

Pastoralist Peoples, Their Institutions And Related Policies

By Omer Egemi 2012

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Summary

This review describes the scale and distribution of pastoralism, and pastoralist peoples in Sudan, and describes some of the key policies affecting pastoralist rights and institutions. Pastoralism tends to vary along a north south axis with camel pastoralism (*abbala*) dominating the semi-desert areas and cattle herding (*baggara*) in the savannah belt towards the south. There are many pastoralist groups, found in different parts of the country from north to south, and east to west. Livestock mobility has allowed the to establish a dynamic relationship between the drier and wetter parts towards the south.

Some routes extend as far as 600 km, for example the camel herders of North Darfur, while sheep herders in North Kordofan, for example, move within a far smaller area. Pastoralists play a vital role in the national and local economy, food security and environmental viability.

There are multiple challenges facing pastoralist livelihoods and livestock mobility, including; acquisition of rangelands for mechanized and irrigated agriculture; regressive land tenure arrangements; land degradation; conflicts; shrinking of rangelands and closure of migratory routes; and the challenges of a new international border post the secession of South Sudan in 2011.

Despite these myriad problems pastoralist livestock production continues to be the major livestock production system in the country, and pastoralists are still maintaining their distinct lifestyles. Some new trends and adaptations are apparent, including; the shift towards sheep among some groups; the use of tankers for transportation of water to enable use of pasture in water deficit areas; use of artificial feeds; the growing tendency towards commercialization especially with regard to sheep exports; and the heavy engagement in politics based on politico- military alliances.

A review of policies and approaches to the pastoral sector reveals two important characteristics. First the lack of explicit official policies related to pastoralism and the failure of pastoralists to influence such policies due to their weak political power. Second, existing policies are based on a poor understanding of pastoralism, and the bias towards sedentary agricultural cultivation. As a result, since 1990 there has been a generalized neglect of pastoralism within national development plans. Another aspect of national policies towards pastoralists is the focus on resettlement and sedentarization of pastoralists, in order to clear the way for developmet projects.

The demarcation of livestock corridors is often seen as the best way of minimizing conflict between pastoralists and farmers, rather than an attempt to facilitate and secure the rights of pastoralists. Lack of investment in physical infrastructure, especially water sources along the corridors, has also proved problematic.



There is a wide range of institutions - with direct or indirect competencies - that are relevant for supporting the pastoralists to establish their informal tenure rights over land and natural resources; including the Range and Pasture Administration; the Pastoralist Union and the Native or Tribal Administration. In 2007 the President established a Nomads Development Council specifically for Darfur. Pastoralists directly related institutions, namely Pastoralists Union and the native Administration, remain weak and are increasingly incapable of representing and defending the rights of pastoralists.

Pastoralists have not been explicitly targeted in policy frameworks, and the policies implemented are mostly a response to the economic interests of the state in livestock as a source of revenue and for supplying growing urban markets with cheap livestock, or to reduce conflict with farmers.

Introduction

At the beginning of the 21st Century, pastoralist populations around the globe find themselves facing more pressures on their way of life than at any previous time. While the situation for particular pastoralists varies considerably (Fratkin 2001), East African pastoralists are facing increasing risks and threats from external forces. The rangelands that have previously been the province of pastoralists are becoming increasingly cultivated or turned into national parks or biodiversity reserves. Common property regimes, which once sustained the environment and minimized conflict, have been severely eroded. Competition for land with farmers and industries is rising and troubling dislocations brought about by drought, famine, civil war and heavy capital investment are progressively taking place. Meanwhile, political arrangements have given power to individuals and groups that often are not representing or accountable to pastoralists. In this context, pastoralists of Sudan are not an exception.

The situation of pastoralists has initiated a growing discourse about pastoralism that varies in objectives and contents, from pure academic research to a debate on the future of the system itself that reflects both sentimentality and long held grievances. Government bodies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), international development agencies, civil society groups and human rights activists have become increasingly engaged in the current discourse either as service providers or as advocates for the rights of pastoralists. One of the focus advocacy areas is the call for policy reform and responsive governance that are assumed to enhance the resilience of pastoralists while giving them more power to defend their rights. The quest for policy reform, has however, been severely limited by the absence of concrete knowledge of existing policy orientations and gaps that need to be addressed.

Within this framework comes this report, prepared as part of the Tufts and partners pastoralists project, under the UNEP Sudan Integrated Environment Project. The objectives of the review are: (i) to promote understanding of the rationale, scale and nature of pastoralism and pastoralist livelihoods in Sudan; (ii) to promote understanding of the key policies and related processes and trends influencing their mobility



and livelihoods; (iii) to identify main sources of literature and key scholars; and (iv) to serve as a source of reference for the training adaptation, policy briefs and research studies.

The review was based primarily on desk study of available relevant documents constituted principally by Sudan major policy documents, including the 10 Year National Development Plan (1960-1970), Sudan Comprehensive National Strategy (1992-2002), Sudan Five Year Strategy (2007-2011) and Sudan Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper IPRSP draft document 2011. Sudan peace agreements, namely the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2005-2010), Darfur Peace Agreement 2006, Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement 2006 and Doha Peace Agreement on Darfur 2011 were also consulted as major policy frameworks for peace and development in Sudan during the first decade of 21st Century.

The review was divided into five parts. Section One provides a general mapping of pastoral groups in Sudan, focusing on the two major pastoral groups in the country, namely camel herders (Abbala) and cattle herders (Baggara) accounting on the nature of their pastoral systems and patterns of their livelihoods and mobility. The section is designed to serve objective one of the review.

Section Two provides an overview of the current crisis in pastoral livelihoods which further contributes to the understanding of the main pastoral issues in contemporary Sudan, especially the nature and genesis of external forces that affect them and influence their mobility and livelihoods. The main responses of pastoralists to the challenges were also outlined. By so doing, objective two of the assessment is partly served.

Section Three provides a review and analysis of policy frameworks that affect pastoralists and influence their mobility, therefore contributes to the fulfillment of objective two of the review.

Section Four is an overview and analysis of existing formal and informal institutions that are affecting and influencing pastoralists livelihoods and their mobility in one way or another; this serves objective two of the review.

Section Five provides concluding remarks. The bibliography that comes at the end of the report is intended to serve objective three of the review.

