

## 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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)<sup>1</sup>. Zaghawa groups moved south from Dar Zaghawa in the seventies and eighties<sup>2,3</sup>, including the ‘blacksmith’ group – the Haddahate, who are a sub-tribe of the Zaghawa<sup>4</sup>. 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.<sup>5</sup> 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<sup>6,7</sup> 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 Masalit<sup>8</sup>. 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 animals<sup>9</sup>. 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 area<sup>9</sup>. Rape was also practiced<sup>9</sup>.

## **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 Law<sup>1</sup> and also International Humanitarian Law<sup>2</sup>. 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 imperative<sup>3</sup>. 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 Response<sup>10</sup>. 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

---

<sup>1</sup> Article 11 of the ICESCR; Article 24 & 27, CRC; Article 12, CEDAW

<sup>2</sup> “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).

<sup>3</sup> 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 19<sup>th</sup> 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 north<sup>11</sup>. 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 Darfur<sup>4</sup> 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 Arab<sup>5</sup>.

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.

---

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

<sup>5</sup> . 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 least<sup>12</sup>. 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 solved<sup>6</sup>. 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 funded. 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

---

<sup>6</sup> 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 troika<sup>7</sup> 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.

## **References**

1. Key informant 1. Interview with HY & AO. Kebkabiya, 2004:4th & 5th October 2004.
2. Tubiana M-J, Tubiana J. The Zaghawa from an ecological perspective: food gathering, the pastoral system, tradition and development of the Zaghawa of the Sudan and Chad. Rotterdam: A.A.Balkema, 1977.

---

<sup>7</sup> The United States, the United Kingdom and Norway

3. Ibrahim F. The Zaghawa and the Midob of north Darfur - a comparison of migration behaviour. *GeoJournal* 1998;**46**(2):135-140.<http://ezproxy.library.cornell.edu:2082/issn/0343-2521/contents>.
4. Tobert N. The ethnoarchaeology of the Zaghawa of Darfur (Sudan): settlement and transience. *Oxford: B. A. R* 1988;**Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology, 30; BAR International Series, 445**:268.1988.
5. Key informant 1. Interview with AM & HY. Disr, SLA area, 2004:1st October 2004.
6. Musa AS. Native Administration: Concept, Equality and Practice (*arabic*). Alayaam newspaper 2004 October 14, 2004.
7. Yusuf Fadal Hasan. Studies in Sudanese History. Khartoum, Sudan: SUDANTEK Ltd, P.O.Box 3223, 2003. Jan 2003.
8. Rabah NE. The causes of the traditional modernised tribal conflicts in Sudan (in arabic). In: Elzein A, Wadi EIA, eds. Tribal Conflicts In Sudan. Khartoum: Institute of Afro Asian Studies, Khartoum University, 1998.
9. Focus Group 3. Focus group with RD, AG and YA. Disr, 2004:1 October 2004.
10. The Sphere Project. Food Security, Nutrition and Food Aid. Chapter 3 2nd Edition. Humanitarian Charter and Minimum Standards of Disaster Response. 2004 revised edition. Oxford: Oxfam GB, 2003.
11. Cobham A. Causes of conflict in Sudan: Testing the Black Book. Working Paper Number 121. Oxford: Finance and Trade Policy Research Centre, Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, 2005. January 2005.
12. Keen D. Targeting emergency food aid: the case of Darfur 1985. Reaching the Poor? Targetted Interventions, ??: 193-249.

## ***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 Mellit<sup>1</sup>. However, the Zayadia have their own independent Omodyia<sup>2</sup>. 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 conflict<sup>3</sup>. 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 Berti<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>).

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)<sup>4</sup>.

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

---

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

national border between Sudan and Libya in 2003<sup>2</sup>, 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 Kordofan<sup>5</sup>.

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 Hajlijj<sup>4</sup>.

Zayadia leaders in Mellit claimed that the rebels attacked 42 farming villages, and 368 huts were burnt<sup>6</sup>. 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 conflict<sup>6</sup>. 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 disrupted<sup>4</sup>.

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 shortages<sup>4</sup>. 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*

---

<sup>2</sup> 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 settled<sup>5</sup>. 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)<sup>5</sup>. 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 farmers<sup>7</sup>, 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 crisis<sup>7</sup>** (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 crisis<sup>7</sup>**

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 Hawa<sup>5</sup>. 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 camels<sup>8</sup>.

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 camels<sup>8</sup>

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 Libya<sup>7</sup>. 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 \$235,000<sup>3</sup>.

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 poisoned<sup>8</sup>. 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.

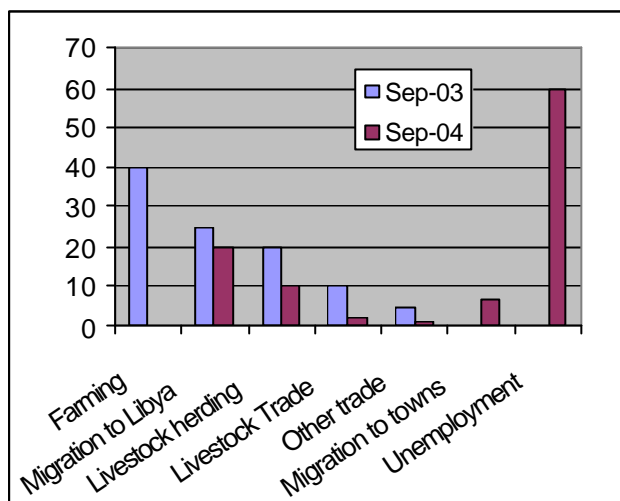
---

<sup>3</sup> 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 activities<sup>7</sup>**

(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 support<sup>6</sup>. 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 areas<sup>4</sup> (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.

---

<sup>4</sup> 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 Darfur<sup>5</sup>. 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).

