

PASTORALISM IN INTERACTION

WITH OTHER FORMS OF LAND USE IN THE BLUE NILE AREA OF SUDAN

[Ed. Günther Schlee]



PROJECT OUTLINE
AND
FIELD NOTES 2009–10

HALLE (SAALE) 2012

MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY
DEPARTMENT 'INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT'
FIELD NOTES AND RESEARCH PROJECTS

MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY, DEPARTMENT
'INTEGRATION AND CONFLICT', FIELD NOTES AND RESEARCH PROJECTS
Pastoralism in Interaction with other Forms of Land Use
in the Blue Nile Area of the Sudan: Project Outline and Field Notes 2009–10

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

This booklet, and others which will follow, serves the purpose of presenting data in a fashion which is readable for other researchers than the one who had taken the notes on which these accounts are based. Primarily, this applies for co-workers on the same project, but also for others.

It is further meant to facilitate to explain what our work is all about to possible co-operation partners.

A third purpose is to provide pictorial illustrations more generously than commercial book publications with a publishing house usually do.

The volumes in this series are not meant to replace proper publications about our results in books and journal articles. In relation to these, they have two functions: a preparatory one and a complementary one. Here data can be laid out more fully than in a commercial book publication or a scholarly journal.

This series describes projects and preliminary results, i.e. work in progress. We hope for constructive criticism and the reader's kindness, as far as the weaknesses of our work are concerned.

File names (of text files and pictures) are for internal use.

PROJECT OUTLINE (2009)¹: PASTORALISM IN INTERACTION WITH OTHER FORMS OF LAND USE IN THE BLUE NILE AREA OF SUDAN

(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

1. AIM

The aim of the project is to throw light on the decisions faced by pastoralists in the way they manage their herds and their families in the Blue Nile area (focussing on Sennar and Blue Nile states) of the Sudan. While the focus is clearly on pastoralists, the perspective of others (sedentary agriculturalists, representatives of the state) cannot be neglected, because the rights and interests of others (at any given time) are part of the constraints faced by pastoralists in their decisions. Seen in a diachronic perspective (through time), the interethnic relations, also with regard to resources used, result from and are constantly redefined by a history of interaction.

The approach chosen can be called political ecology, a somewhat contested term, but ideally a line of research which attributes equal importance to human agency and the domain of the social (political) and to the natural environment (ecology). The team (see below: personnel) therefore comprises social and natural scientists.

Primarily, the project is of an academic nature and aims at explaining how people interact individually and in the form of groups and alliances. Since Hardin's article on the Tragedy of the Commons (1968 in *Science* 162: 1243–48), keeping animals on the open range has been a classical example of public access to resources. 'The commons' have come to stand for a key issue of economics. Without necessarily agreeing with Hardin, the project takes up this problem because of its relevance to social theory. (In Range Management Studies, which should be the area Hardin's metaphor is derived from, hardly anyone agrees with him.) A secondary focus is on application. If results of the project help to reconcile competing forms of resource use (mediation) or to improve the way in which the authorities deal with these problems (policy), this will be most welcome.

2. DURATION

The project is planned for four years (2009–12). As a result of this work a follow-up project or follow-up projects may be defined. The project is part of a long term programme, 'Integration and Conflict' (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, Department 'Integration and Conflict').

3. PERSONNEL

Prof. Dr. Günther Schlee, Director at the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, project leader

Dr. Elhadi Ibrahim Osman, University of Sennar, principal investigator (anthropology)

Dr. Awad Karim Tijani, M.Sc., principal investigator (agriculture, ecology)

Mona Adam, BA (agriculture), technical assistant to Awad Karim and Elhadi Ibrahim.

More personalities are going to be invited to participate in the project. Some such perspectives will be outlined below under 'Cooperation'.

4. EARLIER WORK

Since 1974, I have worked on pastoralists, mainly in Kenya (see bibliography). In 1996, I started to do field research in the Blue Nile area. With Professor Al-Amin Abu-Manga

¹With minor changes and an updated bibliography.

Muhammad, University of Khartoum, I collected oral historical traditions of migrants from West Africa. I did an in-depth study of a particular village near Abu-Na'ama, the results of which are still awaiting publication. I wrote a number of articles about the Fulbe Mbororo pastoralists of the area (Schlee 1997, 2002c, Feyissa and Schlee 2009).

Elhadi Ibrahim Osman wrote a doctoral thesis about the Mbororo of the Blue Nile region which is about to be published. His earlier work comprises an M.Sc. thesis on the performance of the rural financial markets in Sinja district, a paper on the Fiju ceremony of Mbororo in the Blue Nile area, and another on the integration of Mbororo into the national economy and the wider society titled 'The Funj Region Pastoral Fulbe: From "Exit" to "Voice"' which was published as of a special issue about the Sudan in the *Nomadic Peoples* journal (Vol. 13(1), 2010).

Awad Karim Tijani is a specialist in animal production. The main field of study is poultry. His M.Sc. thesis was about the Large Baladi Sudanese chickens under relatively improved environmental conditions. His PhD study was about poultry nutrition. He is also the main author of an article on the same subject which has been accepted by the *Journal of Veterinary Science*. There are about three papers extracted from the M.Sc. thesis now in preparation.

He has been assisting me in conducting a village study and in gathering data about cattle nomads in the Blue Nile area. He also supervised students who were employed for a village census.

5. COOPERATION

- The Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology, in Halle/Saale (Germany), will be the lead institution and administer the project.
 - University of Sennar. Two principal investigators are teaching at the University of Sennar and will make sure that their students profit from their experiences with this project. It is planned to involve the University of Sennar also as a provider of laboratory space for this project. Some special equipment can be provided by the project (Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology).
 - Dr. Ibraahiim Ahmad Adam has also been helpful with his advice and might wish to participate more fully.
 - University of Khartoum, Institute of African and Asian Studies. We aim at continuing the successful cooperation with Professor Al-Amin Abu-Manga.
 - Ahfad University, Omdurmaan. Professor Abdulghafar Muhammad Ahmad has promised to make his rich ethnographic experience in the Blue Nile area available to the project and to assist us with advice. Further activities, like joint supervision of research students, are under discussion.
 - Zentrum für Entwicklungsforschung (ZEF), University of Bonn. The Centre for Development Research has satellite data from across Africa and is willing to share these data with us and to assist in their interpretation.
 - Ahmad Ab Saas, Range Management Officer, Blue Nile State
 - Khaliifa Humari, Range Management Officer, Sennar State
- This list is not exclusive.

6. RESEARCH PLAN

6.1. HUMAN FACTORS

The project straddles the divide between social sciences and history on the one side and natural sciences on the other. As professional specializations like those between pastoralists and farmers often (but not always) follow ethnic lines and since collective claims

to land form a mosaic of tribal homelands, the history of linguistic and ethnic groups and their role in former and present administrations forms part of the project. Local forms of negotiation, mediation and jurisdiction (the subject of legal anthropology) and 'tribes' also figure as important. All these anthropological, sociological and historical matters have to be brought into a wider ecological framework which is addressed in the next section.

6.2. THE ECOLOGY OF MOBILE ANIMAL PRODUCTION

The tasks included in this work package comprise mapping the forms of land use in the Blue Nile region with a special focus on pastoral areas. This information needs to be related to soil types and topography. Further cartographic information, from published sources, if available, otherwise to be collected, include climatic and agro-ecological zones. Livestock resources and their distribution need to be shown as a general picture for the whole of the Sudan and with more detail for the Sennar State and the Blue Nile State.