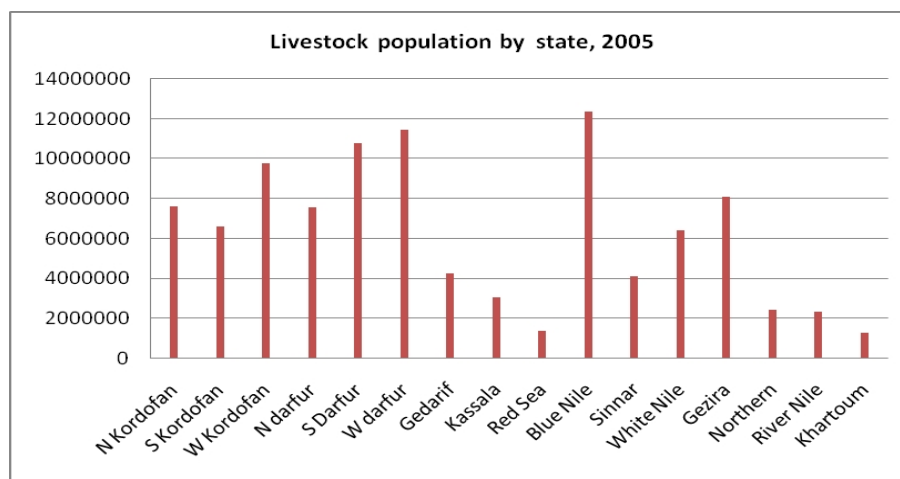
Section One: Pastoralism and the Pastoral Map of Republic of Sudan

The Republic of Sudan exhibits a typical Sahelian zone with its characteristic low amount of rainfall (around 600 mm per year), short growing season (3-4 month), prevalence of annual ground cover and recurrence of drought (International Institute for Rural Reconstruction, 2002). Of the total area of North Sudan (approximately 1.8 million km²), 1.13 million km² is desert; the remaining 0.687 km² is divided between low rainfall savannah and the rich savannah that extends extensively in South Sudan. Sandy soils, known locally as “qoz”, dominate north and central



western Sudan in Darfur and Kordofan while cracking clay soils, known as “black cotton soil” covers Central Sudan (Gedarif and Sennar areas) and Sudan Transitional zone in South Darfur, Nuba Mountains, Southern White Nile area and Blue Nile. The clay plains are the main areas of the semi mechanized farming in the country (Babikir 2005). Traditional pastoralism has been one of the two main land use systems in what is now the Republic of Sudan¹. The other system is traditional rain-fed agriculture.

Sudan is the home to one of the largest concentrations of traditional pastoralists in sub-Saharan Africa. Under the pastoral system an estimated 102 million head of livestock are raised in North Sudan with the major concentration being in the savannah belt. At present the livestock sector is the second contributor to the government treasury after oil.



Source: based on data from: Arab Centre for the Study of Arid Lands (ACSAD), 2008

The pastoral system in the country varies along a north-south axis with camel pastoralism dominating the desert and semi desert areas north of latitude 16 degrees and cattle herding in the savannah belt towards the south. Main camel herders in the country are the Zaghawa, Northern Rezeigat, Midob and Zayadia in North Darfur; Kababish, Dar Hamid and Kawahla in North Kordofan, Shanabla in North Kordofan and White Nile, Hawawir and Hassaniyya in River Nile State, Bisharien in Red Sea, Rashaiyda in Kassala, and Shukriyya in Kassala and Gedarif States. Main cattle herders are the Baggara tribes of South Darfur (Beni Helba, Taaisha, Habbaniya, Southern Rezeigat), South Kordofan (Miseriya and Hawazma), Southern White Nile (Awlad Himeid, Kenana, Sabaha, Ahamda and Musallamiya) and Blue Nile (Rufaa Al Hoi and Ambarrarow).

Similar to other herding groups in the African Sahel the pastoralists adapt their livelihoods to fluctuations in pastoral resources through extensive mobility between wet season grazing towards the north and dry season grazing towards the south. However, the banks of rivers (White and Blue Niles,

¹ This paper focuses on the Republic of Sudan, which prior to the secession of South Sudan, was often referred to as north Sudan.

Atbara River, River Kir/Bahr Al Arab and Sobat River) have historically been important dry season refuge areas for many pastoral groups (Lebon 1964; Babour 1961). The Baggara groups, particularly Misseriya and Rezeigat, used to reach River Kir/Bahr Al Arab in South Sudan where they stay for approximately six months (October-April). Through such mobility pastoralists have managed to establish a dynamic relationship between the drier and wetter parts towards the south. This has been attained through numerous pastoral routes linking dry season and wet season grazing areas creating these areas as part of pastoral territorial domains. Such a territory could be defined as:

The symbolic differentiation of space and the appropriation of this space into a structure of meaning by attributing shared and public values to places, directories and boundaries such that it may be graphically, cognitively and ritually represented as a coherent and enduring image. The initial differentiation of this space may be accomplished by means of boundaries or by defining a locus about a point or by using a combination of these means, Thornton (1980).

Figure 1

Source: In El Hassan 2008





Because of this the landscape of Sudan has been crisscrossed by a web of livestock mobility routes; the length of some routes reach more than 600 km as exemplified by the route used by the camel herders of North Darfur and which extends from Wadi Hawar (lat 19° N in North Darfur) to Umm Dafug area along the border between West Darfur State and Chad; during periods of drought and resource scarcity the route continues deep in Chad. The prevalence of drought conditions since the early 1970s and the related environmental degradation have forced camel-herding groups to move far deeper into South Sudan reaching places like Raja in Western Bahr Al Ghazal. The banks of the White and Blue Niles and their main tributaries (River Atbara, River Dindir, River Kir/Bahr Al Arab and Sobat) have traditionally provided important refuge areas during the dry season.

Pastoralists in Sudan play an important environmental, social, economic and security role. Environmentally, they use environments that would otherwise be void of human activities; such areas include the Gizu areas of the western desert along the borders with Egypt and Libya, the eastern desert in the Red Sea Hills and the southern margins of the Sahara in North Kordofan, North Darfur, River Nile and Northern States. Through the use of such desert they contribute to the country’s economy and food

Darfur Pastoralists Groups: New Opportunities for Change and Peace Building

security. Socially, the pastoralists add to the cultural richness of Sudan and its socio-cultural diversity. They constitute special culture that deserves to be respected, protected and promoted. Economically, the pastoral sector contributes annually around 150 million dollars to the government treasury, therefore coming second after oil in terms of contribution to the value of exports in the country. In addition the pastoralists are important contributors to national food security through the supply of red meat attained from a herd size of approximately 102 million head of cattle, sheep, goats and camels. Their contributions to household economy are enormous and so is their contribution to the revenues collected at the Mahaliyas level.



Section Two: Crisis in Sudan's Pastoral Sector

Despite their vital role in the national and local economy, food security and environmental viability some pastoral communities in the country are in a state of crisis with progressive shifts in their livelihood systems.

Box 1 Examples of how conflict affects pastoralism

Darfur Conflict and shifts in the livelihoods of Rezeigat camel herders

- Emergence of highly militarized pastoral economy with close links to war economies
- Sedentarization and some displacement
- Military salaries (as government-support militia)
- Dependence on captive IDPs markets
- Increased cultivation
- Secret trade agreements
- Shift to sheep and goats
- Skewed assets portfolio providing food security in the short term
- A bleak trajectory of a livelihood system that is unsustainable in the medium to long term (Young et al, 2009)

Impact political and economic processes on Misseriyya pastoral system and land tenure arrangement

- Curtailing of dry season mobility associated with cessation of South Sudan and establishment of new international border
- Loss of vast tracts of grazing lands to concessions to oil companies
- Changes in drainage system, flow of water and distribution of resources cause by earthworks associated with oil industry
- Apparent shift from cattle to sheep
- Intensified competition and conflicts over land and natural resources
- Erosion of land tenure arrangements and relationships related to it
- Increased conflict with oil companies (Pantuliano et al 2009)

Manifestations of the crisis include continuous drop out from the sector, herd decapitalisation, spontaneous resettlement, decreased resilience to drought and climate change, and resort to violent and unsustainable sources of livelihood.