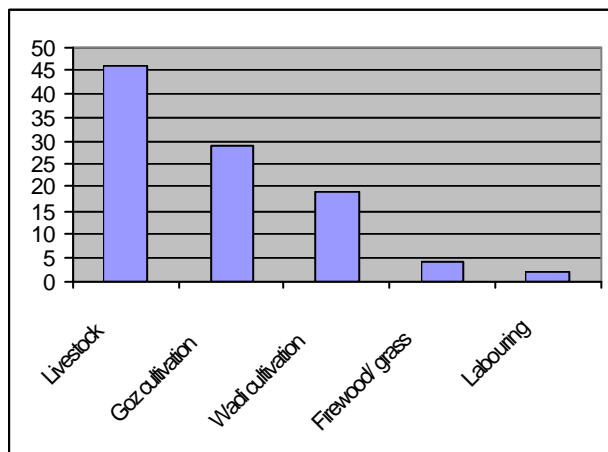
In the past they have had local disagreements and conflicts with other groups, including the Zaghawa and the Zayadia, but these were addressed through local processes and have settled down. Since the recent wider conflict relations between tribes have become polarized as members have looked for solidarity within their tribe<sup>1</sup>.

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 tribes<sup>1</sup>.

### *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

<sup>5</sup> 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 traders<sup>9</sup>.

#### *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 Jinjaweed<sup>1</sup>. 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 Mellit<sup>9</sup>. 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 relatives<sup>9</sup>.

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 expensive<sup>9</sup>. 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"<sup>1</sup>

#### *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 temporary<sup>9</sup>. One month previously they received food aid (90 kg sorghum for 4 persons, 2-3 kg salt, 1 - 1.5kg lentils)<sup>9</sup>.

The goals of the Berti are stability, security and peace so that they can start again<sup>9</sup>

## **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.

## **References**

- 1. Key Informant 1. Interview with BB and HY. Mellit, 2004:30 September 2004.**
- 2. Focus Group 1. Interview AB, RD, BY, BB, YA. Mellit, 2004:30 September 2004.**
- 3. Oxfam GB. A Report on Resource Based Conflicts in North Darfur and Upper Nile State. Khartoum: Oxfam GB, 2002**
- 4. Key informant 6. Interview BB, AM, HY. El Fasher, 2004:29 Sep 2004.**
- 5. Ibrahim FN. Ecological imbalance in the Republic of Sudan - with reference to desertification in Darfur: Bayreuther Geowissenschaftliche Arbeiten Ed. Bayreuth Verlagsgesellschaft mbh, 1984.**
- 6. Zayadia leaders focus group. Interview AB, RD, BY, BB, YA. Mellit, 2004:30 September 2004.**
- 7. Focus Group 3. Focus group - Zayadia men with AO. Mellit, 2004:September.**
- 8. Focus Group YA. Focus Group Interview with livestock traders. Mellit, 2004:30 September.**
- 9. Focus Group 2. Focus Group Berti women with HY. Mellit, 2004:30 September 2004.**

## ***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 people<sup>1</sup>. In addition, there are reportedly 2,000 displaced people from Kebkabiya, Kornoi, Abu Hamra, Umm Burro and Tina<sup>1</sup>.

A mix of tribes are found in the area including, Zaghawa, Fur, Berti, Tunjur, Meidob, Fellata, and Birgo<sup>2</sup>. Local people present were keen to describe these groups as '*kulu wahid*' 'all one' i.e. they do not distinguish between themselves<sup>3</sup>. 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'<sup>4</sup>. 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 Omdas<sup>2</sup>.

Antonovs and helicopters would 'bomb everything that moved' including water points, markets, buildings, flocks of animals<sup>1</sup>. 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 area<sup>1</sup>. Rape was also practiced<sup>1</sup>.

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 arabs<sup>2</sup>.



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 time<sup>2</sup>.

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 season<sup>5</sup>. Some people were reported to be absent in Firgan - a summer camp three hours north east of Disr, with small numbers of livestock<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1,4</sup>, numbering approximately 2000<sup>1</sup>. 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 months<sup>4</sup>. For those who still had some resources making loans to relatives was a means of spreading the risk of further looting by Jinjaweed and others<sup>4</sup>.

## **Livelihoods Before The Crisis**

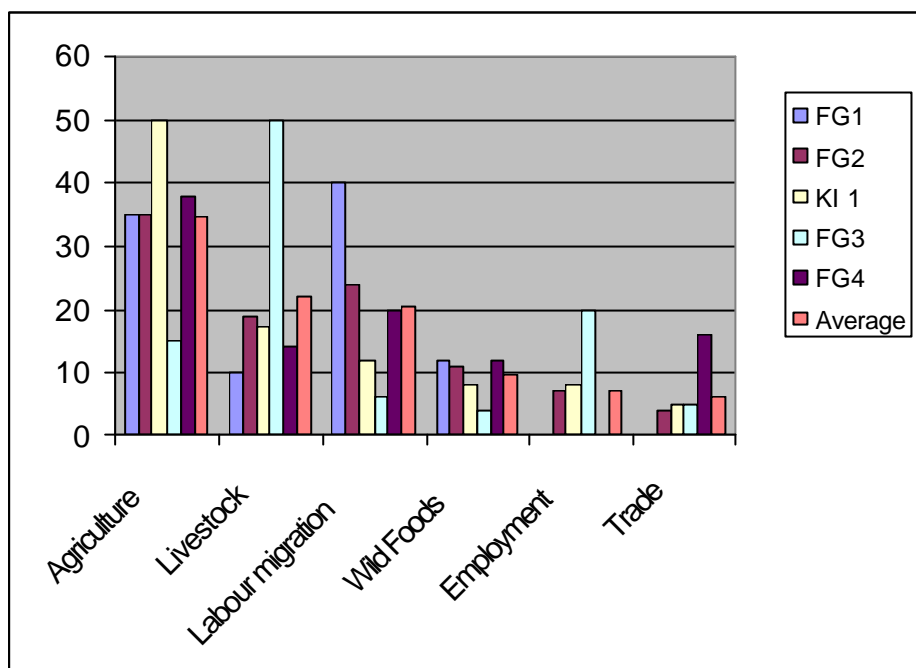
Five focus groups in three different villages described livelihoods before the crisis and currently (October 2004). Groups distinguished between two principle livelihood groups; farmers and herders. Although most farmers had some livestock and some herders cultivated. All groups were engaged in the same 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)<sup>1</sup>. 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 land<sup>4</sup>.