The natural pasture resources need to be described, but also the alternatives to natural pasture in the form of fodder crops or crop residues. Opportunities for improvement of these resources will be investigated. Selection of forage species and their proliferation by seed production may be of relevance here.

These data about the land, the atmosphere and plants need to be related to data about animals, namely the domestic ungulates and their human keepers. Types of mobility (nomadic, transhumant) along different dimensions of variation need to be described, and in this context also the often highly mobile herd management by otherwise sedentary populations and by agro-pastoralists need to be taken into consideration. Integrated systems of irrigation and livestock production are another important topic. This list is by no means exclusive.

Constraints on animal production in the Sudan can be traced to both overgrazing and undergrazing. By these terms the relationship between the amount of fodder and the number of animals can be described (full use, insufficient supply, over-supply). In a stricter sense, overgrazing refers to the destruction of pasture by overuse. It has often been said that this is difficult to achieve, except in heavily trampled areas along roads and water points, since plant production is almost exclusively determined by the amount of rainfall, irrespective of how heavily a given area has been grazed. Undergrazing (or more specifically underbrowsing) is, however, an often neglected factor which can reduce the capacity of a pasture. Areas not regularly grazed may revert to bushland and be invaded by tsetse flies and other parasites as well as predators and may therefore lose some of their value as pastures. The assessment of the value of a pasture needs to take distances from water points and the probability of conflict because of the expansion of agriculture into account, as well as possible seasonal nutritional deficiencies, diseases, and in connection with the latter the availability of veterinary services.

Beyond natural pasture one may look at the use which is made of crop residues. There seems to be room for improvement by processing of feeds.

Shifting from the side of production to consumption, one will have to look at domestic milk and meat consumption and the marketing of surpluses. Infrastructure and education are factors affecting the integration of animal producers in the wider society and economy.

Other fields of investigation in the domain of interaction between humans, ungulates, plants and the inanimate environment include:

The classification of woody and herbaceous plant species in the rangeland according to livestock preferences; other economic uses; nutritive value; role in preventing wind

erosion; tolerance of fire and grazing pressure and suitability of the system; identification of plant containing anti-nutritional factors. Pastures need to be evaluated according to botanical and chemical composition, cover density, seasonal variation (stages of maturity) and nutritive value.

Breeds and breeding of domestic animals. This is a theme with practical and symbolic aspects. Breeds tend to be adjusted to rangeland conditions and the potential selective breeding for higher performance in special fields (milk yield, meat, speed of maturation) tends to be limited by the harsh conditions, because high performance often comes at the price of general robustness. Symbolic aspects include the identification of groups of herders with certain breeds of animals, like different varieties of cattle or sheep.

The above are just examples. The list of themes can be expanded after proper exploration of the problem and the area.

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DAMAZIN

Field Notes Source: FN20090818Damazin.doc
(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

THURSDAY, AUGUST 13, 2009

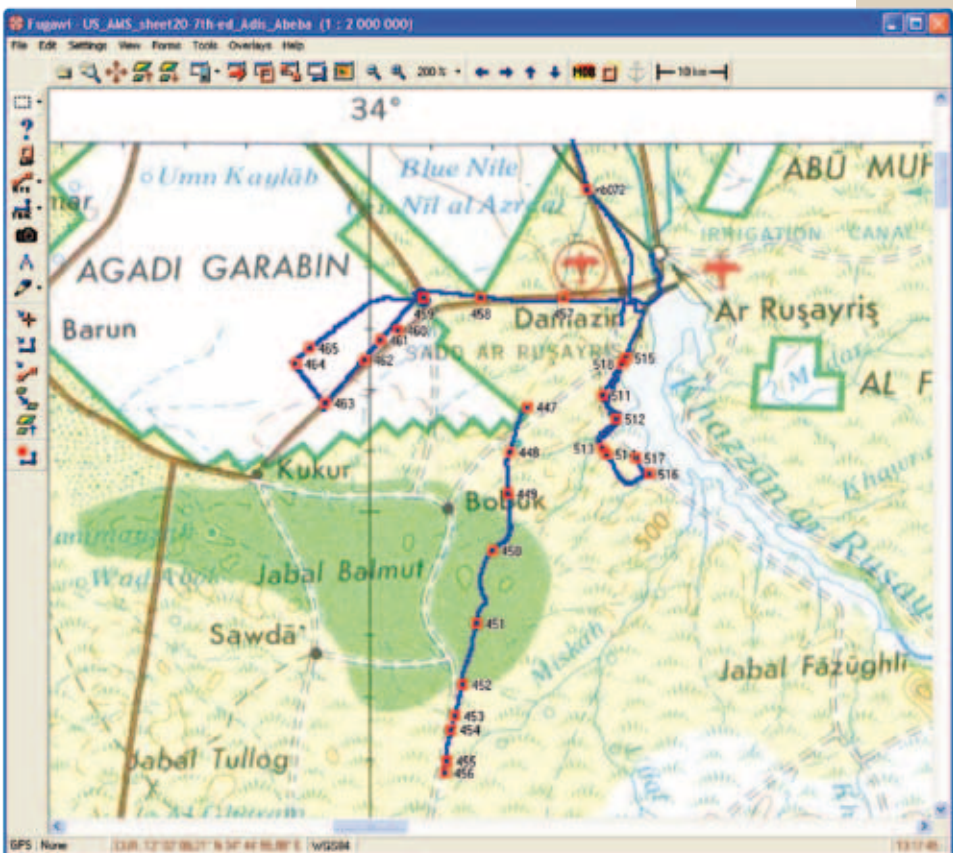
Visit with Awad and Elhadi to the Range Management Department in Damazin. The Manager, Ahmad 'Ab Saas', explains:

The rains have been late this year. That is why most nomads are still in the Blue Nile State. In normal years they would be in Sennar state by now. This may produce ecological problems. Because of the longer stay of the herds, some species might be so heavily grazed that they will not produce seed.

There have been recent problems with Gumuz and Beni Shangul. The Ethiopians did not want the nomads to get in. They wanted to disarm them at Kurmuk and then collect high grazing fees. This applies to Arab and Fulbe alike. They move together. Grazing fees are also collected by the local people from the nomads in Upper Nile. It is really all about money. Nomads are allowed in, but they have to pay.

Ahmad Ab Saas agrees to come on a trip to the Ingeessana hills with us.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14 – TRIP TO THE INGESSANA AREA



Map 1: Base map US_AMS_sheet20-7th-ed_Adis_Abeba

(GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2009)

AUG 14

Waypoint 447: Abu-Garin

Waypoint 448: Bagiis

Waypoint 449: Ad-Daali and Mazmuum Company



451, 453.jpg: The main camp of Ad-Daali and Mazmuum Company. One of the semi-mechanized farms that have expanded at the expense of small holders and pastoral land.

Waypoint 450: Khuur Maganza



454, 455.jpg: Khuur Maganza market place like other road side market places, is a place where passingers, villagers and the nomads can, beside refreshment, find shops and tailors.

