intervention. According to the media (AFP), an estimated 6,000 Sudanese were deported or fled following this.

Box 2 Onward travel to Italy from Northern Libya

Concerns about smuggling illegal immigrants to Europe from Libya have always been raised, especially by the Italians. In the light of Libya's interest and recent moves to pacify its relations with Europe this might mean Libya has to adopt a more strict policy on migration to limit trafficking gangs and smuggling of immigrants into Europe.

June to September is the main season for this smuggling activity. The smugglers are reportedly Libyan, and corruption among officials allows this to continue. There are also many Sudanese working in this business. A single passage to Libya costs between \$1,000 to \$1,200.

According to one source (deemed reliable) of the 20 to 30 boats leaving northern Libya for Italy, only 2 or 3 actually arrive. The others are either caught by the Libyan authorities, carried off-course by currents to Tunisia or Malta, or capsized. There are many stories of drowning among the Sudanese. The source estimates the number of who left from Bengazi area and died in their way to Europe to be 100 persons since 2002. It is to be noted that Bengazi area is not a major area for immigration to Europe. Tripoli is the main area of trafficking to Europe.

One Darfurian association tries to warn young Darfurians of the risks of traveling to Italy and what faces them of the detention and deportation that awaits them if they are able to get there. If they are still determined to leave, this association gives them a leaflet that explains that the holder speaks Arabic and requests the Italian authorities to help them because they are from Darfur.

The New York Times reported more than 400 illegal immigrants trying to reach Italy by sea arrived on the Sicilian island of Lampedusa over a period of three days from Libya. In late July, 2004, the Italian interior minister, Giuseppe Pisanu, warned Parliament that two million people are waiting to depart Libya for Italy¹

Recent migration trends

Since the rebellion erupted in Darfur in 2003 the flow of Sudanese immigrants into Libya has almost ceased for three reasons; first insecurity makes travel more hazardous, especially on the routes through the desert in North Darfur, second the national border between Sudan and Libya has been closed, and lastly many of the groups of young labour migrants are absorbed in the different tribal militia and warring factions.

Border closure between Sudan and Libya

Two developments in 2004 have further dramatically affected the situation of Sudanese migrant workers. First, was the closure of the national border between Sudan and Libya in May 2003, effectively stopping the traffic of migrant workers between Darfur and southern Libya, and the well established trade routes between Libya and Sudan (via Darfur). Communications have also been seriously affected.

The closure of the route has meant that Darfurians have not been able to opt for Libya as a place of refuge. Yet many arrived in Kufra just before the closure of the route and a some arrived through the Chad route which is still open. A few families arrived by air from ElFasher.

The closure of the border has had a significant impact on both the livelihoods and well-being of the Sudanese community, and also economic activity in Kufra. This is remarked upon at the highest level with the governor of Kufra stressing that this had affected work opportunities, and the volume of trade (livestock and general

goods) not just between Kufra and Darfur, but extending to other Arab countries (particularly Egypt, but UAE, and Saudi Arabia also) and the whole of Sudan.

Authorities require migrant workers to have health certificate

The second major development, in February 2004 the General People's Congress approved laws to restrict immigration and to expatriate Africans and other migrants who live in Libya but have no steady jobs. In addition, foreign workers including Sudanese are required to obtain a health certificate, showing they have passed successfully a series of clinical health tests², including HIV¹⁰. The certificate must be renewed every six months for restaurant workers and every year for others. These tests are only available to legal immigrants i.e. those with identity papers and those who can pay the fee LD70 (\$50). Failing the test risks forfeit of identity papers, prison and deportation. A health certificate and proper identity papers are required of any migrant worker. Interviewees estimated that the proportion of Sudanese with legal papers and health certificates were approximately 3 in every 10. As one woman, wife of a trader said, '*Even if you have money you are under pressure to go (back to Sudan)*'.

Push and pull factors for migration

Darfurian labour migration to Libya is a reflection of pull and push factors. The push factors include conscription and compulsory recruitment in the popular defense force in Sudan; limited work opportunities in Darfur; failing livelihoods as a result of recurrent drought and insecurity. The pull factors were the Libyan government 'open-door' policies, the potential for better paid work opportunities; the relative ease with which Libya may be reached (in terms of low cost and limited procedures as compared to other Arab countries) and the availability of contacts through friends, relatives and tribal clans in Libya. The latter includes access to a loan of approximately LD 50 on arrival for getting started.

Since 2003 and the eruption of the rebel insurgency and government counter-insurgency the pressures to leave have changed. As one young Darfurian in Benghazi, who arrived in July 2003, put it '*In Darfur we had three options; join the rebels, go to the camps or get out*¹¹'. Older Darfurians looked on it differently and considered it to be shameful for Darfurian men to leave Darfur at such a time¹².

Numbers of Sudanese

No official estimates of numbers of Sudanese were found, let alone numbers of Darfurians. The International Labour Organization's International Labour Migration Database has no statistics for either Sudan or Libya. In 1995, reports estimated the total population of Sudanese to be 500,000, of whom 70,000 left as a result of the deportations⁹. Sudanese interviewees quoted the Sudan Embassy official estimates of registered legal Darfurian workers in Libya of 250,000. The Sudanese Embassy is also reported to estimate that there are 70,000 illegal Darfurians in Libya, who crossed through the desert. This would make a total of 320,000 – 5 per cent of the total population of Darfur, which is 6.26 million. An alternative way of looking at

² The following tests are required from the health certificate: HIV, hepatitis B virus, Hepatitis C virus, urine complete, blood grouping, malaria, blood sugar in urine, ketones and complete blood tests, x ray and physical examination.

this figure is the proportion of households in Darfur with a migrant worker in Libya. Assuming an average household of 6, this would mean that 30 per cent of all households have a migrant worker in Libya. This average figure seems high and probably reflects previous years, since when numbers have declined. A more realistic estimate is considered to be in the range of 150,000 to 250,000 including both legal and illegal immigrants.

The Libyan prisons are also said to have high concentrations of Darfurians, one source believed there were 400 Darfurians in prison in Queffi prison in Benghazi. Many of these have been caught trying to travel illegally to Benghazi.

Kufra – a hub for Darfurian migrants

Kufra is the main transit point for Sudanese coming to Libya directly from Sudan via Darfur, and many are passing through on their way to the agricultural areas of Sebha, or the coast, including the major coastal cities of Benghazi and Tripoli. Representatives of the Popular Congress for Sudanese in Kufra described recent trends in labour migration for Kufra¹³. A graphical representation of this is shown in Figure 1, based on maps drawn as a PRA exercise. The graph reflects the major trends in labour migration from Sudan as discussed above, including:

- The 1995 deportations, and subsequent fall in numbers arriving.
- The 2000 deportations, and subsequent fall in numbers arriving.
- In 2004 the impact of the closure of the border and indirectly the loss of trade and implications for livelihoods.

Figure 1 Annual number of Sudanese arriving and departing from Kufra, southeastern Libya

Darfurians in Kufra

In Kufra the majority of Sudanese are Darfurians – up to 80 per cent according to one source, while in Benghazi a smaller proportion of Sudanese are from Darfur (less than 30 per cent), yet they are still a very large community³. Most Sudanese in Kufra are living in Jincia – a small town for migrants about 10km from the main town of Kufra. Jincia means nationalities, and is home to people from Chad, Nigeria, Ghana Cameroun, Morocco, Egypt, Syria and Palestinians. Jincia is remarkable for its well-developed and extensive market place which closely resembles Souk Libya in Omdurman (Khartoum). This market mainly serves the migrants who wish to buy goods to take back or send back home. Sudanese and Chadians are the largest group. Other concentrations of Sudanese are found in the big agricultural project in Kufra, the livestock market, on the private farms or are working in the main town as traders or for organizations. According to one group currently, *‘thousands (of men in Darfur) want to come to Libya, but only a few have the money to come’*.

Migration Routes

The routes to and from Sudan have changed over the years. Up to 1993 the main transit route was from Mellit in North Darfur to Kufra by truck via the Libyan border

³ A Darfurian Hawala in Benghazi estimated the total number of the Darfurians in Benghazi and its suburbs to be 150,000.

town of Aweinat, and taking about seven days in total. Some trucks also went from Kutum, Tina and Kornoï in Darfur and Elhamra in North Kordofan.

In 1993 a new customs point opened in Dongola, thus requiring the route to go through Dongola but still transitting through North Darfur. At the same time, a new bus service started which opened up Libya to many Sudanese living in Central and Eastern Sudan. This 1993/94 period was associated with a 'rush' of sudanese migrants.

Since the border closure, there are four routes for Darfurians to travel to and from Libya:

1. Via Tina on the Darfur/ Chad border and through Chad and up to Kufra (see Figure 5).
2. Via Tine on the Darfur/ Chad border and through Chad and up to Sebha in south western Libya.
3. Through the desert (smuggled illegally).
4. Biweekly flights from El Fasher to Kufra costing One Way LD250 (\$188); Return LD350 (\$263), which is said to be an option only for the rich and for those with legal identity papers. However, nowadays this option is not common for Darfurians and many of the flights are cancelled because there are not enough travelers. Darfurians are concerned that they might be interrogated by the security when they arrive and also that they may not be able to leave ElFasher especially for those who live in the rural area.

There are two small towns called Tina, one either side of the Sudan/ Chad national border. There is a refugee camp about 15km from the Chadian Tina. Chadian Tina is an important hub for migrants, where large numbers of men were reported to be trying to get to Libya. However, few can afford the fare so there are also few trucks making the journey. Buses on the route from Tine are apparently rare.

The truck journey from Tina to Kufra takes about 15 days, with water supplies carefully rationed out to 3 cups of water per person per day, which although sparse is considered '*better than dying in Darfur*'. This journey costs between 250,000 and 750,000 Sudanese Pounds (about \$100 to \$300). The return journey from Kufra to Tina is also very expensive, as each passenger must pay fees at three main customs points and many smaller points. Each passenger must pay LD170 (\$128) for the journey, and about SP 400,000 (\$156) in fees. Through Darfur the taxes and one passage together cost about LD 80 – LD90 (\$60 - \$70). Some truck drivers are clearly concerned about the security of this road and the situation in Tine, which was reportedly bombed by Antonovs.

The third option of travelling illegally – *smuggling* through the desert is extremely arduous and risky both in terms of insecurity on the Darfurian side of the border, and because the vehicles cannot stop for provisions at the border checkpoints.

According to the Sudanese Popular Committee (and later verified with customs officials), the week before the teams visit a sudanese landcruiser was picked up by the Libyan police patrols inside Libya's borders with 35 passengers, of whom 28 had died¹³. Between 1997 and 2004, the SPC have recorded 486 deaths of travelers on the journey from the Sudan border to Libya. This figure represents only those who died after they crossed the Libyan borders and they were buried inside Libya. The

most hazardous part of the journey to Libya from Sudan is through the desert in north Darfur. Several sources confirmed that it was not uncommon for landcruisers to carry up to 40 passengers, which beggars belief but illustrates the pressure on transport.