2.1 Acquisition of Customary Grazing Lands

Large scale land acquisition of customary grazing land for agriculture (both irrigated and traditional), afforestation and biodiversity conservation programmes and heavy capital investment, especially in the semi mechanized farming sector and more recently the oil sector, has been a major feature of Sudan development policy since independence (Egemi, 1994; Mohamed and Egemi 2012).

A recent study from Gedaref State, East Sudan, shows that the area described as grazing lands has declined from 28,250 km² (78.5% of the state's total area) in 1941 to 6,700 km² (18.6% of the State's area) in 2002. The main cause for the loss of grazing lands is the expansion of semi-mechanized farming sector, from 3,150 km² in 1941 to 26,000 km² in 2002 showing a percent increase of 725% over the past 61 years giving an average annual growth rate of 12% in the area under the semi-mechanized sector (Table 1).

Table 1: Changes in Land Use in Gedaref State, 1941-2002

a.

Type of use	Area 1941		Area 2002	
	Km2	%	Km2	%
Mechanized Farming	3,150	8.7	26,000	72.2
Forest and Rangeland	28,250	78.5	6,700	18.6
Hills and Water courses	3,300	9.2	2,000	5.6
Wasteland (<i>kerib</i>)	1,300	3.6	1,300	3.6
Total	36,000	100.0	36,000	100.0

Source: Babikir, Mustafa (2011)

b. Areas under dura cultivation 1970 and 2004 (000 fed)				
State	1970		2004	
	T	M	T	M
Sinnar	245	260	552	1287
White Nile	360	225	650	1065
Blue Nile	200	110	150	655
South Kordofan	650	93	1301	1126
South Darfur	120	00	1476	00
Total	1575	688	4129	4133
T: Traditional; M: Semi-Mechanised				
Source: Mohamed & Egemi (2012)				

During the seventies vast lands, that used to be pastoral, were appropriated through the establishment of big companies (Table 2) investing in semi-mechanized farming, especially in the Blue Nile state, one of the main pastoral areas constituting the dry season grazing for pastoralists from as far as the Butana Plain. Since 1990, there has been dramatic expansion in the sector founded on the Presidential Decree of 1990 initiating the Food Security Campaign under the slogan “we eat what we produce and we dress what we manufacture”. The period also witnessed the dissolution of the Mechanized Farming Corporation, creating a major institutional vacuum resulting in the haphazard and uncontrolled expansion of the sector.

Table 2: Major agricultural companies established on the rain lands of Sudan in the 1970s



World Bank (2010) Large-scale land acquisition in Sudan

	Company	Land area allocated (Feddan)	Location	
In East Lahawin	Sudanese Egyptian Agricultural Integration	250,000	Blue Nile	Sudan
	Al Sheikh Mustafa El Amin	600,000	Blue Nile	
	Damazin Agricultural and Animal Production	500,000	Blue Nile	
	Arab Sudanese Blue Nile Agr Company	379,000	Blue Nile	
	The Blue Nile Livestock and Crop Production	1,000,000	Blue Nile	
	The Green Valley Agricultural Company	100,000	Blue Nile	
	Abu Sabika Agricultural and Animal Production	56,000	Gedarif	
	African Plantation Company	44,000	Gedarif	

pastoralists of Kassala State were forced to settle down due to loss of grazing lands due to appropriation of customary grazing land by the expansion of irrigated schemes since 1960s (Morton 1988). In Sudan Transitional area the area under dura cultivation has increased from 2.3 million feddan in 1970 to 8.3 million feddan in 2004 giving a percentage increase of 361% (Table). Most of the increase has taken place in the semi-mechanized sector where the area increased by 653% over the past 40 years giving an annual growth rate of 16.3%.

In Sinnar State, one of the main pastoral areas in the country and the home to 4.2 million head of animals, the size of the pasture land was reported to account for 2.7% of the State's total area while rainfed agriculture (both mechanized and traditional) together with the Dindir National Park account for 90.1% of the State's total area reflecting enormous pressures on pastoralists.

Table 3: Land use in Sinnar State, 2009

Use system	Area 000 fed	%
State area	9,700	100.0
Rainfed agriculture	5,500	56.7
Irrigated agriculture	525.6	5.4
Dindir National Park	3,240	33.4
Forests	174.0	1.8
Pastures	261.0	2.7

Source: Strategic Plan, Sinnar State, 2009

Sudan's current investment policy, founded on the allocation of rangelands to private investors, has brought increasing pressures on pastoral systems in the country. Table 1 shows land allocated in 2009,

under different forms of arrangements, to private capital investors in agriculture. In this respect it should be mentioned that the existing Investment Law was tailored to provide an enabling and attracting environment for private investors, both foreign and domestic, the Law has significantly failed to sanction the rights of local communities, including pastoralists, to their traditional tenure rights. With the secession of South Sudan and loss of almost 75% of the revenue the government used to generate from oil, the land remains the main commodity of transactions available to the government at present. This is expected to bring mounting pressures on pastoralists and their seasonal mobility, access rights and the importance of natural resources for local livelihoods are not considered.

2.2 Repressive land tenure arrangements

Insecurity of pastoralists to land rights have been institutionalized through the abolition at a federal level of common property resource use and the establishment of the government as the sole owner and administrator of land and natural resources. The laws and legislations introduced and implemented since the 1970 ULA (Table 4) have denied any formal legitimacy or judicial status to traditional property rights. The annexation of pastoral lands, a de facto nationalization by the state, implied the cancellation of all rights relating to water, land and grazing by pastoralists as well as the suppression of any future income related to such rights. This has become one of the root causes of the conflicts that straddle the rain lands of Sudan at present.

Table 4: Legislations facilitated appropriation and alienation of land on the range lands of Sudan

Year	Legislation
1970	Unregistered Land Act declared all unregistered land to be government property and abolished customary land use rights, making possible the seizure of land for investors
1971	Abolition of the Native Administration, which removed the main mechanism for land administration and conflict resolution at the local level.
1974	Law of Criminal Trespass further restricted rights of access for pastoralists and small farmers.
1975	Mechanized Farming Corporation Ordinance gave bureaucrats authority to allocate land to individuals for investment in farming.
1984	Civil Transaction Act reaffirmed state ownership of non-registered land but acknowledged customary usufruct rights.
1990	Encouragement of Investment Act, the concessions under which typically privilege outside stakeholders with links to Khartoum-based elites.