Waypoint 451: Saalbul

Waypoint 452: Derang

Waypoint 453: Observations on browsing and grazing behaviour of smallstock



478, 479.jpg: The goats, being browsers, generally feed at higher level than the sheep. Sheep which browse from shrubs do not stand on their hind legs.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

Mbororo herders we talked to had spent the *seif* at Naasir. From there they have come via Yaabuus. They have not encountered any problems. They report that Maahi Bello, whom we know from earlier visits, stays quite close to here.

They know from hearsay that there are problems with the Burun and 'Jumjum'.

Another man reports that in the *seif* they reach as far as Kurmuk.

Elhadi asks one herder, Adam Muhammad Bello, from where the Mbororo have got their breeds of smallstock. The response is *min Faransa*, 'from France', meaning that they brought them along from West Africa.



459.jpg: Elhadi and Ab Saas talking to an old Mbororo on the way to Derang. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

From Elhadi's notes: Adam Bellu from 'Umar Adam Ali group (Mbororo) was herding sheep and goats on the road to Derang or Dindiro. His group is very small (five to six tents). His explanation is that the Ingessana do not like the presence of big groups in their territory. He noted that they spent the dry season in the Ingessana hills while cattle herders moved to Ragaariig territory via Gimbirdi and Charan Charan and they are still there (due to the delay of rainfalls). It is said that there are some problems in the Burun territory, he added.



461.jpg

We continued driving along the road to Dindiro to see a herd of Mbororo cattle near Jabal Maraafa'a. But the herder, who was obviously avoiding us, turned the herd and moved quickly in the opposite direction and so we failed to reach him.

Waypoint 454: *Ingessana cattle grazing on former fields (bildaat)*

Waypoint 455: *Mbororo cattle (film)*

Waypoint 456: *Mbororo camp and Ingessana village (film)*

The man we talked to, Jibriil Musa Suleymaan, has been in the *seif* as far as Geisaan. In the *khariif* season they have come to this place for many years. His group is led by sheikh Jibriil. They have applied for the permission to establish a village here. His father built a house here already.



484, 485, 493.jpg: Mbororo hamlet.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

From Elhadi's notes: Another Mbororo cattle herd appeared. We spoke to the herder, Jibriil Musa Suleymaan from sheikh Jibriil group. He told us that they had spent the dry season in Khuur Ad-Dahab and they were planning to settle in Gimbirdi with the Ingessana sheikhs Kadar and Abakar on the other side (eastern side) of Jabal Maraafa'a.

A small group of Mbororo had erected their tents on the western edge of the hill where we spoke to women. They told us that they had come yesterday. One of the women is fluent in Arabic told that she used to go to Khartoum to sell medical herbs.

Elhadi's waypoints from Friday, August 14:

Waypoint EH 198: *Abu-Garin*

Waypoint EH 199: *Bagiis*

Waypoint EH 203: *Ad-Daali and Mazmuum Company*

Waypoint EH 204: *Khuur Maganza*

Waypoint EH 205: *Saalbul*

Waypoint EH 207: *Derang*

Waypoint EH 208: *Jabal Maraafa'a*

SATURDAY, AUGUST 15 – TRIP TO AGADI

Waypoint 457: Rufa'a cattle

Elhadi asks the herders where they are from. They came from Abu-Garin, about 10 km from here. They were now grazing on Jandeel Company land. They said they were moving north to Garabiin, ca. 30 km NE from here on the boundary with Sennar State.

Because of the spread of farms all over, they have not been able to come their usual way. They used to move from their southernmost point, Abu-Gumay, where they spend the *seif*, by a westerly route via Sinja Nabag and the Ingeessana Hills to Garabiin. Now they have taken a route more to the east via Ufut and Agadi.



500.jpg: Local breed of Rufa'a al Hoi cattle.



513.jpg: A leader of the Rufa'a al Hoi 'Aziib band.



501.jpg: Important source of fodder for the pastoralists: Failed sorghum crop (*bartaaq*)

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

From Elhadi's notes: On our way to Agadi, we met a group of seven Wad Bideega Rufa'a al Hoi cattle herders inside Khuur Dunya forest that belongs to the Jandeel Company. The herders, most of them are hired, live in Abu-Garin under the leadership of sheikh Muhammad Jubara. The herds spent the dry season in Abu-Gumay grazing flood land grasses (*birdi*). The preferred plants for their cattle are *abu gangara*, *ankooj* and *anis*. *Abu gangara* is better than *anis* and *ankooj*. They said when cattle graze *abu-gangar* their external appearance changes and becomes as if they had been given salt. They added that *dhanab al-kadis* is good at early stages of its growth. Here, cattle are grazing *om chir* and at the time of our arrival, they came from the early morning grazing (*hollaaba*). To this *hollaaba* cattle move by itself to graze the grass while water drops (*nada*, dew) are still on it and the herders only go to take them back to the place where they stay (*duur*) so that herders can eat and drink milk. The herders regard the *hollaaba* as important for the health and fertility of the cattle.

The herders told that a herd of 150 needs two herders to be paid 200 Sudanese pounds (SDG) but an experienced herder will be paid 300 SDG. They are moving towards Garabiin using the Damazin-Agadi-Garabiin animal route. Their traditional (preferred) route

is to the west via Sinja Nabag-Baanat-Madyam. But this year they moved by the river side from Abu-Gumay up to Ufut and then took the vehicle road to Rigeeba-Agaagiir and Jandeel. This change is implicated



215.jpg: Interviewing Rufa'a herdsmen.

(PHOTO: ELHADI)

by the expansion of farming in the area in response to the high prices of dura last year. The scout of the band noted that they were looking for *al-wasaa* (space) and water because cattle are like fish; they need much water and drink even during rainfall. Ab Saas asked the scout about cattle health and the answer was that they had no diseases but bovine smallpox (*jadari*) and they were not afraid of it. In case of *jadari* occurrence we keep cattle away from cigarette smoke and perfumes, the scout said. Because this new route is in the area which

will be flooded after the heightening of the dam, I asked the scout what they will do then. He answered they will move westward.

Waypoint 458: Smallstock

It belongs to local farmers who are predominantly Ingessana.



514.jpg: We also encountered a herd belonging to a trader.

(PHOTO: G. SCHLEE)

Waypoint 459: Agadi

Ab Saas: Approaching Agadi we observed many herds coming to the water. That shows that the vegetation does not contain enough water for them and that there are not enough rain water ponds on the grazing land.

A group of Fulani say that they came from an-Naasir. They brought fattened sheep to the market. They said that such sheep fetch up to 300 SDG.

Elhadi even saw them refusing an offer of 320 SDG.

Ab Saas: The car got stuck, although only briefly with many helping hands around.

But the driver refused to move on, and we spent the rest of the day and the night near the eastern *hafir* of Agadi. We met a Kenaana sheikh who said that their animals were still around Agadi and have not even reached Garabiin.



221.jpg: Fulbe herders from Girinti who have brought rams to the market at Agadi.