The onwards journey in Libya depends on whether or not migrants have the appropriate identity papers (passport or travel documents), including health certificate. With the papers migrants may take a normal Libyan bus which costs LD13, without a passport or health certificate migrants must pay to be smuggled from Kufra to Benghazi on routes than bypass the security points. This costs more than LD 100 (\$75 or 2 – 3 months work)¹⁴.

The social and economic situation of the Sudanese migrant workers in Kufra

As a transit point for migrant workers, Kufra has a fluid population of migrants. According to the Governor of Kufra on average 10 to 12 thousand people pass through Kufra every month¹⁵. At peak levels of immigration up to 90,000 could be expected. Immigration is currently at its lowest point¹⁶.

Table 1 provides an overview of the characteristics of the Sudanese migrant workers living in Kufra, based on a survey by the University of Kufra. The sample was all men. A small number of Sudanese women are found, most of whom are the wives of established Sudanese workers or trades people. In other words women rarely if ever come to Libya unless it is to join their husbands. Although households are found where the man is no longer able to work and therefore the woman is the main provider¹⁷. In Benghazi for example, there were a few women working as teachers and nursing assistants.

It might be expected that labour migrants are predominantly young unmarried men seeking their fortunes, but Table 1 indicates that most are married, and that there are a high proportion aged 30 years and above. This profile suggests a relatively mature and skilled labour force with relatively high rates of literacy and education. Data from 2001 indicates that adult literacy in Darfur and Kordofan is around 38 per cent of the population older than 15 years¹⁸, which is about half that of the migrants to Libya (71 per cent). How this profile has been influenced as a result of young men being recruited to fight on either side is unclear.

Table 1 Profile of Sudanese¹ labour migrants in Kufra, south eastern Libya (July 2004)¹⁹

Age	15 – 30 years	42.5%
	31 – 50 years	48.5%
	> 50 years of age	9%
Marital status	Married	75.5%
	Unmarried	24.5%
Level of education	Primary and secondary education	71.3%
	Illiterate	26.4%
	University graduate	2.3%
Date of arrival in	After 2000	70.0%

Kufra	1990 – 2000	23.2%
	Before 1990	6.8%

1. Total sample 385 Sudanese, of which 300 (78 per cent) from Darfur

Social organization

In Benghazi, there is a Sudanese consulate with a sub-office opening in July/August in Kufra. There are a number of Sudanese associations recognized by the Libyan authorities and therefore permitted to operate openly in collaboration with groups like the Libyan Red Crescent. The Popular Congress for Sudanese in Kufra is one such group, and they stress their strong social and economic linkages between Kufra and Darfur and North Kordofan, both in stable times and in times of crisis. There are also Libyans with strong contacts with Sudan. For example, members of the Libyan Red Crescent worked in Darfur with the Sudanese Red Crescent during the 1985 famine.

The Popular Congress for Sudanese was established in 1981, and was essentially for political and military coordination purposes during the Numayri's regime (when followers of Sadiq el Mahdi left and re-grouped in southeastern Libya). One of its roles was to assist newly arriving migrants from Sudan, including raising contributions from other Sudanese, and organizing the burials of those who perished on the journey.

There are also a number of informal groups (ie. without official recognition by the Libyan authorities or the Sudanese Consulate) who organize support for the Sudanese communities, including supporting new arrivals, advice, information, help with accommodation, finding work, possibly credit and skills based training.

There are well developed and strong tribal and family networks, through which more established migrants assist newly arrived migrants particularly during their first two months in the country. Many Sudanese small businessmen, including tailors, shoecleaners and cobblers, described how their contacts had supported them initially and helped them set up with their small businesses, including both capital and skills training (working with other Sudanese).

These networks are under increasing strain with the decline in economic opportunities in Libya, combined with the polarizing effects of the conflict in Darfur. Although, the Darfur conflict is widely understood not to be a tribal conflict there is increasing anxiety and nervousness as news comes through of atrocities, personal losses or a loss of contact altogether. This is sufficient to cause ethnic groups to stick together more and sharpens the division between tribes. Tensions and limited conflict took place between the Zaghawa and the Arabs Darfurians in Benghazi. Although it is probably no coincidence that the leaders of the Popular Congress for Sudanese in Kufra are not from ethnic groups specifically associated with the rebel factions or government supporters (from north Kordofan) (and also who have been living in Libya for more than 20 years). A strong sense of Sudanese identity (rather than tribal identity) was evident in all discussions.

Before the closure of the Sudan Libya border there was active recruitment by the rebels in Libya; from Tripoli Darfurian men were given LD 200 for the journey back

to Darfur, and LD 200 to buy a weapon once they were there¹². The same source claimed that the GoS was also actively recruiting Arabs from other countries to join the Jinjaweed, although this could not be verified.

Employment

Sudanese who lived and worked in Libya through the nineties commented on the difficulties post 1995, when government restrictions and deportations made life much more difficult. This combined with the economic decline in Libya, has affected work opportunities for Sudanese migrant workers. In 1995 the foreigners in Libya included 8,000 hotel employees, 26,000 truck drivers, 70,000 masons, 300,000 factory workers and 500,000 agricultural workers²⁰. This shows the predominance of agricultural workers, but does not reflect the more skilled labour force, including artisans (tailors, skilled construction workers), professionals (technicians, doctors, engineers) and small business men (restaurant owners). From the survey by Kufra university, 71 per cent of respondents had completed primary and secondary education, 2.3 per cent were university graduates, while 26 per cent were illiterate¹⁹.

Kufra is generally a transit point for labour migrants, rather than a main destination for work. Available work varied between the unskilled work on farms, construction, loading trucks etc., to the often highly skilled government workers, technicians, artisans (self-employed tailors), restaurant businessmen, trans-border truck drivers, caravan guides, traders and middlemen (Figure 2)²¹.

Figure 2 shows the distribution of Sudanese migrants in these different occupations in July 2004 and before the border closure. There is a strong negative impact of the border closure on drivers and mechanics, livestock traders, other traders and restaurant workers – all those whose work depends on border traffic of migrants and trade. Conversely it has led to an increase in unemployment as represented by the category of daily labourer, who have no fixed work and will take whatever they can. Sudanese in Libya do not admit to being unemployed as this might risk detention and there is always the chance of daily labouring work.

Figure 2 Livelihoods of Sudanese before the border closure and currently (excludes those in transit)

Drivers and mechanics must be experienced drivers and mechanics in order to make the extremely arduous and hazardous journey between Sudan and Libya, and possibly onwards to Alexandria. They command high fees (Table 3). The opening of the aid corridor taking food aid to refugee camps in Chad, will depend on Sudanese truck drivers and mechanics.

A variety of merchants specialize in particular trade including livestock (camels and sheep), goods (household items and food), vehicle spare parts and finally agricultural seeds (see section below on trade).

The livestock trade is a major employer and source of livelihood for Darfurians in Kufra and in Darfur, including:

- Livestock owners in Darfur
- The *Sababit* or middlemen between the trader and livestock owner

- Herders or drovers (young men 20 to 30 years of age)
- *The Habir* – the guide and leader of the herders, usually older and very experienced.
- Livestock traders

There are two kinds of herder; those who work within Sudan who travel as far as Mellit, and those who take over the herding of camels from Mellit to Kufra. The former are paid on a daily rate, while the latter are paid a sum of LD250 (\$188) for the journey plus their food. The journey takes approximately 30 - 35 days.

A herd of 560 camels employ around 16 herders at a rate of 3-4 herders per 100 camels with only one *Habir* for the group. The herder would be paid around 250 LD (\$188) and food which cost around 60 LD (\$45). Some of these herders might stay and work in Libya. In that sense herding to Libya provides a good opportunity to migrate to Libya.

Workers at the Kufra Agricultural Project and Flour Mill²²

Kufra Agricultural Project is a large mechanized irrigated farm established with US assistance prior to the sanctions era. Much of the machinery is American, and thus the project has suffered from its inability to obtain US spare parts. Crop production is organized around approx 35 fields (1km in diameter, and 50 hectares area). In addition the project rears livestock (libyan sheep), and in the past fattened camels.

Of 140 foreign workers employed by the project, 41 per cent (54) are Sudanese showing their relative dominance the foreign workforce. Sudanese comprise 39 per cent of the skilled workers who are employed year round – these tend to be long-term employees with two men having worked for 24 and 26 years respectively. One skilled worker interviewed previously worked at the Gezira agricultural Scheme in Central Sudan. Seasonal workers are employed for three to four months depending on the needs of the project.

The project manager explained that the project had employed up to 150 sudanese workers five years previously, but this had declined in part as a result of the Governments plan to ‘libyanize skilled jobs’ and second because of the estimated 50 per cent decrease in production caused by lack of US spare parts due to sanctions. The project manage was hopeful that the lifting of sanctions would mean access to spare parts, and foreign investment.

Table 2 Foreign workers employed by the Kufra Agricultural Project and Flour Mill

	Sudanese	Other foreign workers	All
Skilled	22	34	56
Unskilled Seasonal workers	32		
Total	54 (39%)	86	140 foreign

Labour rates

Salaries are generally higher on the coast than in Kufra as shown in Table 3. Unskilled daily labourers in Kufra ranges are paid LD 2 to LD 3 per day, while in

Benghazi they are paid LD 3 to LD 5 per day. There is a sharp contrast between the highly skilled jobs and the unskilled jobs. Caravan leaders command the highest wage rates, followed closely by experienced lorry drivers, illustrating the importance of the caravan and camel traffic between Libya and Sudan. Even professional technicians employed by the Agricultural Project are not paid this much. Technicians are often employed with a 'foreign contract', which means that a proportion of their earnings are transferred through the banking system.

Table 3 Examples of daily wage rates for foreign workers in Kufra and Benghazi

	Kufra	Benghazi
Experienced lorry driver	LD 600 per journey to Darfur (\$450)	
Experienced cook	LD600 per month (\$450)	
Less experienced cook	LD300 per month (\$226)	
Grocery shop worker	LD150 -200 per month (\$113 - \$150)	LD150 (\$113)
Unskilled agricultural workers	Up to LD120 per month (\$90)	LD120 per month (\$90) LD150 per month (Wadi Shoba)
Skilled workers e.g. tailor	LD 250 – 500 per month (\$188 -\$376)	LD500 – 600 per month (\$376 - \$450)
Caravan leader/guide 1 journey	LD1500 (\$1,128) & food	
Caravan herder 1 journey Mellit to Kufra	LD250 (\$188)	
Daily labourers	LD 2 – 3 per day (\$2)	LD3 – 5 per day (\$4)
Government and private sector		LD200 – 250 per month (\$150 - \$188)
<i>Kufra Agriculture Project</i>		
Technicians	LD 700 per month (\$526)	
Seasonal labourers	LD150 – 190 per month (\$113 - \$143)	
Unskilled contract workers – local contract	LD190 – LD300 per month (\$143 - \$226)	
Unskilled contract workers – foreign contract	LD450 – LD500 per month (\$338 - \$376)	
Daily labourers (no contract)	Wage rates vary according to work done.	LD3 – 5 per day (\$4)

Costs of living for Sudanese migrant workers in Kufra

The government subsidises basic foodstuffs including wheat flour, oil, sugar. Wheat flour, for example, costs the Kufra Agricultural Project LD 385 (\$289) to produce per tonne, and is sold to Libyan consumers for LD 50 (\$38) per tonne. These food subsidies are only enjoyed by Libyan consumers, some of whom then sell part of their quota's to migrants. The subsidies were designed to lessen the impact of high inflation for Libyan citizens, and allow all citizens easy access to their basic food needs. Migrants on the other hand have to pay full market price.