**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 feddans<sup>2</sup>. Far fewer farmers had access to fertile wadi land (2 out of 10 farmers). Tomatoes & onions are grown in the wadi for commercial purposes<sup>5</sup>.

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”<sup>5</sup>. 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 girl<sup>5</sup>.

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)<sup>1</sup>. 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 camels<sup>3</sup>. Among the more pastoralist focus group 3 better off household might own up to 70 camels<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>1,5</sup>. 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)<sup>4,5</sup>. 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%)<sup>5</sup>. 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 etc<sup>4</sup>. 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)<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>4,6</sup>. The chief purpose of the money was to support people to live – to help pay for their basic needs<sup>5</sup>, and for investments in livestock<sup>6</sup>.

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 instructions<sup>5</sup>.

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 Darfur<sup>5</sup>. A similar system used to operate between Libya and Darfur<sup>1</sup>. 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 family<sup>5</sup>. Some goods and cash were also hand-carried by individuals traveling from Libya<sup>1</sup>.

Remittances in kind included clothes, money, sugar, rice, flour, edible oil, biscuits, mats, perfumes, radios and TVs<sup>1</sup>.

#### *- Trade*

Before the crisis there were approximately 10 to 12 commodity traders in Disr bringing goods from Kutum to Disr market<sup>1</sup>. 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 season<sup>5</sup>. 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 day<sup>1</sup>.

#### *-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 Libya<sup>1</sup>. 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)<sup>1</sup>. 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 rare<sup>5</sup>.

- *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*'<sup>5</sup>. 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 Kutum<sup>5</sup>.

## **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)<sup>1</sup>.

People claim to have a strong sense of community, sharing what they have with their displaced relatives<sup>5</sup>. Those who lack any resources depend on their social relationships and wild food<sup>4</sup>. 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 millet<sup>2</sup>. 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 pox<sup>6</sup>. (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)<sup>5</sup>. Damns and hafirs were destroyed, and wells were poisoned (sheep died soon after drinking from them)<sup>5</sup>. 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)<sup>2</sup>.

*- 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 sources<sup>1</sup>.

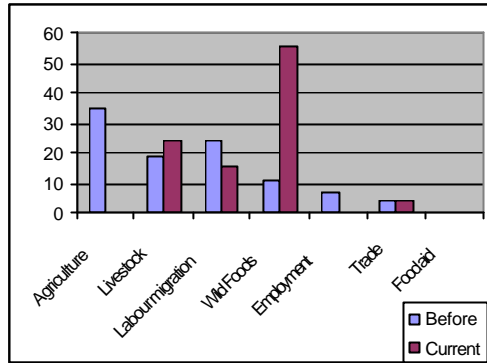
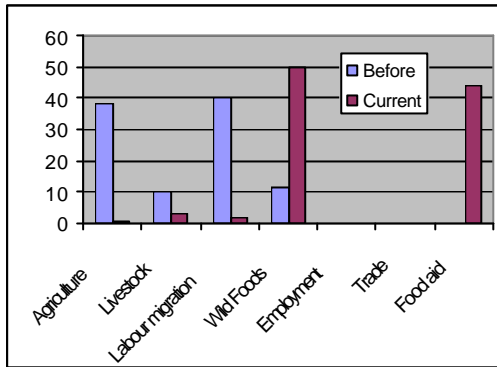
The previous cultivation season in 2003 was completely lost, as it coincided with the attacks on Disr, and battles between the SLM and the GoS. While people were seeking safety and hiding in the mountains it was impossible for them to cultivate. Seed stores were destroyed, and are available from the 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 again<sup>5</sup>.

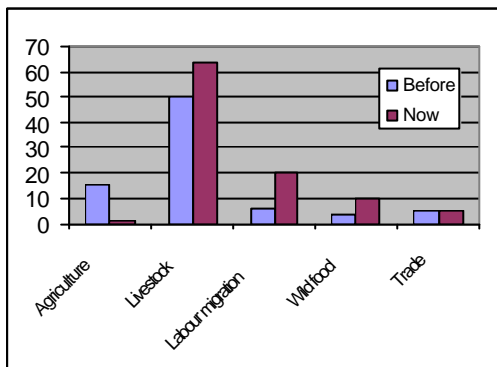
**Figure 2 Livelihoods in Disr Area – before the crisis and in October 2004**

**Focus Group 1**

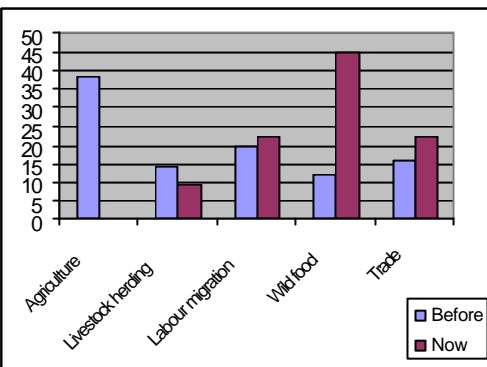
**Focus Group 2**



Focus Group 3<sup>1</sup>



Focus Group 4<sup>6</sup>



*- 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 looted<sup>1</sup>.

*- 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<sup>2,4</sup>. Once in Kutum, women from Disr must conceal that they come from Disr<sup>2</sup>.