(PHOTO: ELHADI)

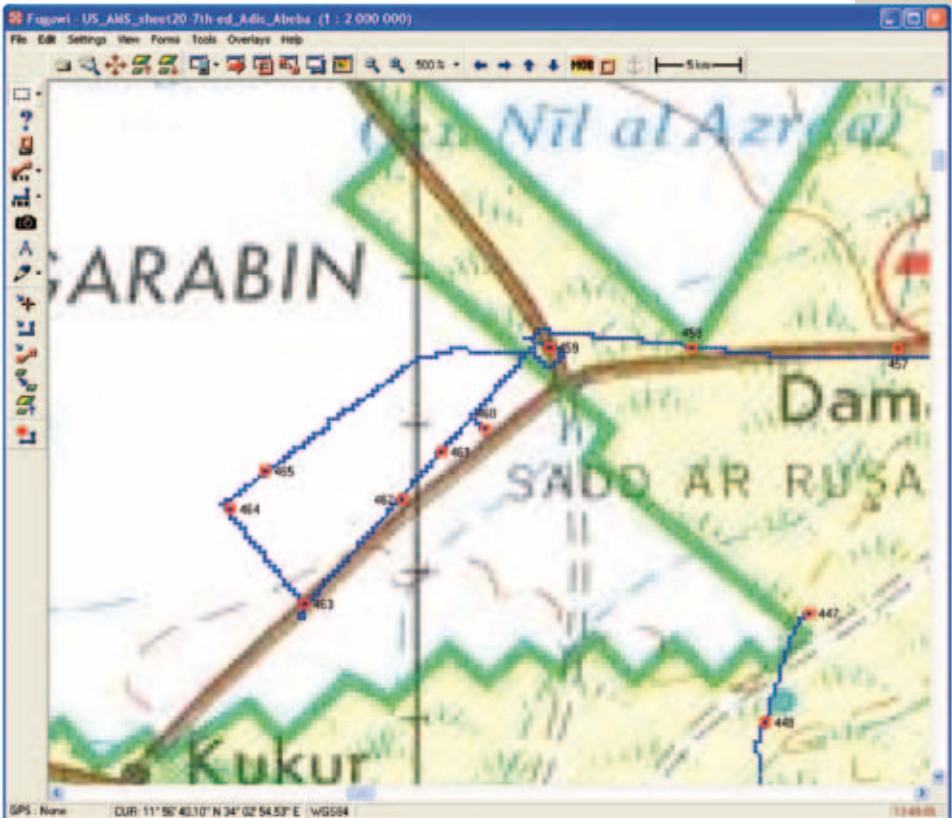
Elhadi's waypoints from Saturday, August 15:

Waypoint EH 209: Jandeel

Company forest

Waypoint EH 210: Agadi market

After our driver refused to follow our instructions, not being of the type of guy who gets his hands dirty or making any serious effort, and having got stuck twice in the mud, Awad asked for a replacement from Khartoum. For the meantime he and Ahmad Ab Saas manage to hire a tractor with a trailer. At the end, the journey with the tractor also turns out to be quite a mud bath. But the tractor driver and his helper are strong and cheerful people and manage to get us back to Agadi late in the evening without aggravating the adversities of nature by complaints or bad feelings.



Map 2: Base map US_AMS_sheet20-7th-ed_Adis_Abeba (GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2009)



Waypoint 460

A herd of cattle for slaughter which is driven to Damazin. They come from the area around Tog. In Damazin they will be put on lorries, presumably to Khartoum. (Or are they for export via Port Sudan? Did the herders explain?)

517.jpg: Conversation with livestock traders coming from Toj area of South Sudan.

(PHOTO: G. SCHLEE)

Waypoint 461

Smallstock. From Elhadi's notes: Baabikir Bani 'Amer is a hired herder herding Idriis' herd of sheep. Idriis, originally from Gedarif, came to this area as a herder and succeeded to build his own herd of sheep. Ahmad Ab Saas commented that these Bani 'Amer are concentrated in Damazin in An-Nasr Sharg quarter. The herder spent the dry season in Magarn Tumat, grazing the flood lands, and when rain started they moved to Baanat, Mureeg, Madyam, Bagiis, and Agadi (*Mashru'a al-Sijuun*: Lit: prisons scheme).

Waypoint 462



524.jpg: 'Aziib loading donkey.



526.jpg: Uneasy conversation with a hurrying Bani 'Amer herder.



527, 537.jpg: Smallstock grazing.



(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

Smallstock. Observations on browsing/grazing behaviour: The sheep also browsed a lot, in spite of the plentiful green herbs and grasses all over. They just pick leaves from the branches a bit lower than those browsed by the goats. About < 50 cm for sheep, 50 - 150 cm for goats. (On a later occasion I have seen big sheep browsing, stretching their necks straight up and reaching much higher than a metre. But I have not seen sheep standing on their hind legs. In a mixed flock the two species seem to browse on clearly distinct levels.)

On the ground, the sheep preferred grass and a particular herb with circular leaves which Ahmad Ab Saas could name and which I photographed (see photo 528.jpg).

528.jpg *Desmodium* spp., 'irg ad dam/al-adala



531.jpg Rhynchosia mimnomia

(PHOTO: G. SCHLEE)

From Elhadi's notes: After a few miles we stop at two herds of sheep (500+150) that belong to the Switch Agricultural Company. They bought them this year. The herders explained that if the rains advance they will go to the north. Otherwise they will wander inside the forest (*naluus fi al ghaaba*) and they will remain inside the farms and depend on trucked water during the dry season.

Waypoint 463

From Elhadi's notes: After a few miles and on the animal route which crosses the Arabic Agricultural company land to Ruuru we met Rufa'a (Orgubaab) from Abu-Garin. They spent the dry season in Abu-Gumay and are intending to go to Ruuru and Tartar. If the rain advances they may reach Abu-Dulua' near Jabaleen, the White Nile state.

Just south of this place we talked to sheikh Ibraahiim Yuusif of Rufa'a Abu-Ghuneim. They also spent the dry season in the dam basin and moved to Sinja Nabag in the beginning of June. On the first of August, they moved to the north to Saalbul, Khuur Maganza, Bobok, Kampo Jaaro near Khuur Azrag. They noted that in the last two years they reached Mazmuum and Al-Mijaawir. Their *omda*, Wad Jubara, is in Mazmuum. They said the 'animal route' is closed from At-Tartar because forest authority (*Naas al Ghaabaat*) distributed the land to farmers to be cultivated with sesame and forest trees.

Cattle route. A corridor two km wide which has been reserved by the range management authority for livestock movement. We drove along its north-eastern edge between waypoints 463 and 464.

Slightly inside the corridor, near waypoint 463, we visit the *fariig* of a Rufa'a man who had spent the *seif* at Sinja Nabag and who had come via Saalbul, Maganza, Bobok and Jaaro.



553.jpg: Members of a Rufa'a al Hoi household camping in the livestock route that crosses the Arabic Sudanese Company.

(PHOTO: M. ADAM)



551.jpg: The head of the household.



(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



562, 555.jpg: Members of Rufa'a al-Hoi household.

(PHOTO: M. ADAM)

In the corridor we encountered many herds, belonging to Arabs or Fulbe. Herders repeatedly reported that even within this narrow strip cultivation is practiced. The farmers often come with their sticks and prevent the livestock from crossing their farms. Ahmad Ab Saas clarifies that this is illegal and should not be the case. He sounds, however, a bit like a preacher in the desert, reiterating a normative position which is far from the factual. It would be interesting to observe the actual interplay of forces on the ground. Do the farmers on officially open rangeland get support from local chiefs, dignitaries, committees?