The most expensive costs for a family are house rental and health costs. House rent varies according to size but is in the range of LD 85 per month, and would accommodate x people. Hospital stays cost 30 LD per day plus an additional fee of 6 LD, although medicines are free. For delivery the charges are 50 LD, plus 30 LD for each day spent in the hospital. In case of Caesarian Section a payment of 500 LD for the operation should be made¹⁷.

Small businesses, such as tailors, tea shops and restaurants, have a wide range of associated costs. Shop rental in Kufra for example was about LD 120 (\$ 90) per

month, although this could house up to four tailors with an average income of LD 250 to 500 (\$188 - \$376).

Sudanese women in Libya

Sudanese women in Benghazi described how the salaries have decreased by half since 1996 in terms of their foreign exchange equivalent¹⁷. Exchange rates against the dollar have declined markedly in 1996 LD 100 was equivalent to \$350, while in 2004 LD 100 is equal to \$133.

There are some Sudanese women found working in Libya and some women accompanying their husbands. Several wives of Darfurian traders were interviewed in Kufra. In Bengazi a group of women who had been living in Libya from between 4 and 15 years described their work and lives.

During a focus group interview with a group of five Darfurian wives of traders how things have deteriorated after 1995 and how they are now considered at an all time low. Their hopes currently were *'That life will settle and peace will come and all people can go back and development will be good'*²³.

*Debt, credit and loans*⁴

Loans are available from friends and family when migrant workers first arrive, usually up to about LD 50 (\$ 38). They can also be organized through travel agents who are prepared to help with travel to other parts of Darfur.

Sudanese women in Benghazi explained they face particular difficulties paying for school fees for their children. To help with this they have a savings scheme known as the 'Sondook system' where a group of women each contributes a small sum, the sum total of which is given to one member¹⁷.

Remittances from Libya

Why do migrants remit?

The Darfurian labour migrants left Darfur for economic reasons to support their immediate and more extended family. More than 70 per cent were married and their families would have remained in Darfur, thus requiring substantial financial support. Remittances are more than just a form of 'insurance' against temporary shocks like drought, rather they form a part of the core livelihood strategies for rural communities throughout Darfur. This is indicated by the type of remittance as a large proportion is sent in kind in the form of basic household commodities including food.

Other reasons for sending back of remittances include to pay for big occasions such as weddings, funerals and feasts, and to support education of children.

Mechanisms for transfer

In Libya Sudanese migrant workers remit money and or goods back to Sudan by the following mechanisms:

- Hand-carried either personally or sent with a close friend or relative traveling by truck, landcruiser or plane (only suitable for small items and messages and limited to the better off).

- Through the Hawala system, which is only used by Darfurians in the coastal towns.

Since the closure of the national border between Sudan and Libya remittances from Libya to Darfur have almost ceased.

Amount

Focus groups estimated how much cash workers used to remit to Darfur before the crisis. The value and type of the remittance (cash or kind) depends on many factors; the income of the migrant worker; the family ties and responsibilities at home in Darfur; the system of transferring the remittance; the planned duration of stay in Libya; and the remitee's proximity to urban centres.

The income of the migrant worker obviously determines how much is available to send back (Table 4). Higher paid workers are able to send more but they are also able to send a higher proportion of their salary. This is presumably because basic living expenses in Libya fall within a limited range, which leaves a higher proportion of disposable income.

Table 4 Cash value of remittances sent by Sudanese migrant workers in Libya²⁴ (different income groups)

Monthly income	Annual income	Remittance	Per annum		Per cent of income
LD 250 – 350	\$ 2256 – 3258	LD 60 per month	LD 720	\$ 958	30% - 42%
LD 150 – 250	\$ 1353 – 2256	LD 60 every 3 months	LD 240	\$ 319	14% - 24%
Less than LD 150	Less than \$1353	Unable to remit regularly			

Table 5 Cash value of remittances sent by Sudanese skilled and unskilled migrant workers in Libya

Income group	Remittance	Annual income*	Remittances per annum	Per cent of income
Skilled workers	LD 90 per month	\$ 4,511	\$ 812	18%
Unskilled workers	LD 30 per month	\$ 1,353	\$ 271	20%

The estimates of remittances for different income groups were remarkably similar (from \$ 271 to \$ 319 for unskilled workers, and from \$812 to \$ 958 for skilled workers), and were supported by data from other interviewees. The most commonly cited amounts sent at any one time ranged between LD 30 and LD 90 (\$ 23 to \$ 68).

The amount remitted also depends on the nature and strength of family ties back in Darfur. Married men, whose wives and children were in Darfur obviously sent back a higher proportion of their earnings than single men with fewer dependents. One focus group in Darfur estimated that married men sent back between SP 300,000 and SP 400,000 every six months (\$ 230 – \$ 312 per annum), while single men sent about SP 100,000 to SP 200,000 every year (\$ 39 – \$ 78 per annum)²⁵.

Apart from money, it is very common for Darfurians to send back goods, including clothes, rice, sugar, infant formula and oil – all of which are more expensive in

Darfur. The option of sending goods rather than cash was preferred by those Darfurians who live with their families in Libya. It was also more common in Kufra than in the coastal towns of Libya, which were several hundred miles further from Darfur. For example, one young man described how he sent one sack of sugar and flour every month to his parents in Mellit.

The amount sent partly also depends on whether friends and family are traveling back home, and if they are able to carry goods or cash. Mellit is particularly well-served as this is where many of the Sudanese drivers come from, who before would willingly carry cash and goods for friends and family.

This has now stopped because of the border closure but there were examples of some men still trying to send cash. For example, one man recently sent \$200 hand-carried by a friend. But there are problems of sending cash rather than goods in the current context, first the very high inflation in Darfur⁴ (and shortages of some commodities) as a result of the crisis, second the insecurity and risk of being robbed or worse, and third, the poor communications.

There is an entire trade industry in Jincia⁵ that supplies goods to individual migrant workers for sending back to Darfur. Jincia market is famous, a vast souq with several hundred small shops, which closely resembles the souq at Omdurman. These traders in general goods reported that since the border has closed the demand for such goods has dropped significantly as people are not going back as few can afford the more expensive alternative route through Chad (about \$300 as compared to \$60 to \$70). When individuals travel with their own goods they took a much wider range of household items.

Box 3 Example of remittances received in Darfur from Libya

*Wadi Shoba (Kebkabiya)*²⁶,

Arab groups who worked as herders & agricultural labourers:

- Cash remittance sent every three months around 50 to 100 LD
- Sent every three to six months around 200 to 300 LD
- Sent every six to nine months around 700 LD

Range: \$38 to \$ 900

Goweij, Disr

The average frequency was said to be every 1.5 to 3 months, and the average amount 5,000 - 10,000 Sudanese Dinar.

Range = \$ 78 - \$ 350 per annum

*Jary, Disr*²⁷

Remittances were sent between every month, and every three months. Monthly amounts varied between SP 10,000 and SP 50,000, which is equivalent to \$47 to \$ 234 per annum. Quarterly amounts varied between SP 800,000 and SP 1200,000 (\$ 312 and \$ 470 per annum).

Range = \$47 to \$ 470

*Seraij*²⁸

⁴ Prior to the border closure prices in Darfur were lower than other places in Sudan, but as a result of conflict and border closure they are now much higher.

⁵ Jincia is an outlying village in Kufra, which is populated by migrants of all nationalities (jincia means nationality) and has a huge covered souq. Many of the shops in the souq are run by Darfurians of a particular ethnic group and geographic origin.

The amounts of money sent back varied between SP 100,000 to 150,000 per year
Range = \$ 39 and \$58 per annum²⁸.

El Geneina

The amount sent was between SP 200,000 and 300,000 pounds (\$78 - \$120) two or three times a year.²⁵

Range = \$ 150 to \$ 350

Zayadia focus group (men) Mellit²⁹

Four out of 10 families have a male family member working in Libya²⁹.

Remittances sent back ranged between \$100 to \$150 every 3 to 6 months

Range = \$200 to \$ 600

The Hawala system

The Hawala system is based on a network of *Hawaldars* – local financial intermediaries. To send a *Hawala*, (money or goods transfer) the person in Libya approaches the local Hawaldar who phones the Hawaldar in the destination town in Sudan, who then contacts the recipient in Sudan and asks them to come to the phone to speak with the sender. The sender then confirms to the Hawaldar in Sudan that the recipient is the right person, so the Hawaldar hands over the agreed sum. Only then is the Hawaldar in Libya paid by the sender. The Hawaldar's make their money by the differential in exchange rates between the two currencies.

The Hawala system is also only available to those who want to send remittances to people living in the main towns (or with contacts there), including for example, El Fasher, Mellit, Kutum, Geneina and Nyala. One Darfurian migrant said that the Hawala system was only used in an emergency, as it had the advantage of speed.

Darfurian traders and Hawaldars in Benghazi explained that the Hawala system functions as a part of a system that covers the Gulf and as far as Europe, serving all nationalities. Thus, relatives in other parts of the world were able to support their relatives and friends in Libya, especially those who were using Libya as a transit point to other countries. Traders unable to use the banking system in Bengazi use the Hawala system to transfer sums of about 2 million sudanese pounds (\$ 800) to the Gulf and Saudia Arabia to buy goods. These goods are then sent from Saudi Arabia directly to Sudan.

One Hawaldar in Bengazi explained that he has around 300 people of all nationalities sending monthly Hawalas worldwide. Around 48 of these (16 per cent) were thought to be from Darfur. The amounts vary from LD 60 to LD 240 per person (\$45 - \$180) with an average of 150 (\$113). Hawaldars are making use of satellite phones to greatly improve communications.

Costs of sending a Hawala

Sending a Hawala incurs costs, which is why Darfurians try to hand carry their remittances as much as possible. In Kufra, the Hawala system is less commonly used by Darfurian migrants than by Sudanese from other parts of Sudan. For example a cobbler described how he sends his wife in Gezira money every six months – currently for every LD 60 (\$45) he gives the Hawaldar, his wife will receive SP 100,000 (\$39). The difference (\$6) is the profit for the Hawaldar.