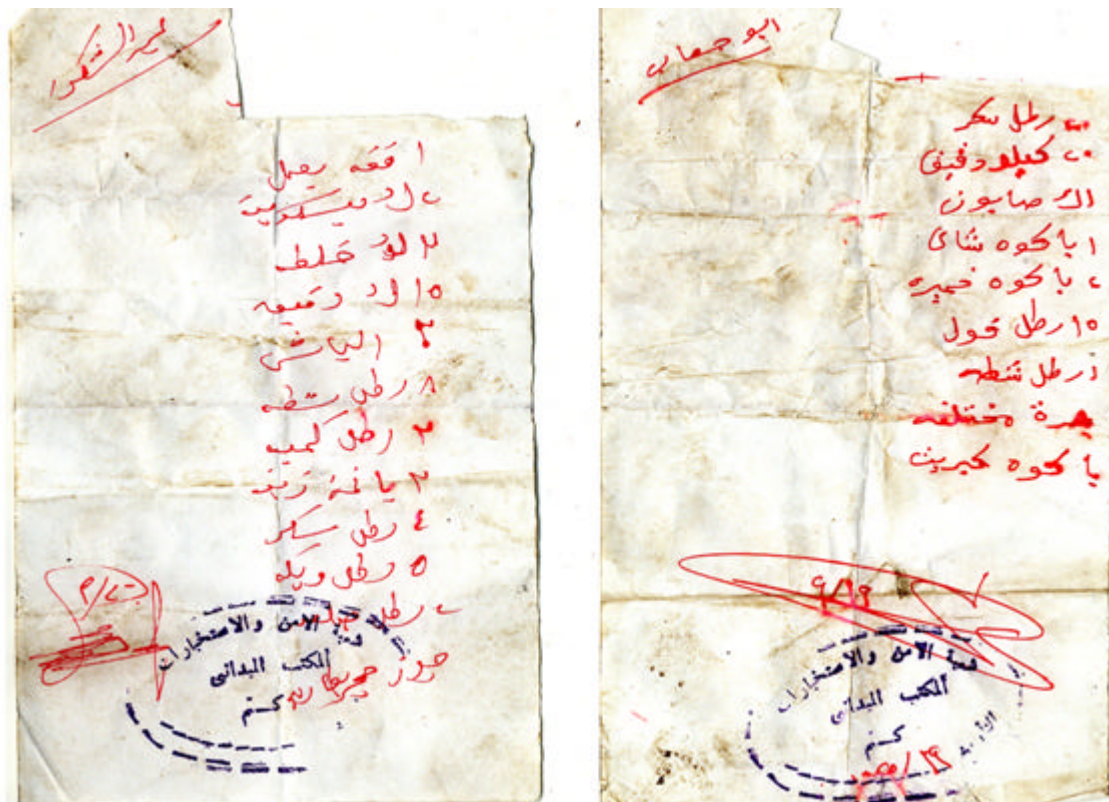
The women must obtain a permit from the offices of the ‘military (army) intelligence and security’ in order to transport goods beyond the Kutum town boundary checkpoints<sup>2,5</sup>. For a fee of 2,000 SP (US\$0.78)<sup>2,4,7</sup> the military & security office gives them a permit listing the items 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 confiscated<sup>5</sup>.

Many consider that this travel to markets by women and donkeys that has kept people in Disr area alive<sup>2</sup>. 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 market<sup>4</sup>.

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 camp<sup>7</sup>. 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 sell<sup>7</sup>.

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 area<sup>4</sup>.

- *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 before<sup>6</sup>. For focus group 3 remittances increased because of their strong kinship ties through Chad<sup>1</sup>. 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'<sup>5</sup>, but this could be because banks in Kutum were closed<sup>6</sup>.

The group in Goreij<sup>5</sup> 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 traders<sup>5</sup>.

## **Humanitarian response in Disr**

By October 2004, the people of Disr had received two food aid distributions - once on 28<sup>th</sup> 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 villages<sup>1</sup>. 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<sup>4,5</sup>. In addition, the importance of the opening of the routes to Libya, Omdurman and other parts of Sudan was recognized<sup>1</sup>.

## **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.

## References

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 crisis<sup>1</sup>. 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 Darfur<sup>2</sup> 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 rain<sup>3</sup> 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

---

<sup>1</sup> 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).

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

<sup>3</sup> 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 17<sup>th</sup> 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<sup>1,2</sup>. 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 Sultan<sup>1</sup>. 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 1971<sup>4</sup>. 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 groups<sup>3</sup>.

**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 19<sup>th</sup> century led to raiding, skirmishes and razzia by both sides<sup>4</sup>.

---

<sup>4</sup> 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 authorities<sup>5</sup>.

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 Chad<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>7,8</sup> 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 Masalit<sup>9</sup>. 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 eased<sup>3</sup>.

Comment [HY2]: You mean they were created?

Insecurity began to prevail from this period<sup>6,10</sup>. 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'<sup>6</sup>.

**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 1997<sup>11</sup>.

**Table 2 Details of livestock looted from Masalit (1995-1997)<sup>11</sup>**

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<sup>6,10</sup>, and two in the Kirundun IDP camp in El Geneina<sup>12,13</sup>. 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.

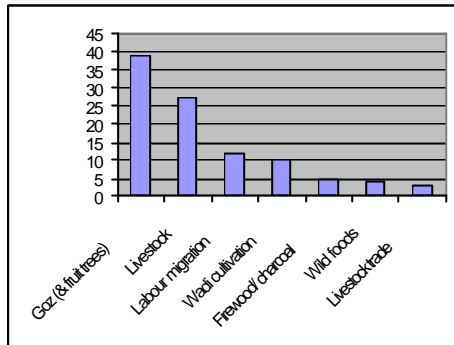
*Livelihoods before the crisis*

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.