564, 572.jpg: A muddy basin supported by plastic sheet to prevent water leakage. It is used for watering animals instead of direct watering of herds from the pond so as to avoid stucking into mud.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

From Elhadi's notes: On our way along the animal route, we met Abakar Ahmad Jibriil from Woyla Fulbe. He said that one part of his group led by Hasan Riri spent the dry season in Girinti. The other led by 'Uthmaan Ahmad spent the dry season in the Bonj. He added that the year 2009 had witnessed a huge extension in the mechanized farming as so many people come from outside the region to rent land for cultivation. [In response to this, the fees for renting land increased and dispute over land ownership proliferated] He continued to say that the expansion of agriculture in the Sillak (50 km from this point) forced the pastoralists to return southwards to Madake instead of going northwards for better pasture conditions. The animal route is also blocked in the area between Khuur Ad-Daleib and Guli, he added.

At the same place three Dinidima young herders are resting to drink *sabaaris* (milk with tea) near a small water point along the animal route. They belong to Boba Koora group. The leader of this small band is called Musa 'Ali. They spent the dry season in Khuur Ad-Dahab and moved from there with the sheep herds at the beginning of rain-falls while the main group is still in the south pitching their camp in Kudum.

Few miles to the west we met two Abu-Ghuneim herders from At-Tarro. One was making tea and the other was attending the cattle. They spent the dry season in At-Tarro and moved south towards the Ingessana at the beginning of the rainy season to catch the early showers and looking for space (*wassaa'*). They told us that their land in the North (*As-Saafil*) does not keep water on the surface and this is why they moved to the south. Then they turned north, hearing that there are uncultivated fields (*al-baayir*) in at-Tartar area and also that there is much water and the route is wider. So they are heading towards Ruuru now. They said they had reached *had al khariif* (lit: the rainy season limit) and they received phone calls from their companions from other tribes giving information about pasture conditions and decided to return northwards.

Waypoint 464: Fariig of Ibraahiim Mahmud Al 'Ijba, Rufa'a



574.jpg: Members of *fariig* of Ibraahiim Mahmud Al 'Ijba, Rufa'a al Hoi. (PHOTO: M. ADAM)



580, 584.jpg: The nomadic tent of the Fulbe from inside. The wooden bed covered with handmade straw mats. Asiida: Sorghum porridge as the staple food for the Rufa'a al Hoi nomads.

Ibrahiim Al 'Ijba said that normally at this time of the year he would be near Mazmuum. But this year rains on that side have not been sufficient yet. Most of his relatives are grazing on the land of the Arab-Sudanese Agricultural Company, but they have problems to get enough water for their livestock.

Ab Saas observed that cattle grazed on *Cymbopogon Nervatus*, although that plant is regarded as unpalatable because of its unpleasant odour. *Pennestium spp.* had also been grazed, and *Ishimum afrum* had been severely grazed. Only the dry plants of last year were left. There has been some weak re-growth of *Baracharia spp.*, a highly palatable species which had been severely grazed.

From Elhadi's notes: Ibrahiim Al 'Ijba from Rufa'a Wad Abu-Jima'a located his camp inside the Arabic Sudanese Company forest land along the animal route (way-point EH212). Their sheikh is Hamid Al-Mabruuk in Al-Mazmuum. Ibrahiim noted



581.jpg: Storing fire wood under bed to keep dry away from rain water. (PHOTOS: M. ADAM)

that, unlike before, the nomads have dispersed; part of the group spent the dry season in Masfa and others in Bulan. 'We used to reach Jabaleen and sheikh Al-Maahhi in the wet season,' he said, 'but in the last two years we returned from Al-Mazmuum due to the expansion of Agriculture.' This year they had spent the dry season in Masfa (on Khuur Ufat) and moved from there via (Saalbul/Khuur Azrag?)-Maganza-east of Jiego to the Arabic Company two months ago. They spent 15 days in this place and if there is enough water they are not going to move north of Om 'Odaam water ponds near Ruuru. Ibraahiim further reported that there are some disputes in Saalbul and Maganza but the situation is better than what was in Suuda when the mechanized farmers built their camps in the middle of the animal route. 'Before the war period,' he continued, 'our old route extended up to Kurmuk, Yaabuus and up to Girinti and Jamos but now we restrict our self to the northern part of the region.'

Waypoint 465

While on our way out from Agadi we drove mostly through land which was cultivated or had earlier been cleared for cultivation. On the way back (464-459), there was much more natural looking wooded savannah (light bushland) and there were many herds and camps. I took the GPS reading (465) of the first larger looking campsite we passed, but there were many more after that one.

The tractor got a puncture in one of the front wheels. The wheel was simply put higher (an operation which had to be repeated often, as it always slowly came down again). The tractor moved on three wheels. In the deep mud and with the trailer behind that, however, appears to have been a handicap.

We had a late dinner at the market of Agadi. Then the owner of the tractor, a man from Meroe who lost his land there because of the construction of the dam, offered us accommodation.

Elhadi's waypoints from Sunday, August 16:

Waypoint EH 211: Point on the animal route

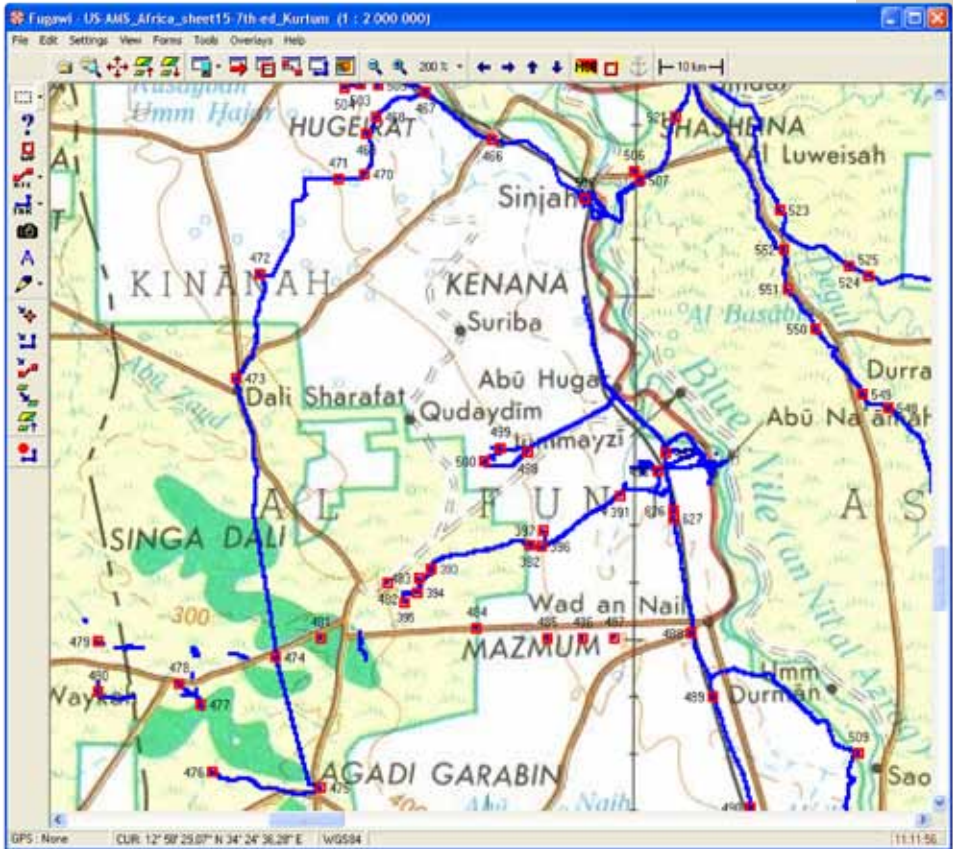
Waypoint EH212: Camp site inside the Arabic Sudanese Company

TARRO AND SIREU

Field Notes Source: FN20090821TripsToTarroAndSireu.doc
(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

TUESDAY, AUGUST 18, 2009

We went from the Kulliya to Sinja to collect Khaliifa Humari, the Range Management Officer of Sennar State. We want to explore the areas to the west up to Tarro. We first follow the asphalt road to Sennar for about 20 km.