Source: El Hassan, 2008

The Civil Transaction Act treats as “pasture” all fallow land in the country and enables government the right to impose grazing restrictions or to allocate land for grazing. Pastureland is identified by subtraction from other lands and access to pasture land only vaguely described. Despite being one of the few statutory provisions regulating grazing, the Act fails to recognize the interconnectedness between



rural economic activities (agriculture, pastoralism, forestry etc) and instead deals with them separately (De Wit 2001).

The 1996 Range Protection and Pasture Resources Development Bill was introduced to overcome these limitations, by defining different types of pastureland and pasture management, and proposing community participation in the management of pastoral reserves under the supervision of the Range and Pasture Departments at the State level. However the Bill was not ratified. In 2002 a Forest and Renewable Natural Resources Bill was passed, which included recognition of the grazing and passage rights of pastoralists, although it clearly affirmed the superiority of agriculture and gum trees over range lands. The absence of specific law sanctioning the rights of pastoralists to grazing resources remains a major gap in legislation.

The failure of the pastoralists to defend their land tenure rights was explained by Babikir (2011) by their powerlessness, political marginalization and the hijacking of their representative institutions by livestock traders. The failure of government to establish Land Commissions stipulated by Sudan Peace Agreements and to respond to popular demands calling for land tenure reform is concrete evidence. In addition, proposals to establish grazing lines for the northern limits of mechanized farming, the demarcation of pastoral migration routes, and the allocation of exclusive dry season grazing grounds were aborted by the more powerful commercial farming interest that dominates the legislative institutions at both the state and federal levels (Shazali and Abdel-Ghaffar, 1999). It is therefore not particularly surprising that the pastoralists all over the country are carrying arms to defend their rights.

2.3 Conflicts

Conflict between pastoralists and farmers has a long history in Sudan. Beck (1996) traced the conflict between Kababish pastoralists and Zaghawa farming group in Kajmar area of North Kordofan to 1907. The Midob were also in conflict with their neighbours the Kababish and Zaghawa during the early decades of the 20th Century (Hales 1979). However, the breakdown of political, economic and social security in the main pastoral areas of the country at present has created enormous challenges to pastoral systems in the country. The situation in Darfur, Blue Nile and South Kordofan States vividly illustrates that stress and disruption of the basic survival strategies are part of the reality of everyday life. Loss of pastoralists to trade and access to markets and collapse of symbiotic relationships with neighbouring farmers was documented (Young et al 2009). Augmenting and compensatory raiding, commercialized raiding, banditry and predation are also common as demonstrated by the conflict in Darfur. The resource based conflicts in the pastoral areas of Sudan are a result of confused land tenure arrangements, appropriation of CPR, poor environmental governance and enhanced vulnerability to climate change. The pastoralists pushed by loss of territorial and traditional grazing rights, closure of their transhumance routes and feelings of neglect, marginalization and repression remain one of the main actors in these conflicts.



2.4 Shrinking of rangelands and closure of migratory routes:

Shrinking of migratory routes in the face of expanding cultivation, afforestation and conservation programmes, and heavy capital investments especially in the semi mechanized farming sector and oil sectors constitutes a major challenge to pastoralists and is currently viewed as one of the root causes of conflict between pastoralists and farmers. Because of that mapping and demarcation of livestock routes has gained top priority on policy agenda at the Federal and state level. The problem of route closure has in fact been compounded by two other important factors: (i) absence of effective and appropriate institutions to manage the routes at local level. Tribal leaders (sheikhs and omdas) who were traditionally vested with the management of routes within their territorial domains have lost their power, authority and even the legitimacy they had in the past with the institution itself being under scrutiny at present; (ii) the influences of rapid transition to market economy under conditions of rapid population growth and declining land capability. This has resulted in a massive increase in the area under traditional cultivation where farmers started to increase their cultivable areas, at the expense of stock routes and pastures, to compensate for their declining incomes and growing demand for food at the household level. Research from North Kordofan (Egemi et al 2003) showed that the area cultivated by individual household under the traditional system has increased by more than 50% between 1970 and 2000.

2.5 New International Border

The declaration of the independence of the Republic of Southern Sudan has transformed the previous administrative boundaries between the Northern and Southern States into a new international border that extends for nearly 1200 km. The new border has created extreme pressures on numerous pastoral groups that used to spend the dry season along the banks of River Kir/Bahr al Arab (Bahr El Ghazal and Unity States), the Sobat River and the islands in the White Nile in the Upper Nile State.

As illustrated in Table 5 below, the wet season-dry season grazing areas of the North and South have been linked by numerous routes that brought northern and tribal groups into close contact.

Table 5: Cross-border migratory routes

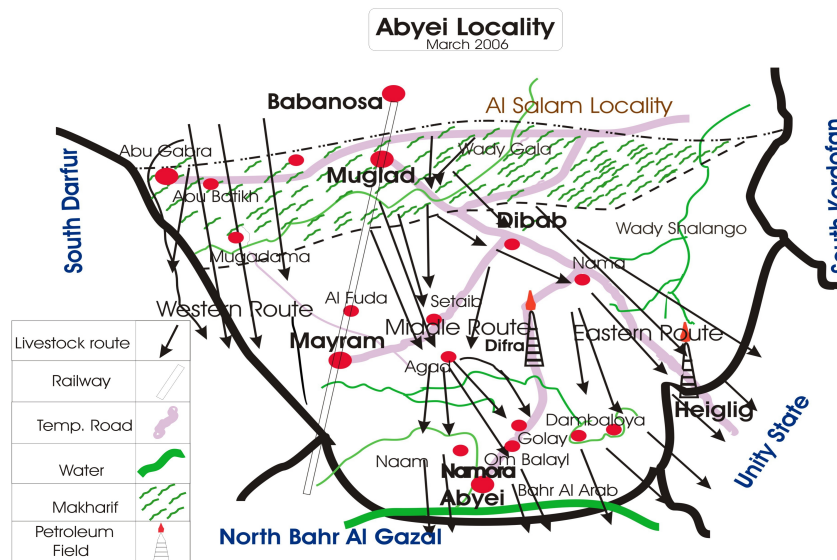
Nomadic Group	Southern community	Route
Rezeigat	Malual Dinka	South Darfur > Northern Bahr al Ghazal
Misseriya Humr	Malual Dinka	Southern Kordofan > N. B al Ghazal
Misseriya Humr	Ngok Dinka	Southern Kordofan > Abyei
Misseriya Humr	Panarou Dinka	Southern Kordofan > Unity
Misseriya Zurouq & Hawazma	Panarou Dinka	Southern Kordofan > Unity
Awlad Huimeid	Nuer	South Kordofan > Unity
Awlad Huimeid	Shulk	South Kordofan > Upper Nile
Rufa Al Hoi	Dinka	Sinnar State > Upper Nile
Rufa Al Hoi	Nuer	Blue Nile > Upper Nile

Umm Bororow	Nuer	Blue Nile State > Upper Nile
Musalamiyya	Shulk	White Nile > Upper Nile
Shanabla	Shulk	White Nile (West bank) > Upper Nile
Kenana & Sabaha	Dinka	White Nile (East bank) > Upper Nile

Source: Adapted from Concordis, 2010

The disruptions in the annual rhythm of pastoral mobility to the South created by the new border and the implications of that on specific pastoral systems, such as that of the Misseriyya, are well documented (Pantuliano et al. 2009).