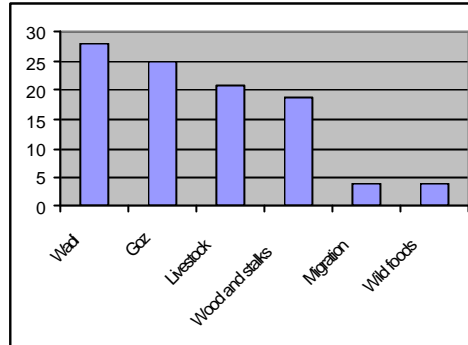


**Figure 2 Livelihood strategies for the Masalit before the crisis<sup>13</sup>**

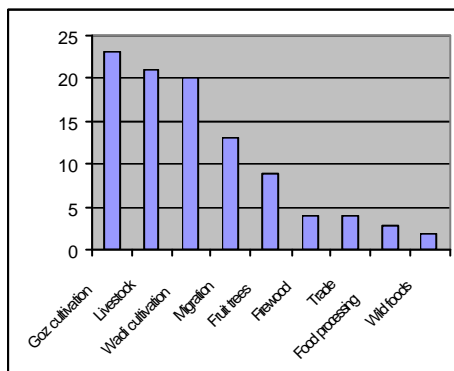
**Gokur**



**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 farmers**<sup>12</sup>

	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 migration<sup>14</sup>. 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 agriculture<sup>5</sup>. 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 stay<sup>6</sup>. 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

---

<sup>5</sup> 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)

<sup>6</sup> 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)<sup>12</sup>. 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.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12,13</sup> 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.

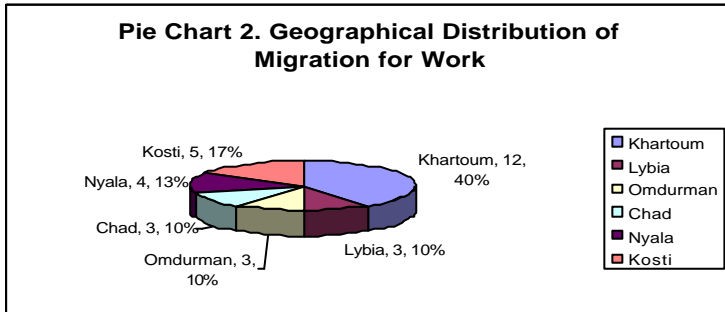
For the most part the IDPs depend on food assistance (85% of their food and income source). Some men work in Geneina as casual/daily labourers (2,000 pounds per day).

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)<sup>16</sup>.

**Figure 3 Geographical distribution of labour migration from Dar Masalit<sup>16</sup>**



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<sup>6,15</sup>**

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 areas<sup>13</sup>. 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'*<sup>6</sup>. 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 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.



## References

1. Tully D. **Culture and Context in Sudan. The process of market incorporation in Dar Masalit: State University of New York Press, 1988.**
2. Hagar AA. **The political dimension of the tribal conflict in Dar Fur (in arabic). Khartoum: Sudan Press Company for Currency, 2003.**
3. Abusin, Takana. **A socio-economic study of Geniena, Kulbus and Habila of Western Darfur State. Khartoum: Oxfam GB, 2001**
4. Burr JM, Collins RO. **Africa's Thirty Years War : Libya, Chad, and the Sudan, 1963-1993, 1999.**
5. de Waal A. **Refugees and the creation of famine: the case of Dar Masalit, Sudan. *Journal of Refugee Studies* 1988;1(2):127-140.**
6. Focus Group 5. **Focus Group Masalit Older Women with RD. Chagawa, near Gokur (south of El Geneina), 2004:October.**
7. Musa AS. **Native Administration: Concept, Equality and Practice (arabic). Alayaam newspaper 2004 October 14, 2004.**
8. Yusuf Fadal Hasan. **Studies in Sudanese History. Khartoum, Sudan: SUDANTEK Ltd, P.O.Box 3223, 2003. Jan 2003.**
9. Rabah NE. **The causes of the traditional modernized tribal conflicts in Sudan (in arabic). In: Elzein A, Wadi EIA, eds. Tribal Conflicts In Sudan. Khartoum: Institute of Afro Asian Studies, Khartoum University, 1998.**
10. Focus Group 2. **Focus group interview with AO & HY. Gokur Village, south of El Geneina, 2004:9th October 2004.**
11. Takana Y. **Implications of tribal conflict in Dar Fur (in Arabic). In: Elzein A, Wadi EIA, eds. Tribal Conflicts In Sudan. Khartoum: Institute of Afro Asian Studies, Khartoum University, 1998.**
12. Focus Group 2. **Focus group women IDPs with AO. Kirundun 1 camp, El Geneina, 2004:9th October 2004.**
13. Focus Group 1. **Focus group interview with HY & BB. Kirundun 1 camp, El Geneina, 2004:9th October 2004.**
14. Tully D. **Labor Migration in the economy and society of Dar Masalit. Washington, DC, 1985:1985. 159-169.**
15. Focus Group 6. **Focus group interview with AO & HY. Gokur Village, south of El Geneina, 2004:9th October2004.**
16. Anon. **Report on Livelihoods in Darfur August 2005. First draft. Geneina: Concern International, 2004**

## ***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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup> Zaghawa groups moved south from Dar Zaghawa in the 1970s and 1980s,<sup>3,4</sup> including the 'blacksmith' group the **Haddahate**, who are a sub-tribe of the Zaghawa.<sup>5</sup> 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).<sup>6</sup>

### **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.<sup>7</sup>

Security in Kebkabiya has reportedly improved with the arrival of African Union monitors and more international NGO staff.<sup>7</sup> However, women still feel they are in danger, and cannot go out of the town to collect firewood as they risk rape.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>9</sup>

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.<sup>6</sup> Estimates of the numbers living in the mountains vary from about 5,000<sup>8</sup> to about 26,000.<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup> 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.<sup>8</sup>