Map 3: Base map US-AMS_Africa_sheet15-7th-ed_Kurtum (GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2009)

Waypoint 466: *Khuur Abu-Rumeila*

According to Khaliifa this is a summer grazing area. There are 7.500 *feddan* of open range, extending mainly towards the Blue Nile.

From Elhadi's notes: *Khuur Abu-Rumeila*: Dry season grazing area for the 'Ireigaat and the Lahawiyiin. The range manager (Khaliifa) told that this grazing area consists of 7500 *feddan* of open range and targeted as a ranch but some farmers and ex-nomads started some cultivation in part of it.

Waypoint 467: *Tayiba Al-Ahawiin*

Waypoint 468: Qaryat Umm Hurreiza

Here we met Kawaahla who came from Jabal Mooya with cattle. Film sequence of the donkey with medicine against ticks.



588, 592.jpg : One of the riding donkeys of the Kawaahla. The medicine against ticks.



596.jpg: Jabal Mooya Kawaahla returning from their annual short migration which aim at utilizing the early showers south of their area. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

When the herders jumped on their donkeys and the herd moved on, one calf did not get up again. The herders paid no attention, although our driver blew the horn and pointed to the calf. Kenaana cattle (and this was the breed in question) are easy to milk, even without a calf or a dummy (*Kalbspuppe*) being present.

From Elhadi's notes: Kawaahla cattle herders on their way to the water point which they left behind in Nawraaniya. They moved with their cattle from Jabal Mooya, where they had lived for two months (since 26 June). They moved to the south and crossed the river to the east bank and went up to Dwiema. They stayed 10 days there and moved to 'Azaaza Dinka, Goz Karwaash, Goshami, Al-Hamadiya, Mayeer, Al-Hajar As-Seeh, Ad-Dabkara, Khuur Tawuil, Om 'Odaam, Tagali, Om Ganaatiir, Wad al-'Ayyis and crossed Singa Bridge two days ago. They noted that there is no problem regarding animal movement but there is no grass.

Waypoint 469: Ghaabat Om Hirayza

According to Khaliifa a 'Reserved forestry'. It is allowed for cattle and sheep but not for browsers like camels and goats.

Waypoint 470: Mashru' Al-Batariya = Hillat Hamad

This is a settlement for sedentarized nomads, administered by the Range Department. It is located next to an agricultural scheme. Supplementary fodder is grown there.

(Who pays for what? To whom does the scheme belong?)

According to Khaliifa, earlier a system of paddock grazing was implemented here but it was [unsurprisingly] given up again.

The sheikh explains that he settled here in 1983. Before that, they had been nomads. They went to Jabal Mooya (northern turning point). They also worked in the *marshru*.

The water sources are a borehole and a *hafir*. The borehole belongs to the Range Management Department. The amount of water is not sufficient. Villagers therefore depend on trucks which bring water for their animals. The local borehole is reserved for the households (*ragaba* – ‘the neck’).

Film sequence of the borehole. Photos by Mona at the shop.

From Elhadi's notes: *Al-Batariya*: Two pastoral groups settled near the range farm east of Al-Giweizaat. Khaliifa explained that the range authority had established this farm in 1970 with total area of 36 km² (6x6) divided into 16 blocks. The range authority spread seeds on it and dug a well in 1970. This attracted two groups of 'Agaliyiin and Lahawiyiin to settle in 1983. The 'Agaliyiin group of sheikh Hama al-Neel lives on the southern side of the scheme and Hamad Hasan Al-Khiresaawi of the lahawiyiin on the northern side. In 2005, the people of Al-Giweizaat (Kenaana, Jawaama'a and others) started to cultivate the scheme land. The well has come under their supervision and they were about to dismantle the water tower as the well was regarded as defunct. The 'Agaliyiin and the Lahawiyiin resorted to the range authority and paid 90% of the rehabilitation costs of the well. After the rehabilitation of the well, which was judged as defunct, the Water Corporation asked the people to pay water fees despite the poor performance and the lower capacity of the well. The range authority interfered and succeeded to convince the Water Corporation to exempt people from payment of fees. The poor performance of the well forced the herders to take animals for watering away, leaving the water well for drinking water (*ragaba*). Their old route was between the hills (Moya and Sagadi and Dood) and Abu-Hujaar. They used to rest at this place and now they are attached to Om Shuuka Administrative Unit (AU). Their animals are in Jabal Mooya but the land is almost cultivated up to Kenaana Sugar Scheme. They need a new well. They said that the range authority used to spray seeds. It provides the plough and they spray the seeds. The range manager noted that this experience is evaluated by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in 1978.



597.jpg: Members of a nomadic group settled near the range management farm east of Al-Giweizaat. (PHOTOS: M. ADAM)

Waypoint 471: End of the range management scheme, which has a surface of 6 x 6 km

Waypoint 472: Camels in sorghum field. Film sequence

The camels mostly browsed the isolated trees. Awad explains that they also prefer a weed called *tabar* – Ibimoya Kurdufana (photo, film). But of course, they cause damage by trampling.



599.jpg: Creeper grazing plant called *Dī'irriyya*. It is grazed by sheep and goats but it is of less preference if other grazing plant is available.



603.jpg: Denoted a coarse grazing plant called *Mahareeb*, which is preferred by cattle, camels and horses. Human beings also use it as local medicinal plant for digestive system problems.



600, 601.jpg: This is a broad leaf grazing plant called *Tabar*, it is preferred by all kinds of animals, it is of high nutritive value plant.



(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

The herders also had sheep. The goats were few. Elhadi talked to them and found out that they were 'Agaliyiin from Sinja.

From Elhadi's notes: In the Area between Al-Giweizaat and Ad-Daali we met two herds of camels and sheep. They came from Al-Injifaaw were they live and spend the dry season depending on the pore well for watering. In the rainy season they go to the hills up to *hafīr el mikashfi* in the Gezira (near Al-Manaagil). The sheep are in the lambing period. The camels are grazing inside a mechanized farm when the old man was on the end and his boy is on the head of the herds. So, blame fall on the young boy, his poor experience and skills. At our arrival, as we look like absentee farm owners with our 4WD car, the elder herder started to blame his boy pretending he had let them enter the scheme because he had been unable to control them.