Misseriya migratory route



Source: (Pantuliano et al. 2009)

2.6 Land degradation

The problem of land degradation poses one of the major challenges to contemporary Sudan. Vast tracts of land, especially in North Darfur, North Kordofan and Butana Plains, that were previously agricultural and pastoral have been converted to desert because of desertification as well as regional climate change during the last five decades. The resultant resource scarcity has heightened demand and competition for land and other natural resources across Sudan with far reaching implications on land tenure regimes, access to resources and relations between social groups.

Pastoralists' response to the crisis

In spite of ongoing marginalization and what seems like overwhelming odds, pastoralists in Sudan are still maintaining their distinct life style and at the same time showing a great deal of determination to

respond and to adapt to the progressively changing world around them. Some important aspects of their adaptation involve:

- In response to curtailed mobility pastoralists have made changes to their herd composition. Movement from cattle and camels that require long distance mobility to sheep has been documented among many pastoral communities in the country, especially the Misserriya (Pantuliano et al 2009) and the Midob of North Darfur (Gharieg 2008).
- Use of tankers for transportation of water from permanent sources to livestock water-deficit areas, especially during the hot summer season when water is usually the major limiting factor. This is currently a common practice among the Rashaida nomads and the pastoralists away from the Nile in Butana and White Nile area. In some places, such as Western White Nile area and Dar Hamar area in North Kordofan, rain water harvesting based on the storing of rain water cistern has also become widely known. On sandy soils plastic bags are used to prevent loss of water to seepage.
- Increased use of artificial feeds.
- The growing tendency towards commercialization where the traditional pastoral sector has become increasingly integrated in the market system. Heavy sale of animals, especially of male sheep, usually takes place during the Feast of Immolation (*Eid Adha*) and the Pilgrimage season.
- Heavy engagement in politics based on politico-military alliances was described by Ibrahim (2009) as the main strategy employed by the Fulbe, originally west African, to emerge as a recognizable social, political and economic power in the Funj region of the Blue Nile State.



Section Three: Pastoral Policies and Approaches in Sudan

Review of policies and approaches to the pastoral sector in the country reveals two important characteristics:

- i. Lack of clear and explicit official policies related to pastoralists and the pastoral sector reflecting their very marginal position in the policy orientation and the failure of pastoralists to influence such policies due to their weak political power.
- ii. Existing policies are founded on the following blue prints:
 - Poor understanding of the nature of pastoralism and the failure to differentiate between development of pastoralists and livestock development.
 - Preference of agricultural cultivation to pastoralism.
 - Perception of the pastoral sector as a source of revenue and income to the state at its various levels rather than being constituted by people who have equal rights to development.
 - As pastoralism is dependent on the natural range investment in the sector is not needed.
 - The negative perception of pastoralists as a repressive, static and conservative social formation not capable for change while being a source of conflict and instability and environmental degradation.

In this respect national pastoral policy could be described in relation to two phases; since independence up to 1990, a period characterized by alternation of different governments (democratic and authoritarian), and the period from 1990 to the present, dominated by the existing regime.

3.1 Independence – 1990 period

The national policy towards pastoralists, although not explicitly stated, seems to have been guided by the Soil Conservation Report (1944) published by the Sudan Government and which states that:

where nomadic pastoralists were in direct competition for land with settled cultivators, it should be the policy that the rights of the cultivators be considered as paramount, because his crops yield a bigger return per unit area" (Galal El-Din El- Tayeb, 1985:35²)

² As quoted in *Pastoralism and Land Grabbing in Sudan*. P179 of Catley, A., J. Lind, et al. (2012). *Pastoralism and Development in Africa: Dynamic Change at the Margins (Pathways to Sustainability Series)* Routledge.



Associated with the above, is the apparent neglect of pastoralists and pastoral sector in national development plans. The Ten Year (1960-1970) Plan for socioeconomic development in the country, the first national plan after independence, allocated only 0.66% of the total capital investment for the pastoral sector. The share of the sector in the Five Year Plan 1970-1975 was also negligible. The main shortcomings of the Ten Year Plan in relation to the pastoral sector were summarized by Ahmed (1980) as follows:

- It lacks a coordinated approach to the problems of development and the animal resources were handled in isolation from agricultural production;
- Most projects planned were for services for animals
- The Plan did not include any projects for the direct improvement of the nomads' livelihoods

The same applies to the Six Year Plan 1977-1983 in which actual expenditure on both traditional farming and pastoral sector was 8.5% of the budget with most of the resources being channeled to the farming sector (Abdel Ati 1988). Criticizing such policy orientations Ahmed (1980) remarked that, "Despite the major role of nomads in the national economy, the livestock sector has not been given the attention it deserves from the government."

Besides the above, pastoral development policies are loosely defined by decision makers who see them as synonymous with livestock development with the assumption that a trickle-down effect would eventually diffuse economic benefits and improve the living conditions of the pastoralists (Mohamed Salih 1990). Because of that pastoral development policy was dominated by sheer provision of water and, but to a lesser extent, health and education. Khogali (1987) describes this policy as "being interested in livestock and not in animals' raisers (Khogali 1987). Mohamed Salih remarked that, "The pastoralists are seen as mere keepers of livestock, providers of cheap livestock products and indispensable source of revenue to the national treasury"(Salih 1990).

Another aspect of the national pastoral policy was based on the resettlement and sedentarisation of the pastoralists, in order to clear the way for development projects. Some of the most important experiences include:

- To resettle the Misseriyya cattle herders of west Kordofan in the 1960s through the establishment of Babanosa milk factory;
- To resettle the Hadandwa Beja on the Gash Delta agricultural scheme
- To resettle the Shukriyya pastoralists on the Rahad Agricultural Scheme in the 1970s
- To settle the Beja pastoralists on Suki Agricultural scheme in the 1970s
- To resettle the Beja pastoralists in the Fashaga Agricultural area around Gedarif in 1970s (El Sammani and Salih, 2006)



All of the attempted experiences to resettle the pastoralists have failed. El Sammani attributed the failure to the followings (El Sammani and Salih 2006):

- The top-down approach followed as the pastoralists themselves were not part of the planning or the decision making process
- Poor understanding of the pastoral sector among planners and decision makers. It was not clear for planners and decision makers whether they wanted to resettle the animals or the people (animals owners)
- Failure to help the pastoralists with other livelihood options
- The complete separation between animals and crop production with strict restriction of animals movement in the agricultural schemes

3.2 1990 - Present

Government policy since 1990 can be detected by reviewing the main development frameworks in the country: the Comprehensive National Strategy (1992-2002), the Five Year Strategy (2007-2011) and the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (Jan 2005- Jan 2011). This is in addition to the Agricultural Revival Document.

The Comprehensive National Strategy (CNS) 1992-2002 was the steer of development policy in the country till the signing of the CPA on 9th January 2005 (El Hassan 2008). The Strategy explicitly specified the following objectives for the development of the pastoral sector in the country.