Communications

For people living in Kufra communications with Darfur have become more difficult since the closure of the border in May 2003. Before that they could send hand carried messages, recorded cassettes and letters. According to one interviewee, *'before June 2003 contact was good, letters were hand carried by relatives, but there has been no news since then'*. Many others also report no direct news since that time, but have learnt indirectly (in part through television reports) that their villages have been attacked and the inhabitants moved to displaced camps. Although without exception no-one had contact with friends or relatives in the displaced camps.

Phone calls are possible to friends and relatives in the main towns, and the wives of traders reported phoning relatives in Mellit. The better off can also send messages and money by plane hand carried by people they know. But generally phone calls are considered prohibitively expensive for most Darfurians. Phone communication between Benghazi and Darfur costs LD1.5 (\$1) for one minute

Labour migration to Libya - Concluding remarks

The situation in Darfur has dramatically affected labour migration to Libya. First the insecurity in north Darfur, principally as a result of rebel activity, has rendered the trade and migration routes unsafe. Second, the closure of the border has stopped all trans-border trade, labour migration and cut-off the usual channels of communications (hand carried messages) and the hand-carried systems for sending remittances. For many poorer Darfurians this effectively prevents them returning to Darfur (especially those in the Kufra area).

The closure of the border has created very specific problems among large numbers of stranded migrant workers. The Libyan Red Crescent have responded to localized health problems, with a distribution of medicines to the Sudanese community in May 2003. The long wait in Kufra without the opportunity of employment erodes the assets and savings that men wish to carry back with them, and also puts pressure on their food supplies and stretches to the limit support networks. There have been reportedly 6 suicides among the Sudanese living in Jincia in the past few months. Many Darfurians have reportedly put their luggage into storage, which is in large part the goods they wish to take back to Sudan and returned back to look for work in other parts of Libya. The cost of storage is LD500 (\$376) per month for goods that would fill one lorry.

The current limited prospects for migrant workers in Libya, combined with the threat of detention and difficulties of return to Sudan mean that many migrant workers are desperate. Many younger men have their sights set on Europe – hence the increase in illegal smuggling of migrants in boats from Libya to Italy, and the associated fatalities.

In the longer-term the economic situation in Libya is expected to improve as the lifting of sanctions and new investments begin to take effect. Libya relies heavily on a foreign migrant workforce, and the Sudanese are a particularly skilled and welcome group. The question is however how long will these positive affects take to trickle down and impact on the situation of the foreign migrant workforce who will be needed more than ever.

In economic terms the border closure has had a devastating effect on local and transnational trade (between Sudan, Libya and other Arab countries) and on the livelihoods of those engaged in livestock and other trade, travel and other services for migrant workers.

The trade of livestock and other commodities between Darfur and Libya has all but stopped as a result of border closure and also the insecurity in North Darfur. Beyond traders, this has severely affected all those livelihoods connected with this trade, including producers, middlemen, herders and guides. The falling supply of camels is causing prices in Kufra to rise, while prices of camels in Darfur have fallen. It is expected that the price of basic foodstuffs imported usually imported from Libya have risen in Darfur.

Internal migration to Khartoum and Gedaref

Darfur has strong links with central Sudan, in part because Darfurians have played a significant role in the shaping the politics of Sudan (they were the driving force during the Mah'diya in the 19th century) and also because of the long history of trade and migration. In more recent years Khartoum as the capital and main urban center of Sudan has attracted literally millions of people displaced by both natural and man made disasters as well as economic migrants seeking a means of survival for themselves and as a means of sending back remittances to support their rural home communities.

Gadaref State, in eastern Sudan is one of the richest States as it produces most of the sorghum and sesame crops in the Sudan. Gadaref has long attracted labour migrants particularly farmers from Darfur and Kordofan. Following the introduction of mechanized rain-fed agriculture in Sudan in the sixties the government of Sudan called upon Sudanese farmers to migrate towards places with high production potential. A survey in 1986, which captured the drought years of 1984 – 85, found that 2.3 per cent had left for central and eastern Sudan during the previous two years - implying a total of 76,000 migrants³⁰. During the famine years the labour market in Gedaref and Gezira slumped severely, as a result there was less money to remit, it was difficult to send, fewer people could afford to travel and it was more likely to be stolen or pocketed by the carrier. Interestingly 'only 16 per cent of the sampled households received remittances'

The Darfurian communities currently in Gedaref were therefore part of a long-standing tradition of labour migration to Eastern Sudan. As a result the communities were older and more established than the groups interviewed in Khartoum, with more than 40 per cent of those interviewed having lived there for more than three years, while about 15 per cent had arrived before 1997 (for more than 7 years) (Figure 4). There are established communities of Darfurians, with specific areas of the town named after villages or even towns in Darfur, for example, Geneina and Ardamatta. These neighborhoods are exclusively inhabited by Darfurians. The 1986 survey also found that 'no more Darfurians than normal came to Dar Sabah during the famine'³⁰, which implies that because of the distances involved, migration to eastern Sudan in times of crisis is not an short-term crisis strategy but instead is part of a longer-term livelihood strategy.

Figure 4 Time of arrival of Darfurian migrants to Khartoum and Gedaref

In contrast the majority of Darfurians interviewed in Khartoum had come to Khartoum principally as a result of the conflict, and had arrived relatively recently. About half of them had arrived in the past year (48 per cent) and the rest in the past 1 to three years (52 per cent). There are obviously more long-standing Darfurian residents in Khartoum, but these were not met as the study purposefully visited IDP camps in Omdurman and Khartoum. Only 12 per cent of the Darfurians interviewed had come in search of work. Another 10 per cent cited the lack of services in Darfur (education, health, etc.) as the reason for coming to Khartoum.

Reasons for migration

There is a long-standing practice of young male labour migration from Darfur, particularly Dar Masalit, to eastern Sudan and the sending back of remittances. Young men in Gedaref sent back remittances to provide financial support for their relatives (parents, brothers and extended family) and their local community, including the poor, in times of hardship like drought. Workers claimed about 20 per cent of the remittances sent back to Darfur were for 'the poor and needy'. As almost all migrant workers were from rural communities this must have provided a vitally important source of income in times of drought and insecurity. These remittances were sent annually in the form of cash at the end of the agricultural season. Workers either hand-carried this money themselves on their annual visits, or sent it through friends and relatives from the same village.

In Khartoum, most of the Darfurians interviewed had been displaced by the conflict and were finding it difficult to adapt to conditions in Khartoum, particularly the temporary IDP camps and problems with local authorities. It should also be note that the Khartoum state government issued a directive prohibiting Darfurians from building and residing in new camps (they either live in old camps, with relatives in Khartoum or go back to Darfur).

The fierce competition finding jobs and low wage rates also limited their cash income. This meant they were not able to send back remittances to their families in Darfur. They further claimed they had lost contact with their families, following the attacks of the militias that had dispersed their original communities. In Khartoum displaced Darfurians agreed that the migration had affected them negatively; they had lost their livelihoods, and could not identify any positive aspects of their displacement to Khartoum. In contrast, more than half of the migrants (54 per cent) in Gedaref believed that migration had provided them with better job opportunities.

Characteristics of Darfurian migrants

Gender and age distribution

In Khartoum the gender distribution of Darfurian migrants was almost one male for every three females. This was explained by 'extended family obligations', where in any household you may expect to find the male head of the household, his family (wife and children), his mother/ mother in-law, the divorced sisters and the wives of his brothers. The household could include any of the above mentioned scenarios or

even more scenarios to include other members depending on the ability of the male head of the household to provide and the participation of the household members in the expenses. It is customary in Darfur that the support role of extended family networks to be enforced during times of hardship.

In Gedaref the ratio of men to women was almost equal. This suggests a much more stable established Darfurian community, who have settled in Gederaf for economic reasons rather than fleeing conflict. A pattern of labour migration from Darfur has developed whereby young men who were successful in finding work, settled down, started their own families, often bringing a young wife from Darfur and then encouraging their close relatives to join them. This practice has perpetuated the flow of young Darfurian workers to Eastern Sudan and has provided the essential support networks to help new migrants establish themselves.

The Darfurians in Khartoum included a higher proportion of older people (6 per cent) and children as compared with Gedaref. Some households claimed to have between 10 and 12 household members (Table 6). In Gedaref, however, the Darfurian community followed the expected demographic profile of the Sudan urban family (4 children and parents).

Table 6 Household size of Darfurian migrants in Khartoum

Number of household members	Per cent of households
14 – 17	20%
10 – 13	45%
6 – 9	35%

Differences in the age and gender distribution of migrants in Khartoum and Gederaf can be explained by the nature of the migration. In the case of the Darfurians in Gedaref the migration was essentially voluntary for economic reasons, and was not associated with the conflict. By contrast in Khartoum, the migration was in response to the conflict and therefore involved all vulnerable household members including children and older people.

Ethnic composition

Over 70 per cent of the migrants interviewed in Khartoum and Gedaref were Fur (35 per cent), Masalit (25 per cent) and Zaghawa (12 per cent), reflecting the larger tribes from north western (Zaghawa and Fur) and western Darfur (Masalit). While the tribes of south Darfur were proportionally less (Rizeigat, Habbaniya, Beni Halba, Marareet etc). North Darfur has a relatively lower and unreliable rainfall than south Darfur, thus agriculture is higher risk with lower productivity. In addition North Darfur has suffered recurrent periods of drought and famine, which prompted out-migration. The Masalit are traditionally farmers from Western Darfur State and their experience as farmers has stood them in good stead in eastern Sudan (see Geneina case-study). Most of the migrants to eastern Sudan were of rural origin.

Figure 5 Distribution of Darfurian migrant workers in Central and Eastern Sudan by ethnic group

Relations between different Darfurian ethnic groups have been negatively affected by the current conflict in Darfur, especially those living in Khartoum. The strength of interaction between Darfurian ethnic groups in Gedaref appears to be stronger than in Khartoum; half of the Darfurians in Gedaref felt that relations were either strong or very strong, whereas in Khartoum only one quarter felt this (Figure 6).

Figure 6 Interaction between tribes in Gedaref and Khartoum

There was general agreement among all interviewees that historically tribal inter-relations were good, and that the many local disputes over access to natural resources in the past had not damaged them. Interviewees were keen to highlight how the traditional tribal administration was able to hold the social fabric in place.

In Khartoum it appears that relations and level of interaction between ethnic groups has since deteriorated; 25 per cent of Darfurian interviewees in Khartoum rated the level of interaction as weak.

Darfurians in Khartoum especially those who were IDPs have been directly affected by the conflict, which in turn has widened the gap between Darfurian ethnic groups, including those who live outside of the region. It could also be argued that the distance from the place of conflict reduces the tension between the various Darfurian groups.

Internal migration routes from Darfur

The majority of those who migrated from South Darfur State took the Nyala-Khartoum train. Previously this was a weekly service, but gradually deteriorated to first fortnightly, then monthly and has subsequently ceased altogether as a result of the insecurity and conflict in south Darfur.