### **Out-migration from Darfur**

Better-off households could afford to travel to Khartoum, El Fasher or Nyala.<sup>10</sup> The costs of travel are considerable; the journey by bus to Khartoum costs SP 100,000 (about \$40).<sup>7</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup>

### **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.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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**.<sup>8</sup>

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**'.<sup>6</sup> 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,<sup>6</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> From Libya, the only way to send goods or cash to rural areas in Jebel Si was to personally hand-carry them.<sup>6</sup>

### **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.<sup>2</sup> Some villagers were unable to save anything though others, attacked later, were able to save some possessions.<sup>10</sup> 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,<sup>9</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> 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).<sup>6</sup> 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 Kebkabiya<sup>11</sup>**

The Zaghawa women interviewed were from Suburna village, near Misteriya, 10–15km west of Kebkabiya.<sup>11</sup> 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.

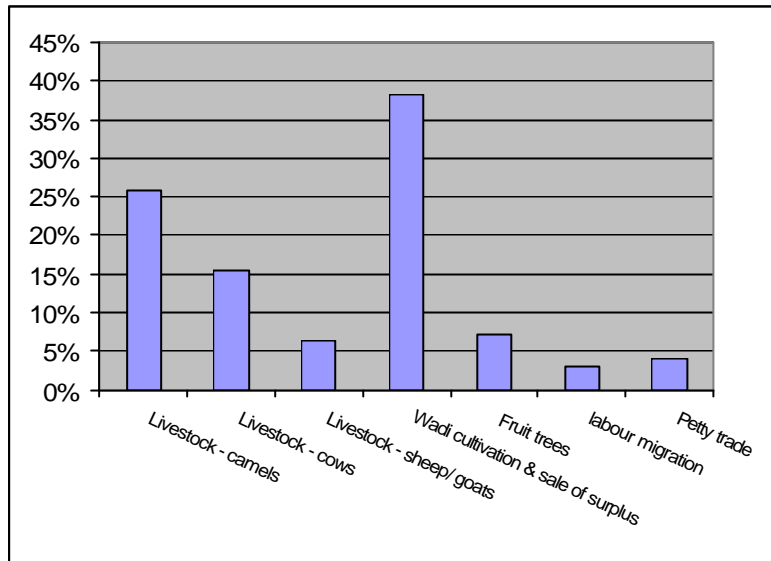
### **Livelihoods before the crisis**

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.

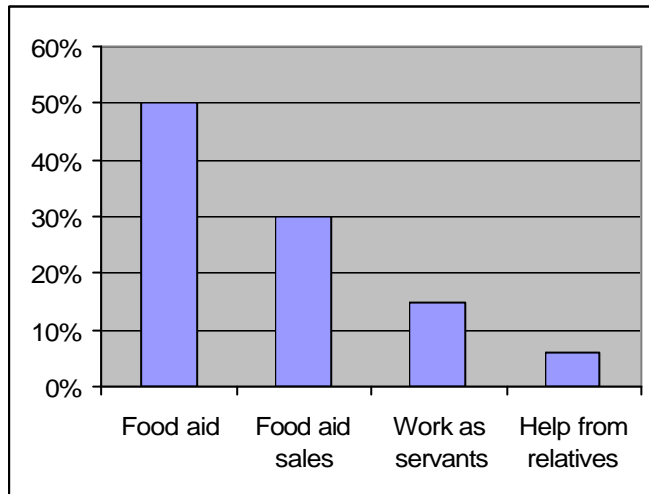
Their main source of food and income is currently food aid. The first food distribution was in October 2003, and they now receive food assistance every month. They sell a part of the wheat they receive to meet their other needs, and get SP 400 for one kora (US\$0.20). The price of sorghum is SP 250 per 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.<sup>112</sup> [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

<sup>1</sup> 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’.<sup>12</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup>

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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

**Tama** leaders described to the team how they were drawn reluctantly into the current conflict.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

**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.<sup>14</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> The military provides limited protection, but military posts are spread far apart.<sup>13</sup>

### **Arab groups in Wadi Shallal and Wadi Shoba area**

Arab tribes in the Wadi Shallal area include the Owlad Zeid, the Owlad 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'*.<sup>10</sup>

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.<sup>10,15</sup> In the Kutum area, Arab villages that were burned included Girare, Barak Alla and Amo.<sup>10</sup>

### **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.<sup>13</sup> The Owwad Zeid interviewed in the Wadi Shoba area were originally camel herders, who established farms in Kebkabiya and Norgay.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>13</sup>

### **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:<sup>15</sup>

- 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.<sup>10</sup> 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).<sup>15</sup>

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.<sup>15</sup>

**Table 1. Livestock migration routes, pre-crisis and current<sup>10</sup>**

Season	Month	Area on the migratory route, pre-crisis	During the crisis
Winter – dry season	January	Wadi Azoum – Eltiraig	Area inaccessible
	February	Wadi <b>Salih [Saleh?]</b>	
	March	Kibar	
Summer – hot season	April	Um <b>Dokhon[Dukhon?]</b>	Wadi Azoum
	May	Wadi Salih – Eltiraig	
	June	Wadi Azoum – Saga	
Autumn – rainy season	July	Kebkabiya – Baray	Saga
	August	Um Sunoot[?] – <b>Eldour</b>	Kebkabiya – Um? <b>Bari[Baray?]</b>
	Sep/Oct	<b>El Wakhaim – El Gisou</b>	Jidar and Kebkabiya
Winter – dry season	November	Kebkabiya area	Area inaccessible
	December	<b>UmBari/[Baray?]</b> – 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**.<sup>13</sup>

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).<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>10</sup> These conditions are particularly unsuitable for camels, 'which need fresh, clean air and hate bad smells'.<sup>15</sup> 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