- To increase the number of livestock from 60 million head to 180 million head
- To increase livestock exports 20-fold
- To improve techniques of animal husbandry
- To eradicate chronic and epidemic animal diseases
- To reach self-sufficiency in vaccines and other basic animal drugs
- To improve the level of veterinary research and enhance the status of veterinary professions

The Strategy's objectives for pastoralism demonstrate a continued vague and poor understanding of pastoralism and the continued perception of pastoralists as mere providers of animal products and source of income for the government. Although it failed to achieve any of its objectives the Strategy was also criticized for failing to put in place any mechanism for the realization of its stated objectives. The CNS also treated the issue of rangelands within a wider framework of natural resource management with an emphasis on the need for environmental balance and protection. In order to achieve this environmental objective it called for the need of reserving 25% of the country's total area for forests and rangelands. In addition to this basic objective the CNS outlined the followings:

- The rehabilitation of rangelands in all regions of Sudan



- To maintain a reasonable balance between the carrying capacity of the range lands and the number of animals
- The development of range resources
- Protection and management of pastures and pastoral resources

Although these were very general objectives which need to be translated into specific projects and actions, nowhere in the CNS document was the Department of Range and Pasture Administration was directly mentioned. This, according to Ibrahim (1996) could have been intended on the ground that responsibility for range lands is a joint responsibility shared by many government departments responsible for natural resource management (Forestry, Soil Conservation and Range and Pasture). Or otherwise this could also be attributed to the general trend in all development plans in Sudan where the institutional factor in development is generally ignored (Ibrahim 1996).

The Five Year National Strategy 2007-2011 was intended as a framework for focusing and coordinating peace and development efforts over five years through implementation of targeted and coordinated policies to achieve five key results; these were:

1. Promote sustainable economic development by encouraging a competitive private sector, supporting key infrastructure and agriculture projects and building a knowledge-based economy;
2. Sustain peace and stability through continued implementation of the CPA, Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA) and East Sudan Peace Agreement (ESPA), whilst safeguarding national sovereignty and security, continuing to build consensus and reconciliation, and maintaining good relations with the international community based on mutual interests;
3. Reduce poverty and make progress towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by expanding provision of basic services in health, education, water and sanitation, with a particular emphasis on quick impact projects for returnees and war affected groups;
4. Strengthen public accountability, Good Governance and the Rule of Law;
5. Build capacity of public institutions and civil society at State and Local levels and strengthen the social fabric of the Nation (National Council for Strategic Planning, 2008).

The Strategy was void of any mention of pastoralists or pastoral policy, and included livestock related objectives embedded within six broader more quantitative agricultural sector objectives.

1. Improving the quantitative trade balance and the agricultural balance by a large increase in agricultural exports in an agriculturally oriented- economy.
2. Continued production of sorghum (*durah*) for local consumption, food security and export
3. To increase wheat production from t 421 tons 2.56 million tons in the year 2011.
4. To increasing agricultural and animal exports from 300 million dollars to about 4.2 billion dollars by the end of 2011.



5. Doubling the land areas allotted for forests, grazing and wildlife. The Plan's goal is to cultivate 8 million feddans of the irrigated and rain fed sectors.
6. Raising the exports of animals, meat and animal skins from around 120 million dollars to 820 million dollars by the end of the plan.

Demarcation of livestock corridors

Demarcation of livestock corridors was largely viewed as a top priority agenda since the late 1990s. The main rationale behind route demarcation was to minimize conflict between pastoralists and farmers rather than being an attempt to facilitate and secure the rights of pastoralists to their seasonal mobility between wet and dry season grazing areas. Route demarcation has also become one of the main programmatic interventions of the INGOs and national organizations involved in peace building efforts.

Evaluation of efforts exerted by government and INGOs in route demarcation (SOS Sahel UK 2009) show that the intervention has produced very limited success. The major shortcoming of the corridors demarcation process stems from the reductionist approach followed by dealing with the corridor sectorally in isolation from the dynamic and progressively changing socio-economic, ecological and political realities of contemporary Sudan. Changes in land use patterns and the accelerating transformation towards a market economy under conditions of increasing human and livestock population, accelerating land degradation, increased competition over land have all combined to create new realities that require concrete placing of corridor demarcation within a wider framework of sustainable land use planning and equitable natural resource management. In this regards it is worth mentioning that the issue of land rights and land ownership and erosion of tribal institutions constitute major challenges to corridor management and protection of pastoral mobility (Sharawi and Gaiballa, 2010). Farmers currently hold the opinion that they are the owners of land and because of that they should not be sanctioned for violations of corridors. Some argue that because of increasing population in villages the farmers should either claim back the land covered by corridors or to be compensated, by government, for the loss of such lands.

In addition, rather than advocating or supporting establishment of recognizable and capable institutional structure for the management of the corridors the approach adopted was based on the implicit assumption of the power of the native administration leaders in villages to manage the corridors. This assumption proved false as the power of traditional leaders has significantly eroded and their authority has been progressively contested by newly emerging forces led by the youth.

Added to the above is the fact that route demarcation has been fully guided by the "corridor legislations" drafted by the individual States from a security perspective with the main intention being to repressively minimize conflict rather than the development of nomads and security of their rights to mobility and access to resources



Lack of investment in physical infrastructure, especially water sources along the corridors to serve the pastoralists and their animals has in turn forced pastoralists to take their animals to the nearby water sources at the outskirts of villages or in the agricultural schemes resulting in confrontation and disputes between nomads and villagers.

Section Four: Pastoralist related Institutions

There is a wide range of institutions - with direct or indirect competencies - that are relevant for supporting the pastoralists to establish their informal tenure rights over land and natural resources. Although there is evidently no single hierarchical structure that encompasses these institutions, they can in their totality represent important levels of input to facilitate the inclusion of pastoralists in natural resources management formulae. The most important and relevant institutions to be identified in his context are:

4.1 Range and Pasture Administration RPA

Successive governments in Sudan have engaged in repeated ministerial and departmental reshuffling that have tended to compromise pastoral interests. Particularly adverse was the restructuring of the Animal Wealth and Range and Pasture Administrations RPA. The status of the Animal Wealth Administration has been oscillating from full Ministry to an agency within a larger Ministry of Agriculture and Animal Resources. On several occasions when Animal Wealth was separated from Agriculture, a dispute over the affiliation of RPA (manned mainly by agriculturalists) ensued (Pantuliano and Babiker 2006). The institutional status and affiliations of the RPA has witnessed even more dramatic and frequent reshuffling which started with the separation of the Range Administration from the Ministry of Animal Resources and the creation of a comprehensive alternative: the Soil Conservation, Land Use and Water Programming Administration (SCLUWPA). However SCLUWPA was dismantled in early 1970. For a short period, the RPA became part of the Rural Water Development Corporation, but the unified administration was later split into two separate bodies and coordination between the two has since been virtually non-existent (El Shazli, Adam, and Adam 2006). During the mid-1980s, and up to 2010, the RPA became part of the Administration for Natural Resources within the Ministry of Agriculture and Forests. However, in 2001 and under the then newly issued Forests Law the RPA was transferred as one of the administration units under the National Forests Corporation. Due to resistance by RPA staff the transference has not been realized. Since 2010 the RPA has been transferred to the Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries. This has remained the current institutional status of the Administration. At State level where Ministry of Animal Resources is present in only a few States, the RPA remains within the Ministry of Agriculture a situation that has created enormous confusion over the institutional status of the Administration. At both federal and state levels, the RPA remains a very marginal institution suffering systemic limitations of human and financial capacities to perform its responsibilities.