Migrants from West Darfur State mostly traveled by lorries and trucks, which was cheaper than bus travel. The lorries were delivering goods from Omdurman to Geneina and on the return journey would take migrants. Few Darfurians can afford the bus fare let alone the price of an air ticket to Khartoum.

North Darfur migrants used buses, lorries and about 30 per cent of all Darfurian migrants claimed that they had walked following the livestock trade route from Darfur to Omdurman. The latter was the usual route (pre-crisis) for seasonal labour from El Fasher to Khartoum, and this takes 40 days³¹. Very few from West and South Darfur States claimed to have traveled on foot.

Accommodation

For safety and community support the majority of Darfurians in Khartoum (74 per cent), who were women and children, were living in groups in IDP camps. The other 26 per cent of those interviewed were dispersed within the local communities and had been forced by the Khartoum State to evacuate the temporary camps and live with relatives in Khartoum.

In Gedaref more than 60 per cent of the Darfurians interviewed were living in long established Darfurian neighbourhoods, and considered them selves as part of the local

community. In contrast, more recent newcomers were more likely to be living in obvious groups and were still in a process of adjustment. Nearly 40 per cent of those interviewed were living in obvious groups.

Employment

In Khartoum unskilled work opportunities were few in relation to the vast numbers of unskilled migrant workers and displaced people seeking work. The Darfurians interviewed commented on the lack of work opportunities, the fierce competition for work, and as a result the low wage rates. Most were engaged in marginal income-earning activities; selling water, vegetables and other small trade (Table 7). Some Darfurians were employed by the army.

By contrast, work opportunities in Gedaref were mostly agricultural and therefore more suited to the skills of Darfurians. None were engaged in the type of marginal activities described in Khartoum and the per cent working in construction was also less than in Khartoum. The latter might be a result of more construction activity in Khartoum or more limited opportunities in Gederaf.

Generally wage rates were higher in Gederaf, for example, construction workers earned almost twice as much as those in Khartoum (Table 7). Agricultural work in Gederaf also paid more than the marginal activities in Khartoum. The only activity in Khartoum that generated more income than the minimum wage rate was small trade, which tended to be favoured by younger men.⁶

Most of the women displaced in Khartoum were not able to find jobs (about 60 per cent), because of the lack of skills, language barriers and strong competition for work (Table 8). The majority of displaced working women in Khartoum were working in food processing (small restaurants?), tea stalls and vegetable vending. Women selling food and tea were able to make more money than men. Although they risked harassment from male customers and as most did not have the necessary licenses from the health and tax authorities they also risked harassment from government officials. In Gederaf Darfurian women who worked were mostly engaged in agricultural activities.

⁶ The minimum wage in Sudan is 300.000 SP a month (\$ 115.00), which is about \$4.00 per day assuming 30 days are worked.

Table 7 Type of work and wage rate rates - men

Location of Darfurian migrants	Type of work	Per cent	Wage per day LS
Khartoum	Small trade	20	9,000
	Water vendor	40	5,500
	Vegetable vendor	20	5,500
	Construction worker	16	4,000
	The army	4	4,000
Gederaf	Small trade (tombac)	30	10,000
	Construction worker	10	9,000
	Agricultural work	60	7,000

Table 8 Type and distribution of work and wage rates for Darfurian female workers (does not include those not working)

Location of Darfurian migrants	Type of work	Per cent	Wage per day LS
Khartoum	Food processing	43(17)	13,000
	Tea-making	37(15)	11,000
	Vegetable vending	20(8)	6,000
	Not working	60	
Gederaf (per season??)	Harvesting	40	750,000
	Crop cleaning	30	540,000
	Cultivating	30	540,000

Challenges

Current challenges facing Darfurians in Khartoum included limited work opportunities, instability, poor housing and the continuous harassment by the government officials who they claimed were trying to send them back to Darfur by making their stay in Khartoum as uncomfortable as possible (Table 8). In Gederaf Darfurians identified the seasonality of agricultural work as their major challenge, as this limited work opportunities to a single short season of mostly sorghum and sesame. Other problems included lack of home ownership and having to rent housing, and their limited access to good education. They thought that the available public education was very poor (under staffed and generally under resourced), while private education was too costly for them. The men and women working in food processing and the vending of vegetable and other perishable goods also identified problems with government officials, and the need for licenses (Table 8).

Table 8 Challenges facing Darfurians in Khartoum and Gederaf

Location	Challenge	Per cent
Darfurians in Khartoum	Limited work opportunities	47
	Instability	24
	Poor housing	22
	Problems with government	7
Darfurians in Gederaf	Seasonality of work	40
	Instability linked with housing	30
	No access to 'good' education	20
	Problems with government	10

In Khartoum the short-term goal of Darfurian communities was finding better job opportunities which would provide them with more freedom in choosing what to do with their lives. They were not pleased with the 'temporary camps' they were forced to live in, with the many restrictions they face on movement. Their other short term goal was better housing and services and better understanding from the local and national authorities. The majority were not optimistic about their situation or their future, "we just need to adjust and adapt ourselves to the new life" adding "only alsabr (patience) that will see us through".

All displaced people thought of their stay in the IDP camps as temporary and their goal was to return to Darfur. However this was conditional on the settlement of the Darfur conflict between the government and the opposing factions.

In Gedaref, the long term goal was not different, but they discussed the problem more broadly and were vocal about the causes of the conflict and ways forward towards peace. They attributed the conflict to the injustices in wealth distribution and development priorities of the government. They were not optimistic about the actions taken by the government, the opposition or the international community, and believed that the Darfurian community had been victimized by all parties, who were trying to settle their political differences and using the Darfurian community as the mechanism for that.

All the communities recognized that collective efforts at all levels were required to rebuild the infra-structure and stabilize Darfur. However, the majority had very little trust was given to the government who they claimed had previously never kept its promises to Darfur and had contributed to the eruption of the current crisis by policies biased towards pro-government groups rather than the community at large. Consequently very few (5%) believed that the current government would support the rehabilitation of Darfur. They further argued that if the government was not interested in the protection of communities in Darfur, why should it be trusted with the rehabilitation of the damage it contributed in creating.

They also argued that if peace is to be achieved, the tribal system of administration must be restored with additional authority. It also would mean greater equity in development and wealth distribution. Capacity building and improvement of services was considered to be a major factor in reaching peace. But, they also added "we got nothing from being dependent on government promises, this time it should be action by us Darfurians taking things in our own hands". As they claim, "with hard work, good will and struggle Darfur will be rebuilt".

Conclusions

Sudanese migrant workers in Libya are being squeezed hard on two sides. First the closure of the national border between Sudan and Chad by the Sudanese government has cut off the main route back for migrant workers to return to or enter from Sudan and cut-off communications and remittances (in cash and in kind). Second, Darfurian migrants have been affected directly and indirectly by the US/UN sanctions, in terms of suffering from the affects of inflation (without the protection of subsidies which are available to Libyans) and the contraction of the economy and

labour market. The latter contributed to the crackdown by the Libyan authorities on migrant labour, which started in 1995, and continues intermittently to this day. Currently migrants are suffering from the imposition of the health certificate requirements, which will inevitably lead to increasing numbers of illegal immigrants who cannot meet these requirements and more detentions of foreign workers.

The closed border has drastically reduced trade between Libya and Chad with significant negative effects on livelihoods in Sudan and especially Darfur, and among Libyans in Kufra. It is vital that the border is re-opened as soon as possible, but given the duration of the closure, the potential build-up of migrants on both sides and the insecurity in north Darfur, this must be done in a careful and controlled manner and with the full involvement and agreement of all parties (including the Libyan authorities, the Government of Sudan and the opposition in Darfur). Negotiations and agreements on the opening of the border and protection of trade routes will require commitments and actions by the opposition parties as well as the Government of Sudan. An information campaign is needed to inform Darfurians of the hardships and shortage of work in Libya, but until there is peace in Darfur Libya will remain an attractive option to Darfurians.

There are increasing numbers of Sudanese workers in Libya without legal papers and without regular work (in part because of the recent requirement for foreign workers in Libya to pay for a health test and their inability to return because of border closure). This situation combined with the insecurity and lack of opportunity in Darfur puts pressures on workers to seek opportunities to get to Europe, hence the increase in boat traffic. Every consideration should be given to granting an amnesty for all Sudanese in Libya without identity papers and health certificate, that would allow them the option to return back to Sudan or to take the health test and apply for identity papers and work legally in Libya (assuming conflict in Darfur is resolved).

Internal labour migration to Gedaref was mostly for economic reasons, linked with protecting livelihoods in Darfur by sending back of remittances. However, increasingly migration from Darfur particularly to Khartoum, is related to escaping the conflict, and has changed the demographic profile of migrants from groups that were principally men to predominantly women and children. The Darfurian communities in both cities but especially Khartoum, are facing many hardships related to; the instability; the collapse of communication systems; the sudden change of social environment and loss of their previous livelihoods; and the political tension created by the current conflict in Darfur.

Immediate steps should be taken to improve communications between Darfurian migrant workers and their families in Darfur, and to provide mechanisms for family tracing. This will automatically contribute to improving the flow of remittances back to Darfur. At the same time the security of routes and public transport, including bus routes to and from Darfur must be secured. A series of recommendations related to labour migration and remittances are provided in Chapter 6.