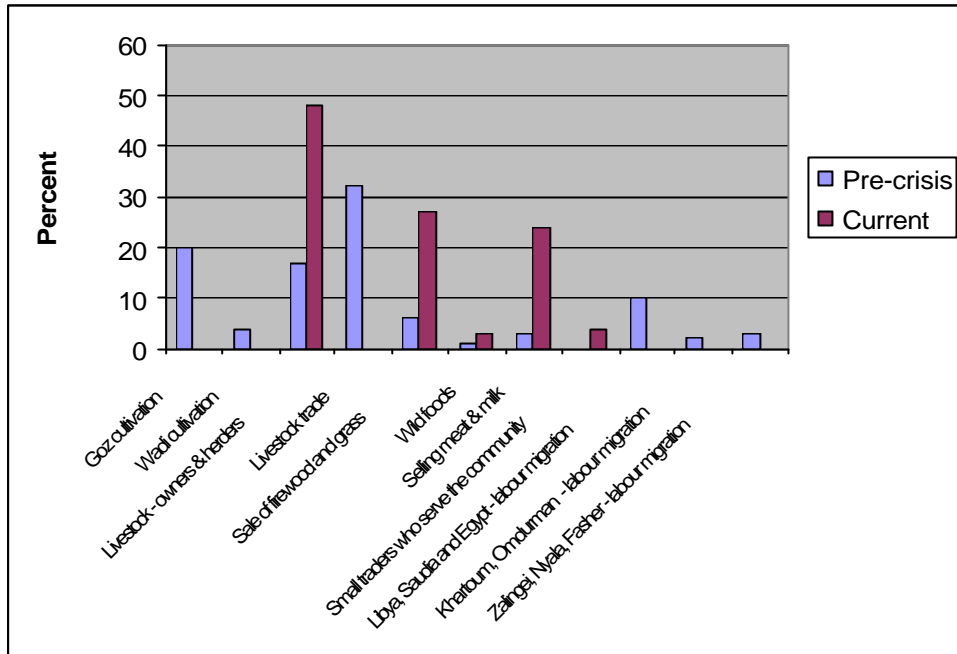


Figure 4 Changes in livelihood strategies among Arab groups in the Wadi Shoba area of Kebkabiya

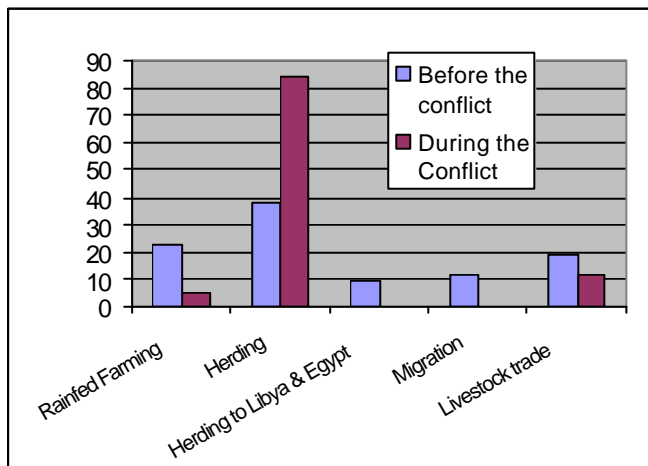
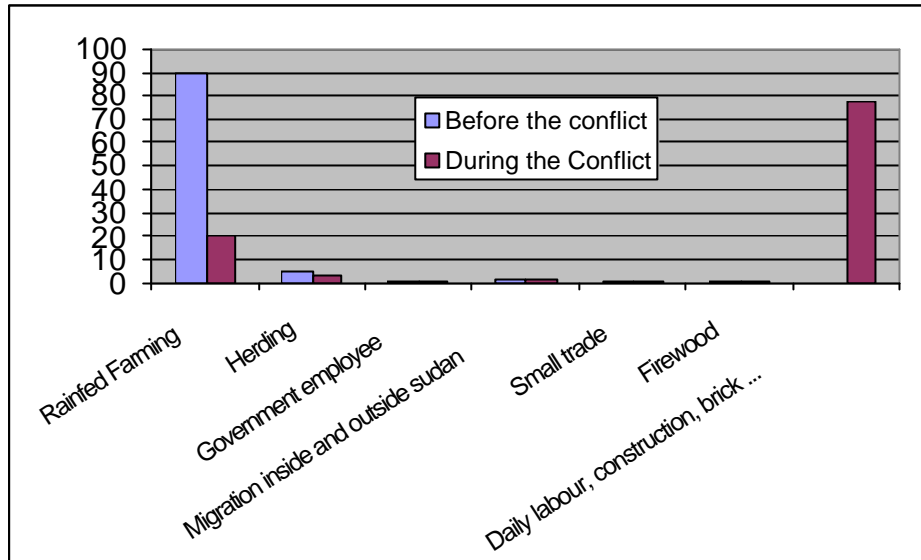


Figure 5. Changes in livelihood strategies among Gimr groups in Kebkabiya



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.<sup>16</sup>

### 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.<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup> In Wadi Shoba, the immediate goals were security and food, while in the longer term people prioritised education, health and the purchase of farms.<sup>10</sup>

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’.<sup>13</sup> 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).<sup>17</sup> 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)<sup>17</sup>**

	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.<sup>17</sup> 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.<sup>15</sup>

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.<sup>17</sup> 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.