4.2 National Drought and Desertification Control, Coordination and Monitoring Unit:

This is one of the structures of the Ministry of Agriculture that falls under the Natural Resources Administration. The Unit was established in the 1980s following the severe drought of the mid-1980s. The main responsibilities of the Unit include:

- Collection of scientific data and information covering areas of soil, water, rainfall, forests, range, animal resources, population and other information pertaining to desertification and drought
- To prepare and disseminate maps of areas affected by drought and desertification
- To monitor, coordinate and evaluate the implementation of projects within the National Plan to Combat Desertification and all other relevant projects;
- To act as a focal point for the International Convention to Combat Desertification and to update Sudan Programme;
- To formulate the general policies and programmes for combating desertification and mitigating the effects of drought;

Hardly functioning, the Unit remains one of the most marginal and ineffective institutions of the Ministry of Agriculture

4.3 Pastoralist Union

Established in 1992 it is a recognizable civic structure granted five representatives in the National Assembly. The Union has a central secretariat in the national capital and branches in every state. However, there is much political polarization surrounding these bodies to the extent that they rarely act independently. Since its establishment it has been heavily manipulated by the ruling party to the extent that it can be practically considered part of it. The leadership of Union at Federal and State level is constituted by an elite who are largely urban based and therefore, cut off from their constituencies. The very recent proposed amalgamation of farmers and pastoralists civic unions under the so-called Producers Associations means that these civic structures are no longer legitimate structures.

4.4 Native Administration

Native Administration is generally considered the natural way to represent local communities because they are associated with the management of specified territories within the overall administrative structure. Local communities often express their identification with a historical homeland by indicating affiliation with the native administrator of the specified territory. Many native administrators have sided with their people to protect their historical rights over land and resources. However, the institution at present is under scrutiny as many of the roles of tribal leaders, especially in relation to land administration, natural resource management and conflict resolution, have been undertaken by modern governance institutions. This has resulted in apparent erosion of the power of the leaders and



contestation of their authority by newly emerging political forces led by the youth. In spite of this, the Native Administration is widely viewed as an important and a potentially viable institution that could be reformed, strengthened and empowered to promote the right of communities, especially among communities such as the pastoralists who lack the voice and effective representation to defend their rights in the existing political game.

4.5 Darfur Nomads Development Council (NDC)

The NDC was established, by a presidential decree (no. 265), in 2007. The establishment of the NDC followed shortly after the partial signing of the Darfur Peace Agreement, which offered little to the nomadic groups, especially the camel herders, who are one of the major actors in the conflict.

The NDC terms of reference include:

- Opening of livestock routes and corridors, in coordination with relevant authorities
- Promote provision of services and spearhead development interventions among nomadic groups in Darfur, in coordination with relevant state ministries and other development actors.
- Provide support to improve animal production and animal environment and welfare for export.
- Coordination of recovery and developmental interventions among nomadic groups
- Promotion of peace culture and contribute to creation of peaceful coexistence between pastoralists and farmers.
- Promotion of the social and economic status of nomadic women.
- Advocating the rights of nomadic groups to services and equitable economic opportunities, including the rights to land and pastoral resources
- Enhance knowledge and understanding of nomads' livelihoods and related issues

In addition, a situation analysis research focusing on the of Baggara (cattle) pastoralists of Bahr Al Arab and the nomads along the Nile Belt in North Sudan had been conducted and finalized.

At present the Council is facing a number of challenges, for example;

1. The Council is widely perceived as an exclusive institution established principally to serve the interests of camel nomads of Darfur rather than the interests of the majority of Darfur pastoralists
2. Being directly under the auspices of the presidency the Council is perceived as a government institution that lacks the required autonomy and by extension accountability to communities on the ground.
3. The centralization of the Nomad Council in Khartoum, with limited presence in Darfur



4.6 Civil society

Much can be said about the definition of civil society but in general terms there is a growing global awareness about the importance of modern voluntary organizations in serving and protecting the interest of the neglected and marginalized groups. The culture of NGOs in Sudan has been widely promoted in rural areas, especially in disaster-inflicted areas, through the interventions of humanitarian organizations and development agencies since the mid-1980s when these agencies entered Sudan in the aftermath of the drought and famine disaster of 1984/1985. Abdel Galil (2010) identifies two categories of organizations in Sudan with different levels of experience:

- Grassroots community based organizations (CBOs) operating at the levels of localities and villages (sometimes operating at the level of states). Some of these organizations deal with natural resource issues.
- National civil society organizations many of which have branches in different local setups around the country. Sudan Environmental Conservation Society (SECS) is a typical example of this kind of organizations. It has more than 100 local branches in many states. They are involved in programmes as well as advocacy and awareness raising programmes. They also created partnerships with UN agencies (such as UNDP and UNEP) to help understand and resolve grassroots resource based conflicts. SECS is one of the major CSOs advocating the rights of pastoralists. Its Pastoralists Forum has been handicapped by lack of funding. SOS Sahel Sudan is another national NGO that is actively involved in advocating pastoral mobility and in implementing route demarcation interventions intended to facilitate livestock mobility, especially in South Kordofan. Being also a registered NGO in the Republic of Southern Sudan SOS Sahel is planning to undertake interventions to promote cross border livestock mobility.

4.7 Land Commissions

The CPA included provisions for the establishment of a “National Land Commission” and a Commission for each of Blue Nile and South Kordofan. Land Commissions have also been stipulated in the Darfur Peace Agreement 2006, Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement 2006 and Darfur Peace Agreement signed in Doha 2011. On the other hand, the DPA came with “Darfur Land Commissions”. The Commissions were conceptualized on recognition of the historical rights of indigenous resource users and the protection of these rights. Beyond that the Commissions are supposed to inform policies and plans for better utilization and management of land and natural resources, including arbitration in cases of disputes. Unfortunately, with the exception of Darfur Land Commission none of the stipulated commissions has been formed.

4.8 Land and Water Committee of the Parliament

The parliament being the highest constitutional body in the country constitutes the best institution for enabling pastoralists to advocate and protect their informal/customary tenure rights. Among the different



committees of the parliament there is a “land and water committee” which is supposed to deal with these matters. In an ideal situation indigenous groups and other disadvantaged categories can directly appeal to the parliament through this committee. Enabling this committee to understand such issues will be an adequate way to influence policy framework.