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CHAPTER 5

LABOUR MIGRATION & REMITTANCES - FIGURES

Figure 1 Annual number of Sudanese arriving and departing from Kufra, southeastern Libya¹

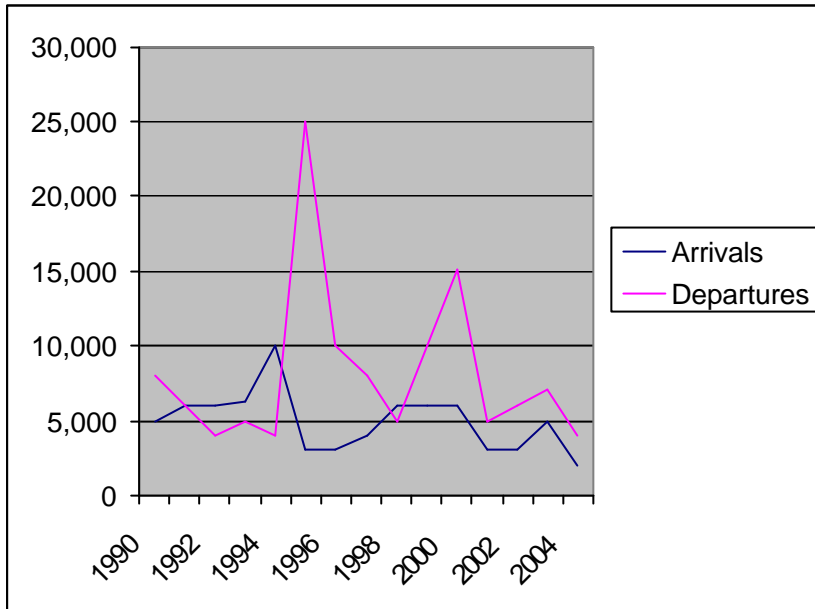


Figure 2 Livelihoods of Sudanese before the border closure and currently (excludes those in transit)²

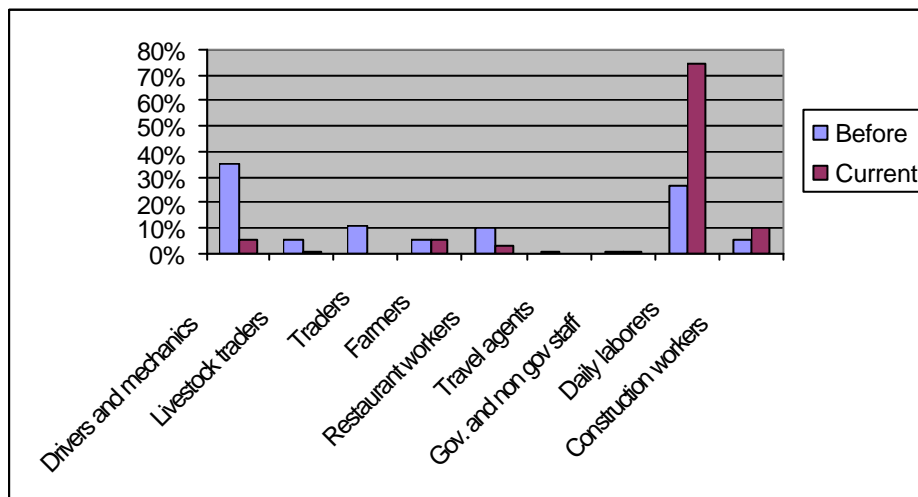


Figure 4 The Hawala Mechanism

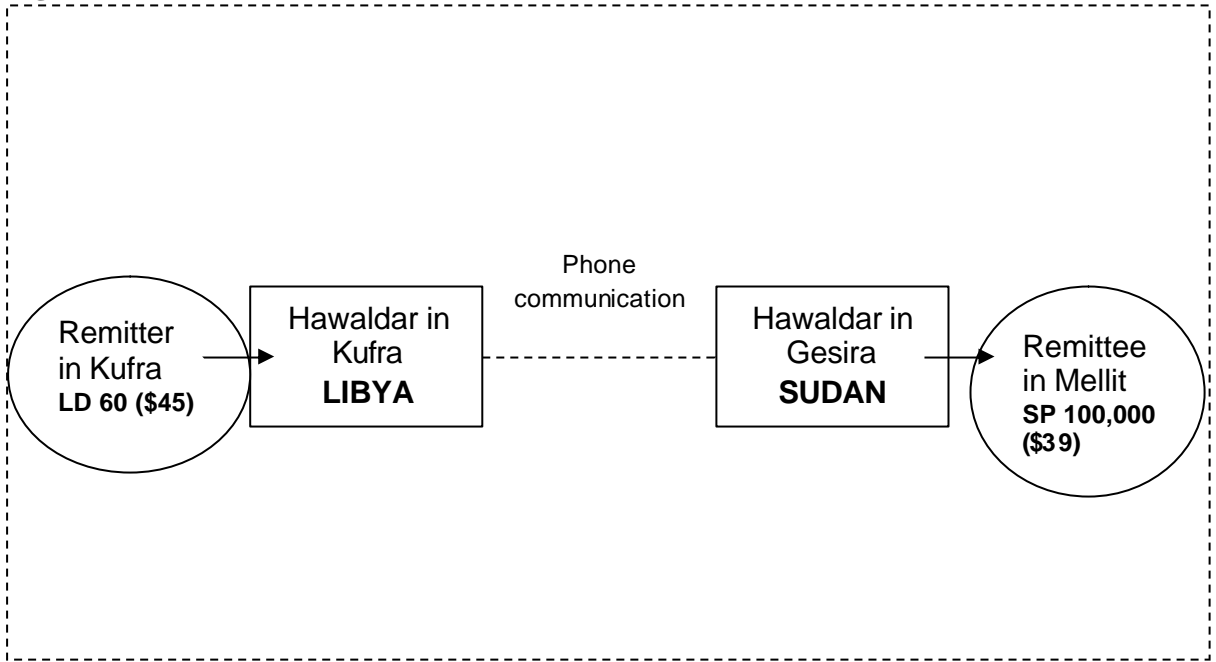


Figure 5 Time of arrival of Darfuriian migrants to Khartoum and Gedaref

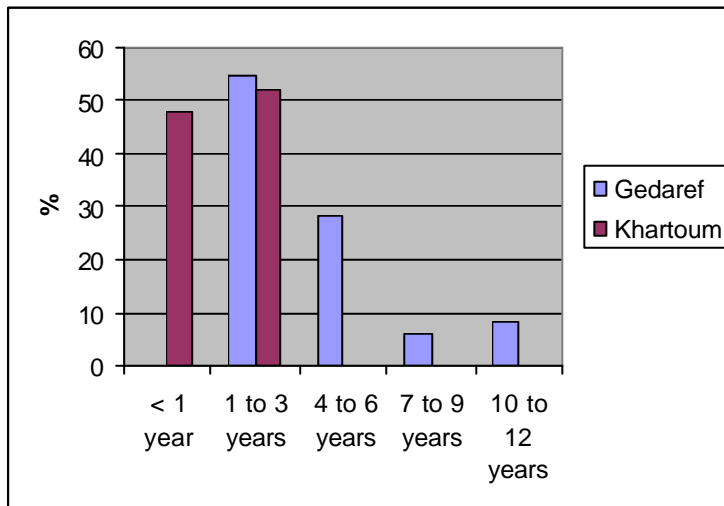


Figure 6 Distribution of Darfuri migrant workers in Central and Eastern Sudan by ethnic group

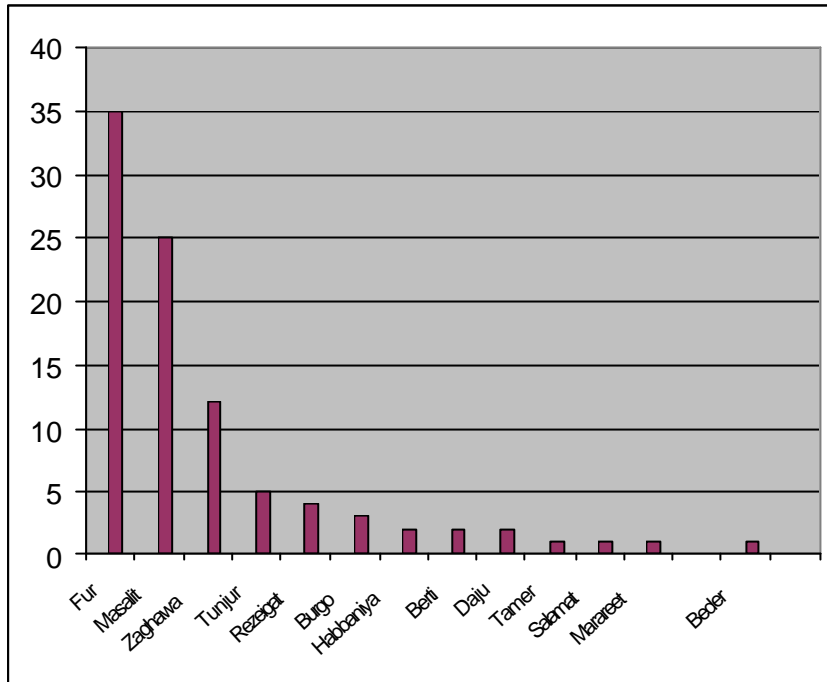
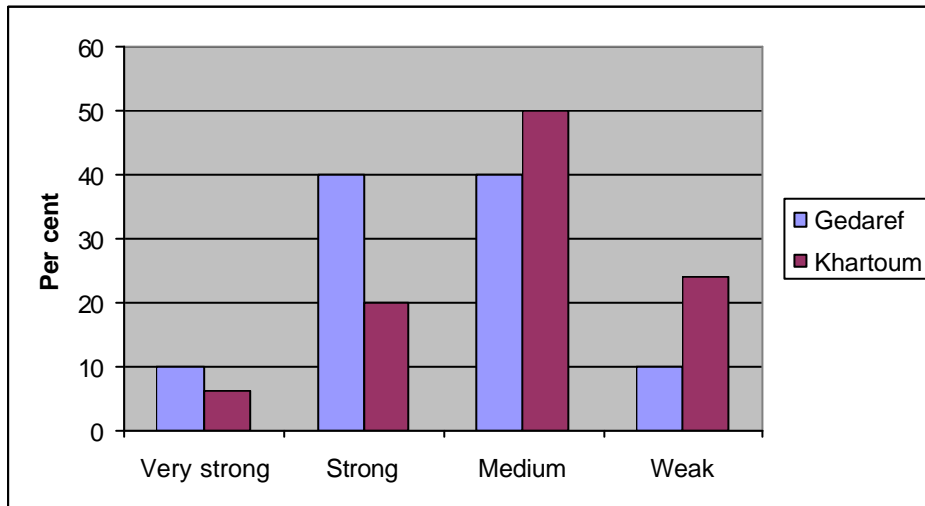


Figure 7 Interaction between tribes in Gedaref and Khartoum



1. Focus Group 3. Focus group interview. Jincia, Kufra, 2004:25 July.
2. Focus Group 1. Focus group with Sudanese Popular Congress. Kufra, 2004:22 July 2004.

Chapter 6

Conclusions and Recommendations

In Darfur all aspects of the conflict and peoples livelihoods are inextricably linked. The study has shown how livelihoods are integral to the causes of the conflict, the impact of the conflict and therefore will be central to any lasting solutions to the conflict. Similarly, the two greatest immediate challenges to protecting and supporting livelihoods in Darfur are first insecurity, and second the outstanding grievances – including loss of lives, sexual violence and loss of livelihood - particularly the major losses of livestock. Thus moves to find a peaceful solution must take account of livelihoods, while efforts to support livelihoods must consider the political economy of conflict and implications for livelihoods and livelihood interventions.

The long established symbiosis between herder and farmer has been eroded in recent decades as people's livelihoods have converged thus shifting the moral geography of herder and farmer and bringing them into conflict. Declining rainfall and processes of desertification have contributed to north south migration, which combined with increasing population pressure has created more direct competition over access to natural resources. Meanwhile the traditional systems of native administration and land tenure that are intended to manage and protect these common law rights have been eroded and in part replaced by the individual drive for profits.

These local pressures must be seen in the wider national and regional context, which has contributed to marginalization of Darfur, the development and arming of militia groups, and the supply of arms generally. Actions on the part of the Government of Sudan and the opposition movements have had a crippling affect on livelihoods, including hindering trade, access to markets, labour migration and the flow of remittances.