Waypoint 473: Ad-Daali. There is a water pipeline from Sinja to Ad-Daali

From Elhadi's notes: Ad-Daali: In a meeting with the commissioner of Mazmum locality, the commissioner said the locality is new. They are still thinking about what must be done. They dug five *hafīr* ponds in Abu-Guruud. The pastoralists come to the locality in August and the real threat is the expansion of agriculture on the animal routes. This expansion results from war in the south and the impoverishment of some of the nomads who ran off

cattle. Some ex-nomads were expelled by force from Abu-Guruud. Many of the Arabs settled in Tarro, where the authority dug four ponds. A dispute took place in *Jabal Bona* solved in the manner that the new comers who cultivate the land were obliged to hand 10% of the product to the poor and female-headed households. There is a plan to pump water from the water pipe to ponds to be dug in the range reserves (reserved forests) along the water pipe and to spray seeds in it. The state *wali* prevented the cultivation in animal routes and range reserves but there are many complains and claims of farming in these forests and cutting down of trees for different purposes. The minister of agriculture prevented farming in the *tonja* (lower land that gathers water during the wet season and constitutes a favourable area for trees growing), reforestation activities, and the planting of 2,000 *feddan* of trees.

Waypoint 474: Buuzi

Waypoint 475: Mazmuum

We spent the night in the *beyt ul istirah*, the Government rest house. Mazmuum used to have water problems, but now there is a pipeline from Wad an-Nayal, about 60 km. Film: Zoom out from Minaret. Hill in the background.

Waypoint 476: End of 'Ereja Forest through which we have driven for about 7 km

Waypoint 477: Al-Mijaawir village.

A little later one reaches a small hill called Jabal Al-Mijaawir. Film from half up that hill.

Waypoint 478

From here a settlement area for former nomads (Lahawiyiin, Rufa'a) extends to Tarro. Film: Girls picking *mulukhiyya*, Mountain panorama, herders on donkeys

Waypoint 479: Tarro

Elders flock in and we have a group discussion under a tree. The sheikh explains that they have been here for nine years. He complains about lack of space (*dayyiq 'aleenaa*) and many problems (*ta'ab shadiid*).

They have suffered losses by eleven years of *jihad* in the South. Now here are many female-headed households. They used to move as far as Geisaan, Kurmuk and Jalhaak.

Elhadi asks about Fallaata and he says yes, there were Fallaata fighting with them, but most of the fighting was done by 'Arab, Rufa'a.

Now, their cattle are at Agadi where they go regularly on a seasonal basis. Even between here and there movement is difficult, because of the spread of agriculture.

I ask them, whether they would prefer to maintain a nomadic way of life if mobile services (security, education, health) were provided. These ideas appear unfamiliar to them. They want to have a fixed village with a school and other services and they want open livestock routes so that part of the family can move with the herds. One reason they give is the harassment of women. We abstain from asking what precisely has happened to their women during the civil war in the south.

The agriculture they practice is *basiita*, very little. Some small plots behind the houses are fenced.

I overhear a vivid account one of the elders gives our driver about the *mashaari'* which spread all around. Food aid is insufficient. It is just one sack of grain per household and year.

I ask about the issues they regard as most important, and the sheikh responds: animal routes, land for cultivation, education, and water.

From Elhadi's notes: We moved from Mazmuum to Tarro passing Al-Mijaawir and Abu-Guruud hills. In Tarro we met sheikh Bashiir Muhammad Ash-Shuubali of the Si-beihaab. His group includes 'Agaliyiin and 'Arakiyiin, different Rufa'a al-Hoi groups of Wad Abu-Jima'a, Abu-Ghuneim, Wad Baloola ('Orgobab), Wad Akara, Wad Dayyaan and Wad Om Baroor. The sheikh narrated that they settled in 2001 because many of



242.jpg: Interview with local elders at At-Tarro.

(PHOTO: ELHADI)

them had been killed in the south. He said they fought for 12 years. Their fighting was concentrated in Geisaan, Kurmuk, Bonj and Jalhaak and close to An-Naasir. He narrated that the Motamaridiin took about 10,000 cattle from them. He said the government was not able to chase the rebels when they penetrate the forests and they were obliged to protect their honour. They were divided into small groups (*katayib*). They lost 4,000 people. They decided that the households to settle and the young men move with herds, but now we have our herders in Agadi. They want to come back to the village but they found no way back because of agriculture. For housing these additional households help can be obtained, but there is neither enough land for the animals nor for agriculture.

I asked him about how the widows who survived. His answer was that those who still own animals support them. They did not practice farming and did not vend for themselves. I asked why they did not marry them. The answer, no *muruwa* and no *nafis* ('No strength and no self-esteem'). Zakat support is insignificant. *Al hag kimil minahom yisaadu al waliya fagar*. They lost all animals and now they just help their kin widows.

Waypoint 480: Abu-'Ireif

Abu-'Ireif is located on the boundary between Sennar and White Nile states. A security man demands my passport and questions us. He stares for a while at last year's visa. He seems to be in his twenties and his contribution to security does not become clear to me. I doubt that the nomads feel safer because of him.

From Elhadi's notes: From Tarro we returned to Abu-'Ireif. Khaliifa pointed to the Abu-Guruud dam which appeared to the left, about 2 km away. We halted for breakfast in Abu-'Ireif and the security member asked Prof. Schlee to come for paper checking. We moved to meet sheep herders from sheikh Saalih of Wad Bideega Rufa'a in Buuzi East Forest. 'Abdallah el Sha'ir told us that they spent the dry season in Abu-Gumay moving slowly through Ufut, Gargada, Rigeeba, Abu-Garin, Agadi, Garabiin, Wad an-Nayal, Kamaal Jaar an-Nabi, Buuzi East Hurriyya heading towards Ad-Daali. They told us that now they are moving towards the river (*al bahar*) to buy salt *Dairiin al bahaar*. There is some Acacia (*Hashab*) forestation in the Hurriyya, where they can graze.

Waypoint 481: Smallstock in Eastern Buuzi Forest

The herders are Ingeessana from Abu-Garin. The owners of the smallstock are Arabs. Film of smallstock on fallow, formerly cultivated land inside the 'forest'.

Under the label 'agroforestry' cultivation (Who gets the permit? Bribery?) is allowed. The rule is that wherever 60% of the land or more is covered by trees, this land is treated as 'forest' and cultivation is forbidden. That this provides an incentive to reduce tree cover to well under 60% appears clear to anyone but the makers of these rules. We see completely cleared sorghum fields alongside other fields with a few or even substantial numbers of trees left standing. Officially it is forbidden to cut *Acacia senegal* which is used to produce gum arabic.

Waypoint 482

Rufa'a smallstock on *mashru'*. The herders come from Wad an-Nayal and Abu-Janna.

Waypoint 483: Near Sahba

Rufa'a from Siraajiyya with smallstock. They are from two groups, Wad Bideega and Naasraab. They spent seventeen days since they have left their village and their destination is Koodi, just north of Tarro.

(Film sequence starting with pied crows)

From Elhadi's notes: In As-Sahba we met Butana sheep herders from Wad an-Nayal where they live and spend the dry season. They moved to Kamaal and As-Sahba six days ago. The owner went to Sahba to get money for their daily expenses.

There is another group of Wad Bideega herders (one of them is 'Ali Abdallah) of sheikh Abdallah al Bashiir el Husien. They move together with Naasraab herders. Their route goes from Siraajiyya, Wad an-Nayal, to As-Sahba. If rain advances they will reach Koodi in the White Nile state.