4.9 Legislative Councils at States and Localities levels

The legislative bodies at the lower levels of states and localities are equally important institutions to advocate reform in pastoral policies as these bodies have their own competencies to legislate on the way natural resources are utilized and managed. Since these bodies are nearer to the people in terms of geographical proximity and knowledge they are better positioned to understand the needs and demands of the local population and to better coordinate the conflicting interests of different stakeholders in the process of natural resource management.

4.10 International actors

This category involves UN agencies (UNEP, UNDP, FAO, IFAD, UNHCR), other international bodies (World Bank and USAID) and many INGOs, particularly SOS Sahel UK and CONCORDIS, that are engaged in the issue of pastoralism focusing in particular on pastoral mobility. Support to corridor demarcation remains one of the main areas of interventions.

Section Five: Concluding Remarks

In the course of recent history the pastoralists in Sudan have become increasingly marginalized and have lost the power to control their lands and natural resources and to manage their livestock according to their own aspirations. Customary rangelands and migratory routes are shrinking in the face of spreading cultivation, heavy capital investment, nature conservation programmes, hardening of international borders and the emergence of new ones under conditions of large scale environmental degradation, rapid transition to market economy and increased tendency towards aridity and climatic change. This has rendered them susceptible to radicalisation and recruitment by insurgent groups and conflict entrepreneurs while traditional raids and confrontations have become more explosive due to the influx of guns and other modern weaponry.

Pastoralists in the country have never been explicitly targeted in policy frameworks and the policies implemented are mostly a response to the economic interests of the state in livestock as a source of revenue to its treasury and the supplying of its growing urban population with cheap livestock products or to repressively minimize conflicts.

Pastoralists directly related institutions, namely Pastoralists Union and the native Administration, remain weak and are increasingly incapable of representing and defending the rights of pastoralists. In particular, the Pastoralists Union remains highly politicized and controlled by urban-based elite who are hardly



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accountable to their constituencies dispersed over the range lands of Sudan. In spite of this, CSOs advocating the rights of pastoralists have expanded and international actors investing in the support of pastoralists are increasing. Avenues to make the case of the pastoralists and advocating their case are also available in the country and need to be engaged. For this to be realized the pastoralists are in dire need of being capacitated and empowered to effectively reform their union and to actively defend their rights. A prerequisite for this is the support to the development of alliances between the pastoralists and the broader social movements in the country that articulate demands for democratization, security of land rights and environmental accountability in ways that engage people in dialogue and generate popular discourse while enhancing spaces and mechanisms for negotiating the diverse interests of the various interest groups including the state, the farmers and the pastoralists.



Annex 1 Agricultural Investment Projects, 2009

Source: Performance of agricultural investment projects, 2009, Ministry of Agriculture and Forests, Department of Investment, Report

Project	Nationality	Location	Total area allocated 000 fed	Utilized 000 fed	%
1. Private Foreign					
Tala for Investment	Saudi	River Nile S Northern S	30 8	3 0.150	
Alkafaa Agricultural Project	Saudi	River Nile	50	0.0	
Acacia agricultural Project	Saudi	Blue Nile N Kordofan River Nile	66 50 15	44.51 36.828 7	
Saudi Sardia	Saudi	River Nile	71.5	0.0	0.0
Baraim for Agricultural Investment	Saudi	Blue Nile	N.A	N.A	N.A
Haail for Agricultural development	Saudi	Northern S	23	0.5	
Hasco for Agricultural Production	Northern S		100	0.0	0.0
Godail for Agricultural Production	Saudi	Khartoum S (Esilat)	2	0.0	0.0
Al Shaair Agricultural Project	Saudi	Khartoum S (W Omdurman)	0.04	0.02	50
Zayed El Khair	U.A.E	Gezira (Wad Rawa)	40	13	
Emarat El Khair	U.A.E	River Nile State	2	0.37	
Korwan	Saudi- Bakistani	River Nile State	4	0.5	
Al Wiaam for Agricultural Dvelop	Egyptian	Gedarif (Samsam)	7	6	
Abnaie Corporation	Saudi	Red Sea (Tokar)	15 (as first phase)	0.025	
Nadik Company	Saudi	River Nile (Abu Hamad)	255	0.0	0.0
Hobi Fing for Vegetables	Chinese	Khartoum	N.D	N.D	N.D

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and Crops					
Kosmar/Ona Company	Morocco	White Nile	137		
Korean Project	N. Korea	Northern State	200	0.0	0.0
Hussein Al Talib and Mukhallad	Jordon	Khartoum S (W Omdurman)	0.1	0.05	
Qatari Company for Agricultural Pro	Quatari	Sennar (A. Hugar) White Nile N Kordofan	22.325	2	
Mairnohat	Saudi	Sennar (Mairno)	20.792	0.0	0.0
Kassab Extension	Libyan	Sennar State	19.965	0.0	0.0
Syrian Project	Syria	Gezira	30		
Al Bashaair Project	Jordon	River Nile	9	4	44
Joint Ventures					
Kenan Company for Sugar	Sudan, Kwiet, Saudi Arabia Arab A Com Others	White Nile	350	350	100
Al Takamol Project	Sudanese-Egyptian	Blue Nile	250	13	
Arab Company for Crops Production	Arab Agr Corporation	River Nile State	20	2.624	
Arab agricultural company for agriculture in Blue Nile	Arab Agr Corporation	Blue Nile (Agadi)	200	30	
Arab agricultural company for Production of seeds	Arab Agr Corporation	Sennar River Nile Kassala	9.538	9.538	
Arab Agricultural Company for Production of Vegetables and Fruits	Arab Agr Corporation	Khartoum	3.5	3	
Sudanese-Gulf Company	Sudan and U.A.E	River Nile	77	0.0	
Wasib Company	Saudi-Sudan	River Nile	100	0.0	0.0
Masharig Company	Saudi-sudan	Khartoum State (W Omdurman)	0.324	0,015	5



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Hoi Miya	Sudan-Egypt	Northern State	200	0.0	0.0
National Private Investments					
Migat for Investments and Agricultural services	National	Gedarif	7.5	4	54
Sayed Abdalla for Irrigation and landworks	National	Irrigation schemes	N.D	N.D	N.D
Al rawyan for irrigation and Landworks	National	Gezira White Nile	N.D 5.8	N.D N.D	N.D N.D
Ginaidko for Agricultural Services	National	Gezira (Gineid)	N.D	N.D	N.D
Sennar Centre for Agri services	National	Many states	N.D	N.D	N.D
Afrocom for Aerial spraying	National	Gezira	N.D	N.D	N.D
Tabarak Agricultural company	National	S kordofan Upper Nile Gedarif	70	13	19
Dali-Mazmoum Company	National	Blue Nile	28.5	7	25
Zas for Agricultural Production	National	N.D	18	N.D	N.D
Siddig Al nmazeer Agricultural Com	National	White Nile	14	14	100
Green Valley	National	River Nile	30	0.0	0.0
Dalintod for Agricultural Development	National	Northern State	1000	30	0.2
Owr international Company	National	Northern State	250	0.0	0.0

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