The short and medium-term outlook for livelihoods is bleak indeed. For those IDPs who are receiving humanitarian assistance their survival (but not their livelihood) is assured as long as the humanitarian aid continues to flow, which makes this type of humanitarian assistance a priority.

But for those who remain in rural areas their livelihood is seriously threatened. Never in the history of Darfur has there been such a combination of factors causing the failure of livelihood strategies, including:

- production failures,
- market failures,
- failures to access natural resources, and
- failure to transmit back remittances.

Under these circumstances regionwide famine is inevitable. While food aid can partially redress the production failures, a much wider raft of interventions are needed to begin to address the other failures.

Major structural changes need to be addressed at the international, national and state level. These changes include processes of land restitution and compensation; livestock restitution, reconciliation and compensation; and opening up of transport routes to provide safe passage of people, livestock and goods. Ideally these wider processes of reconciliation should be linked with livelihood support and development inputs, particularly education, which is probably one of the most sorely missed of public services. However while the conflict continues to rage it is these major structural changes that require the commitment and support of all levels of administration that will have most impact on livelihoods.

Livelihoods programming will not be easy or straightforward in the context of Darfur. Since livelihoods are so integral to the conflict and war economy, it is imperative that implementing agencies understand and consider fully the implications of livelihood interventions in the dynamics of conflict. Any peace-building or conflict resolution must also understand, take account of and be linked with livelihoods.

The international humanitarian response will be long-term and the question arises as to how this can be used to support livelihoods as well as save lives. There are several points to make in relation to this issue. First, provision of humanitarian assistance to save lives must be continued. Second, there are very limited opportunities to support the livelihoods of IDPs because livelihood strategies are rurally based and depend on access to natural and physical resources. Third, certain livelihood interventions in IDP camps could serve as a 'pull factor' to other rural dwellers, or contribute to further polarization since access to these interventions is likely to be unequal.

Solving the livestock issues are central to finding lasting solutions to the problems in Darfur. Darfur's economy has been seriously eroded and the traditional backbone of the economy – livestock trade, is failing fast. Given the wide-ranging interests in livestock production and trade among all tribal groups, government and opposition groups, it is highly likely that very soon this trade will be under the direction and control of an alternative 'war economy' with a vested interest in sustaining conflict and controlling the relatively lucrative livestock trade.

The primary interest of those who have lost their livestock through looting is to get their livestock back. They insist on being compensated by the Government. No one is certain when and how this will happen. Restocking through donor funding could be problematic for four reasons. First, the scale of the restocking programme will be unprecedented covering over 250,000 households each requiring a foundation stock of some 20 shoats. Funding and capacity may not be available on this scale. Second, donors sponsored restocking sends the wrong signal to the perpetrators and during restocking there is a danger that stolen animals could be purchased and distributed to their rightful owners, thereby rewarding those who looted them. This may also encourage further looting. Third, an externally funded process of restocking would not allow for reconciliation processes between the parties to occur through resolution of the livestock issue. Fourth, replenishing looted and lost assets will not solve the issue of mobility and safe access to trade and migration routes which are an essential part of the livestock livelihood system for all groups. Until free and unhindered access and mobility can be achieved, rural livelihoods in Darfur will remain under siege.

Recommendations

Recommendations are made relating to six broad areas:

- Security, stabilization and governance
- Land
- Livestock
- Markets
- Labour migration, communications and remittances
- International humanitarian response

All of these are considered immediate priorities, but clearly the time needed to achieve these goals varies.

Security, stabilization and local governance

1. Peace and security were the universal goal of all those interviewed. Humanitarian access and the current very limited security of humanitarian interventions is not enough. Security must be extended to all aspects of daily life and livelihoods, including livelihood strategies, mobility, markets, and protection of assets. These expanded aspects of security must be incorporated within the expanded mission of the African Union in Darfur.
2. The study recognizes the overriding importance of reaching a political solution to the conflict through the international processes of conflict resolution at Abuja. Any settlement must address the underlying marginalization.
3. There are two ways in which the Naivasha process can provide a framework for Darfur:
 - a. A model for the negotiating process between GoS and rebel groups in Sudan
 - b. Applying and adapting the contents of the protocols as quickly as possible in Darfur. In particular there are elements of the protocols where there are additional provisions for the transition areas that could be adapted.
4. The north south peace and its protocols are not a panacea for peace in Darfur. It remains unclear how the protocols are going to be implemented once the peace has been signed. Also there are important elements missing from the protocols which are critical elements for the resolution of the Darfur crisis. For example the protocols do not outline in detail how they are to be applied at the level below the state. Also, the role of the native administration and its relationship to local government is not articulated. In the context of Darfur these issues must be addressed.
5. All groups must be aware and understand the protocols within Darfur for all groups including native administration, civil society groups, citizens (including IDPs) and international actors. This will require awareness-raising.
6. While the Abuja talks address conflict resolution at the national and international level, the tribal leadership and relevant sections of civil society are needed to address local level conflict resolution and compensation and support the decisions taken at Abuja. There is a critical need to understand and learn lessons from the failures of past reconciliation conferences, including the role of central government. This nuanced understanding is

important for the international community, who might also have a role to play in these processes.

7. The international level talks should recognize and seek to enhance the function of the tribal leadership, while understanding the fragile and limited capacity of the Native Administration in many areas. It is also important to recognize that the Native Administration is not free from the political influence of the central government, and that it has its own political agenda. For this reason it is essential that its functions are de-politicized, clearly articulated, locally specific, authorized by local governing authorities (rebel or GoS), and locally agreed to by all groups.
8. Local governance in Darfur is not uniform, and there is an urgent need to learn lessons from different local approaches to reconciliation and security. This report has identified some localised conflict resolution initiatives, together with examples of good local governance, which are likely to have wider resonance. For example,
 - Local level dialogue is currently ongoing between the Zayadia (Arab) and the Meidob in north east Darfur regarding disputes over access to pastures and boundaries. The Kawahla from western Kordofan are mediating this process. State government has tried to halt this process, but this was resisted by the negotiating parties. Local level dialogues should be encouraged and allowed to proceed unhindered.
 - The Beni Hussein have strong local governance (see page 7) including local security arrangements. Groups like the Beni Hussein who have endeavored to insulate themselves from the conflict are struggling to maintain this stance. These efforts must be better understood and supported where appropriate and possible.
9. Although the study did not explicitly consider violence against women, it was frequently encountered, with women putting themselves at risk for their livelihoods (eg gathering firewood, going to market) which raises issues of how this should be addressed along with the potential co-epidemic of HIV/AIDS. At the very least the local capacities to deal with these two co-epidemics needs to be assessed with a view to identifying local networks and institutions through which interventions may be directed. The issue of compensation must be addressed and included in local compensation and restitution processes (traditionally known as the *judiya*).

Land Commission

10. The study recommends the appointment of a Land Commission covering all three States of Darfur, with representation from relevant parties. This action is in line with the Protocol on Southern Kordofan/Blue Nile. The Land Commission should be responsible for:
 - Mapping of the existing *hakuras* and *mass'arat* (livestock migration routes) through local consultation and based on local agreement within all strata of the Native Administration. The mapping work on livestock migration routes should be conducted in close association with the Livestock Reconciliation and Compensation Commission (LRCC).
 - Administration of the land tenure based on traditional systems.

- Ensuring that all groups, including minority groups, are consulted even where they may no longer be represented in their original home area. This includes Arab and non Arab Groups, who have migrated as a result of the conflict but not necessarily classed as IDPs.
- Rehabilitation of water points in rural areas, which should be addressed on a case-by-case basis as people return, or for existing rural dwellers i.e. not a blanket rehabilitation strategy.
- Overseeing restitution and compensation over land disputes.

Livestock

Livestock Reconciliation and Compensation

11. The study recommends the creation of a Livestock Reconciliation and Compensation Commission (LRCC), which should cover all three States of Darfur, and all groups within the region. The LRCC should adopt three complementary approaches to reconciliation and compensation:

- Oversee the taxation of sold livestock and ensure that all taxation revenue is used for the LRCC compensation processes to the original owner i.e. use taxation as compensation for those who have had livestock looted, (including the traders who lost camel caravans and had drovers kidnapped by rebel groups).
- Encourage the voluntary return of livestock by providing an amnesty for livestock looting as part of the local reconciliation process.
- Provide certificates of ownership for all certified livestock. Export markets may only accept certified livestock.

12. Livestock taxation revenues should entirely be reserved for this process of restitution and reconciliation, and even raised for the first year to allow the process to go forward.

- a. The Government of Sudan should be seen to be one of the major financial contributors to this process given their failures to protect livestock resources of rural people in Darfur.
- b. The work of the commission will be locally implemented through the Native Administration Council system, which ensures that all relevant groups are represented, plus mutually acceptable neutral third party groups. The Commission should start with pilots at primary and secondary markets, ensuring all livestock species are dealt with.
- c. In addition the markets in Dongola (Sudan) and in Aweinat or Kufra (Libya) should be monitored by Sudanese groups for looted camels and reported to the LRCC.
- d. The closed customs points in Darfur should be re-opened and should be involved in the monitoring for certificates of ownership.
- e. A joint UN/ AU International Monitoring Committee should be created to oversee the processes.

Livestock Migration

13. The opening up of livestock migration routes needs to be addressed at a political level (agreement between local authorities governing different sections of livestock routes) and a

local level – how local arrangements are negotiated. Therefore livestock migration is an important point of negotiation for reconciliation between groups. Conflicts over livestock migration are not only between farmer and herder, but also between herders with similar political leanings e.g. the Zaghawa and Meidob. The opening of livestock migration routes will only come with local peace and reconciliation through the Peace talks and the work of the LRCC and Land Commission. At present different groups control different sections of the migration routes. The SLM currently controls the wet season reserves in the north, while the dry season reserves are controlled by Arabs in the south. There needs to be recognition of grazing rights of pastoralists for both the wet and dry season with similar provision to the Abyei Protocol.

Livestock Health and Feed

14. Sudan has well developed veterinary services and therefore any interventions must be coordinated, managed and implemented through the veterinary department at Federal and State level.
15. There is a shortage of veterinary drug supplies either through the government or private sector. The Government of Sudan should make supplies available through the veterinary services. Regular vaccination programmes must be carried out especially where livestock are in confined areas and unable to access the usual livestock migration routes.
16. There is a high risk of an outbreak of PPR (Peste Petitis de Ruminis) among camels in Darfur, as the Soba Veterinary Department has recently confirmed an outbreak of PPR in Sudan, and conditions in Darfur are conducive. PPR vaccination is therefore a high priority for maintaining camel herds in Darfur. Clearly, this would have to take account of the issue of looted livestock (LRCC) and also reach the camel herds of all groups. Livestock vaccination has provided opportunities for local level conflict resolution in neighbouring countries, which could be explored in Darfur.
17. Review coverage of veterinary services and access to such services in all areas for all groups, with a view to expanding coverage through mobile units or community based animal health workers (CBAW) who get their supplies from their units.
18. The SLM/A should support mobile veterinary services to pass through their areas and provide services. Equally, Arab pastoralists should allow mobile veterinary to pass through and work in their areas.
19. Some IDPs, particularly women and children, are putting themselves at extreme risk to collect fodder for their donkeys and other livestock. This urgently needs to be addressed as a security and protection issue. Distribution of livestock fodder generally for IDPs is considered inappropriate at this time, because few IDPs have livestock (except donkeys) and because the provision of fodder provides market interests in maintaining the position of IDPs. Donkeys are a special case because every rural household in Darfur needs a donkey to go about their daily lives, and they will be an essential part of the return and reintegration process. Where there are large concentrations of donkeys in IDP camps,

feasibility studies should be conducted linked with pilot distributions of concentrates (molasses, sugar cane tops, briquettes) and fodder.