## References

1. UNOCHA. Darfur Humanitarian Profile No. 1. Part III. Khartoum: Office of the UN Resident and Humanitarian Co-ordinator for the Sudan, 2004:October.
2. Key informant 1. Interview with HY & AO. Kebkabiya, 2004:4th & 5th October 2004.
3. Tubiana M-J, Tubiana J. The Zaghawa from an ecological perspective: food gathering, the pastoral system, tradition and development of the Zaghawa of the Sudan and Chad. Rotterdam: A.A.Balkema, 1977.
4. Ibrahim F. The Zaghawa and the Midob of north Darfur - a comparison of migration behaviour. *GeoJournal* 1998;**46**(2):135-140.<http://ezproxy.library.cornell.edu:2082/issn/0343-2521/contents>.
5. Tobert N. The ethnoarchaeology of the Zaghawa of Darfur (Sudan): settlement and transience. *Oxford: B. A. R* 1988;**Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology, 30; BAR International Series, 445**:268.1988.
6. Key informant 5. Interview with RD and HY. Kebkabiya, 2004:5th October 2004.
7. Key Informant 6. Interview with HY & RD. Kebkabiya, 2004:4th October 2004.
8. Focus Group 1. Focus groups HY & RD. Kebkabiya, 2004:4th October 2004.
9. Key informant 2. Meeting with AO, RD and HY. Kebkabiya, 2004.

10. Focus Group 5. Focus group interview with AO. Kebkabiya, 2004:6th October.
11. Focus Group 3. Focus group with Zaghawa IDP women. Kebkabiya, 2004:6th October 2004.
12. Key informant 8. Interview with HY and AO. Kebkabiya, 2004:7th October 2004.
13. Key Informant 4. Interview AO, HY & RD. Kebkabiya, 2004:5th October 2004.
14. Key informant 10. Interview with AO. Kebkabiya, 2004.
15. Focus Group 2. Focus group discussion with RD & HY. Shallal, west of Kebkabiya, 2004:6th October 2004.
16. Key informant 7. Interview with AM, RD & HY. Kebkabiya, 2004:October 5 2004.
17. Key informant 3. Meeting with AO, RD, HY. Kebkabiya, 2004:5th October 2004.

## **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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

#### **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.<sup>1</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup>

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,<sup>1</sup> 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:<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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.<sup>1</sup>

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'.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

Local informants suggested there were differences between senior officers and local men.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>1</sup>

### **Traditional systems of security and protection**

The *Ageet* system is the tribe's traditional system of control and protection.<sup>1</sup> 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*’<sup>1</sup>. 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.<sup>3,5</sup> 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.<sup>4</sup> Their movements are dictated by the rainy season and by issues of security.

**Table 1 Livestock migration routes for the Beni Hussein, Dar Seraif<sup>3</sup>**

	Month	Area on migration route (pre-crisis)	During the crisis
<b>Winter – dry season</b>	January	El Gisou	Cannot access these areas
	Feb–March	Wadi Bari and Wadi Azoum	
<b>Summer – hot season</b>	April–June	Wadi Saleh	
<b>Autumn – rainy season</b>	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
---------------------	------------------	----------------------------	-------------

### 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 Libya<sup>5</sup> (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.<sup>1</sup> The period spent in Libya varies from one to two years, though some '*stay so long their wives ask for divorce*'.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup> 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 currently<sup>5</sup>**

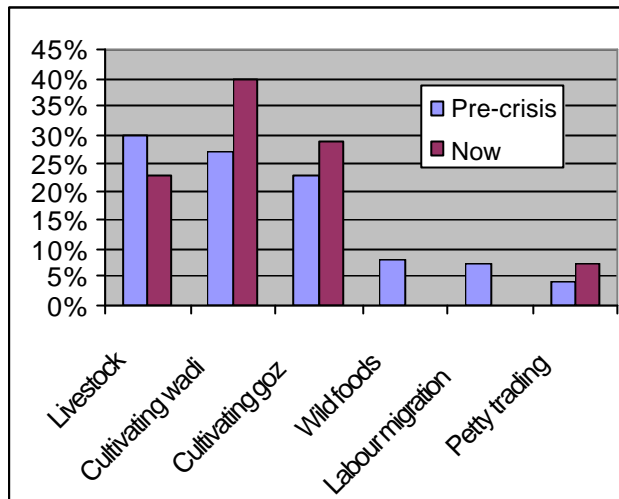


Figure 1 shows the importance of the cultivation of crops, on both goz and wadi soils, which previously accounted for about 50 per cent of household sources of food and income, while livestock contributed 30 per cent.<sup>5</sup> These proportions were considered to be similar for poorer groups, although 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.

#### **Curtailed of livestock migration**

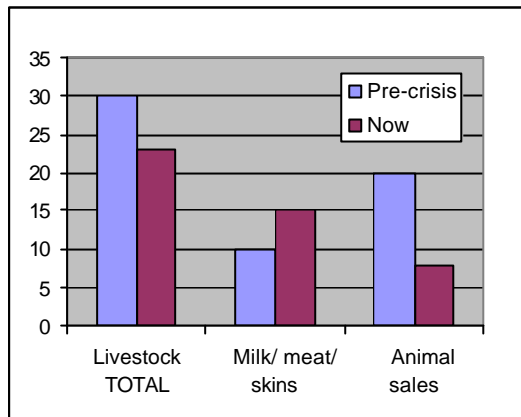
Currently livestock movements are severely restricted, and herds can move only within the *dar*, as far north as Abusnuot or as far south as Wadi Saleh. In the past, the Beni Hussein provided protection to nomadic members of the tribe. However, now that the level of conflict has escalated beyond individual 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.<sup>3,4</sup>

#### **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 currently<sup>5</sup>**



### **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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup>

### **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.<sup>1</sup>



### **Humanitarian assistance**

Seraif town has received food aid once, in July 2004, but many people missed out as they were absent.<sup>2</sup> 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.

### **References**

1. Focus Group 1. Interview with HY, AO & RD. Seraif, 2004:October 7.
2. Key Informant 1. Interview with AO, RD & HY. Seraif, 2004:October 8.
3. Key informants. Interview with AO. El Seraif, 2004:October 7.
4. Key informants 3 & 4. Interview with HY, RD. El Fasher, 2004:September 28.
5. Focus Group 2. Focus group interview with RD & HY. Seraif, 2004:October 7.