Trade and Markets

Livestock Trade Routes

20. The study recommends the controlled opening of all livestock trade routes, including the opening of the national border between Libya and Sudan, the route to Dongola, and the northern and southern livestock routes to Muweli (Omdurman). This must be agreed by all parties at the international (Abuja), national and local level.
21. The extreme southern route (from south Darfur through Burum) should be discouraged or closed because it is longer and more costly and will reduce the price to the producer. There is also a high prevalence of Tsetse, and large trade herds risk increased transmission of disease and negative impact on the environment (over-grazing).
22. There are a number of related issues that must be taken into account:
 - It is recognized that looted livestock will pass through these routes and therefore there must be controls linked with this (LRCC).
 - Livestock are the primary source of taxation revenues for the Darfur States. Given the present circumstances taxation should be used to the benefit of the Darfurians, in particular as payment towards the Livestock Reconciliation and Compensation Commission.

Markets - Commodity Trade Routes

23. There needs to be agreement at Abuja from all parties to protect the main transport routes to allow safe passage of goods and people and minimize taxation. This protection must not be in contravention of the ceasefire.
24. The African Union should patrol key transport routes. Local security incidents linked with looting along transport routes should be monitored and reported by the African Union.

Free Access To Markets For Buyers & Sellers

25. All restrictions on individuals buying, selling or transporting basic goods must be removed. This includes the GoS permit system in Kutum, which restricts and taxes the purchases of anyone coming to market from outside the town's boundary including the IDP camp. Livestock taxation is a special case and is dealt with above.
26. As the situation stabilizes a number of market interventions may be appropriate including for example,
 - Seeds and tools fairs, where buyers and sellers are brought together.
 - Increase the size of the food basket (general ration) in order to allow for trade and purchase of other essential commodities, especially firewood.
 - Purchasing local seed varieties to protect local species and secure local seed supply for the next cultivation season.
 - Seed multiplication programmes.

- Provision of credits to the small traders whose capital has eroded, particularly those whose caravans have been attacked and looted. Livestock trade with Libya is dominated by traders with small capital compared to those working in livestock trade and exportation to other countries in the Arab world. The support of these traders will have a multiplier effect.

Labour migration, remittances and communications

Communications and tracing

27. To improve communications between the diaspora outside of Darfur and their families in Darfur, which will facilitate the flow of remittances into Darfur, the following immediate steps should be taken:
- i. Mobile networks and landlines in Darfur should be kept open at all times (the networks are frequently closed),
 - ii. Mobile networks should be extended to cover adjacent IDP camps,
 - iii. More landline communication centers should be opened in urban centers hosting IDPs, and in established IDP camps e.g in Kutum and El Fasher.
 - iv. All groups should have access to these centers.
28. Provide mechanisms for migrant worker family tracing, for example, tracing operations of the International Committee of the Red Cross should be extended to include Darfurians who are located in all parts of Sudan and in the refugee camps in Chad. The Red Crescent in Libya and Sudan to support family tracing and reunification schemes with the support of the International Committee of the Red Cross (or vice versa).

Libya

29. The national border between Sudan and Libya should be opened in a careful and controlled manner and with the full involvement and agreement of all parties (including the Libyan authorities, the Government of Sudan, the opposition groups and the native administration of affected tribes in Darfur). Negotiations and agreements on the opening of the border and protection of trade routes will require commitments and actions by the opposition parties to ensure security of access for labour migrants as well as the Government of Sudan. This also relates to the recommendation on trade routes (29, 30).
30. Efforts must be made to discourage all recruitment activity in Libya. Sudanese groups in Libya should be actively supported with training and skills development to equip them for skilled work opportunities in Libya and for their return to Sudan.
31. There are increasing numbers of Sudanese workers in Libya without legal papers and without regular work (in part because of the recent requirement for foreign workers in Libya to pay for a health test and their inability to return because of border closure). This situation combined with the insecurity and lack of opportunity in Darfur puts pressures on workers to seek opportunities to get to Europe. Immediate steps should be taken by the Libyan authorities to grant an amnesty for all Sudanese in Libya without identity papers or a valid health certificate that would allow them the option to return back to Sudan or to take the health test and apply for identity papers and work legally in Libya.

32. End the discriminatory provision of services against labour migrants in Libya, including the discriminatory provision of, food subsidies, health care and education. The health tests for Sudanese migrants should be provided free of charge at least until the Sudan/ Libya border is opened and the security situation stabilized.

Supporting Remittance Flows and Support to migrant workers and IDPs outside Darfur

33. Remittances are potentially a critical source of income for Darfurians, particularly given the collective failure of other sources of income. Remitted cash and goods before the conflict were usually either hand-carried or sent through traders and hawalars. These mechanisms have all but ceased. Every effort must be made to support both remittance flows and employment of migrant workers. The first step is to ensure freedom of movement and an improvement in security of routes and public transport, including bus routes throughout Darfur (see also communications, and security of routes 29, 30, 34, 35, 36).
34. A joint UN/GoS needs assessment of the Darfurian displaced in Khartoum is a priority, followed by activities to address these needs through humanitarian interventions, protection and policy change, as part of the response to the Darfur crisis. In addition to responding to immediate humanitarian needs, the international community should work with local groups to develop livelihood resources and strategies, including education and training opportunities, agricultural skills, access to micro-finance services etc. Activities should be carefully targeted, and should not be on such a grand scale so as to encourage migration from Darfur.

International humanitarian response

35. It is imperative that the international humanitarian community makes all efforts to demonstrate impartiality by reaching out to respond to the needs of all groups. While the difficulties of separating civilians and combatants in rural locations are greater than in the context of refugee camps, it is nevertheless vital that the international community seeks out the views, experiences and attempts to address the needs of all groups in order to prevent further marginalization of Arab groups, in particular. Furthermore, if humanitarian aid fails to reach affected Arab groups this will almost certainly inflame tensions, and could even contribute to reprisals or harassment of humanitarian workers.
36. Humanitarian assessment exercises and interventions should be directed at all groups where possible. It is especially important to include areas and groups that were not previously included, rather than limiting surveys and assessments to groups already receiving assistance.
37. International organizations should be aware of the ethnic distribution of their staff and seek to ensure ethnic representation while remaining sensitive to any specific security concerns. Fielding ethnically representative teams may be impractical and risky from a security point of view. Nevertheless agencies must ensure they consider the potential ethnic biases of their teams.

38. Minimum standards can rarely be achieved at the height of an emergency and pragmatic decisions must be made as to the best strategy to achieve the progressive realization of rights for all affected groups. The strategy among some international groups interviewed was to expand only when minimum standards had been achieved in their current programme, which is a strategy for humanitarian containment not humanitarian action. This strategy may be linked with the plethora of evaluations that are underway, and therefore it may be helpful to review the purposes of these evaluations to ensure they are not contributing to the strategy of 'risk free' programming. (In other words agencies might play safe and keep their programmes small, manageable and risk-free in order to ensure that they will have the best possible evaluation).
39. The study would therefore recommend careful review of standards in order to achieve wider coverage and greater general impact. This does not necessarily mean reducing inputs, rather it may mean simplifying logistics and distribution. In relation to food distribution for example, this might include simplifying the ration (single or dual commodities, instead of a full food basket) or blanket instead of targeted distribution. These decisions would require a cost-benefits analysis and feasibility study.
40. The risks of rape, attack and abduction while IDPs collect firewood represent a serious protection issue, which must be addressed given the critical importance of fuel for cooking. There is obviously a problem with sourcing supplies of firewood, charcoal or briquettes and there is also the issue of sustainability. However, these must not preclude the humanitarian imperative of providing appropriate inputs and protection. This is an opportunity for collaboration between the Forestry Department of the Ministry of Agriculture, who have plantations and experience, and also agencies like UNHCR who have encountered similar problems among refugees worldwide. The limited work of agencies with fuel efficient stoves and fuel efficient cooking techniques is useful, but needs to be expanded and complemented with other initiatives. This action is also urgently needed to prevent the rapid deforestation that is taking place around towns.
41. While it is recognized that the number of NGOs with experience of working in Darfur are very few, nevertheless the international humanitarian community should visibly demonstrate a better knowledge and understanding of local non Arab and Arab groups, their history, livelihoods and systems of administration and conflict resolution. There is a role for collaboration between the experienced NGOs in Darfur with local educational organizations in relation to providing induction and training for national and international staff working in Darfur. It would be important for experienced Khartoum institutions to work closely with relevant institutions and INGOs in Darfur. This would serve to link local institutions with international organizations for mutual support and capacity development.
42. Conditions are almost certainly going to rapidly deteriorate in Darfur, particularly when the limited benefits of the recent harvest have begun to wear off in early 2005. It is imperative that emergency preparedness starts now. One of the single greatest challenges will be the distribution system, ensuring this is sufficiently decentralized to prevent drought induced distress migration. It will be important to establish regional stockpiles on Darfur borders,

including El Kufra in south east Libya. Systems of distribution that minimize security risks will also be important.

43. Emergency preparedness on Darfur's southern border in northern Bahr el Ghazal is urgently needed, in preparation for a likely influx of displaced people from South Darfur. In recent days there have been reports of arrivals. The implications of distress migration into Bahr el Ghazal on the fragile relations between tribes in Bahr el Ghazal should also be taken into consideration, and their needs considered.

A livelihood strategy for Darfur

44. In preparation for when security conditions improve and mobility is possible, a Livelihoods Task Force should be created under the auspices of the United Nations, the African Union, and reporting to the highest office in central government. The role of this Task Force should be to monitor the conditions affecting livelihoods in Darfur identified in this study, with a view to developing a national strategy for protecting, supporting and rehabilitating livelihoods in Darfur. This strategy should be developed through participatory processes which involve taking government, the UN, AU (and possibly donors) into the field to see local conditions and seek local solutions with civil society and relevant local institutions. A similar process should be organized for the leadership of the opposition groups. The work of the Task Force should be closely linked with ongoing protection work, and should ensure that critical livelihood issues are considered by the relevant political processes.