In As-Sahba one observes that there is some improvement in the well which has been rehabilitated and fenced. The board reads 'Sahba water rehabilitation Project financed by Livestock production improvement project under supervision of Sennar State Water Corporation.'

Waypoint 484

Flock of goats accompanied by a camel rider (photo as Awad and Elhadi interview him). He is Rufa'a. He has split his smallstock into sheep and goats, which is something neither Elhadi nor I have seen before. Here, we encountered only the goats. It may be that in the flock of sheep there are also some goats to make the sheep walk faster. (Normally goats tend to walk ahead and to pull the sheep along.)

From Elhadi's notes: Two camps of Wanasaab (an-Na'iim wad Adam) are resting in a forest land inside Kamaal Schemes. The respondent is Nasr Ad-Diin from Wad an-Nayal from which they moved ten days ago through Sahba heading towards the area between Ad-Daali and Buuzi. They said that the Kamaal Scheme does not prevent them

from staying there during the early days of the rainy season, but it does so when the sorghum is growing and at harvest time. They mention that sometimes they are allowed to water their animals and sometimes not. To my surprise they have separate herds of sheep and goats. A practice which is rare.

Waypoint 485: Hurriyya Forest

Waypoint 486

Kawaahla from Om Saaq, west of Sennar on camels with a herd of cattle. (Film, among other things of calf in a saddle bag.)

From Elhadi's notes: In Hurriyyat Tuuzi we spoke to Abdallah and Musa Ahmad. They are Nifeidiyya herding their own cattle. They live in Om Saag to the south of the Sennar West Sugar Factory. They spent the dry season depending on farm residuals. They moved from the village on June 25 via Nawraaniya, Goda, Abu-Amna, Al-Giweizaat, Mahbooba, Wad Khaziin, Um Arda, As-Sahba, Wad an-Nayal, Jalgani and Haruun, their turning point from which they started going back two weeks ago. The main problem they face is the expansion of agriculture. Because they move far from the tarmac road they are not able to sell milk to the cheese makers along the road. However, they depend wholly on the sale of milk in their settlement (*nizaam al-kuuz*). They use the main (*raisi*) traditional road through Abu-Rawag. Parts of their people are still in Diisa to the south while other parts returned to the village. Their sheikh is Ahmad al-Haadi As-Sidiig.

Waypoint 487: Near Tuuzi. Kawaahla cattle (video)

In Hurriyyat Wad an-Nayal we met another group of Kawaahla herders of cattle from Ash-Sharafat west of Sennar depending on forage (stalk of sorghum) and residuals during the dry season from September up to July. They sell milk on the Sennar market. They moved from the village on the 10th of July taking the same route as the Om Saag herders. The owner is in the village and they contact him by phone. They water the animals from the river (Moshra' Al-Fiil) once every two days, but there are many farms in the way to the river.

In the same place we came across a group of the Ashraaf Awlaad Kharfaan cattle herders. The rest of the group is in Abu-Amna forest with sheep and camels. We successfully drove very fast to reach Wad an-Nayal before sunset. We had a rest and a meal and then continued our trip back to Abu-Na'ama.

Waypoint 488: Wad an-Nayal

Elhadi's waypoints from Tuesday, August 18:

Waypoint EH 213: Khuur Abu-Rumeila

Waypoint EH 214: Umm Hurreiza, Al-Batariya

Waypoint EH 215: Hurriyyat Am Hirayza

Waypoint EH 216: Buuzi/hill and village

Waypoint EH 217: Mazmuum/hill and village

Elhadi's waypoints from Wednesday, August 19:

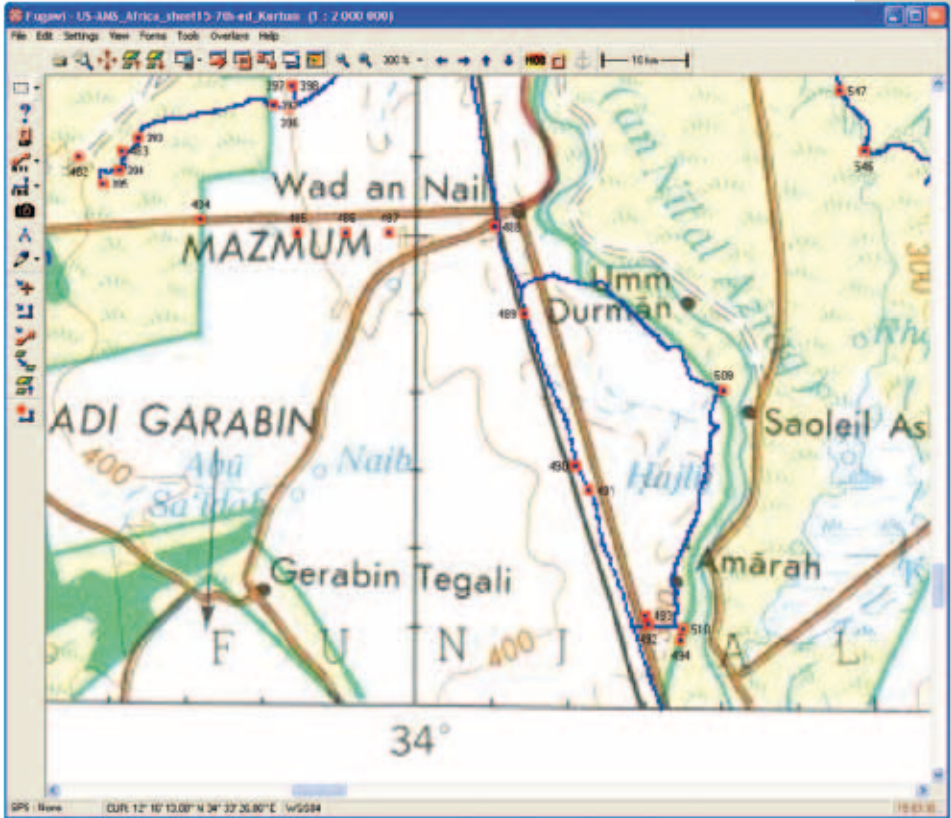
Waypoint EH 218: Al-Mijaawir/hill and village

Waypoint EH 219: Tarro: collection of villages between many hills

Waypoint EH 220: Abu-'Ireif, Hurriyyat Buuzi Sharg, As-Sahba, Hurriyyat, Wad an-Nayal

THURSDAY, AUGUST 20 – TRIP TO SIREU

We went back to cover the northern part of the Blue Nile State which we did not cover on our first trip for practical reasons.



Map 4: Base map US-AMS_Africa_sheet15-7th-ed_Kurtum (GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2009)

Waypoint 489



616.jpg: The overgrown railway line



615.jpg: The Kawaahla cattle

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

Kawaahla with cattle following the railway line northwards. They have come here from Sireu and are moving back to West of Sennar. Normally they do not come so far southward, but this year has been a dry year.

They used to sell milk to the cheese makers with the roadside stands.

From Elhadi's notes: Jalgani Al-Mahaata

Before Sanda Sireu we talked to Kawaahla Husunat from At-Tileeh who moved from their village with their cattle herds on July 13. They moved up to Sireu. Their route is Tileh, Al-Hoosh, Hadaad, Sennar along the rail way up to Sireu. They annually come up to Abu-Hujaar but this year they moved further south and reached Sireu. They hire two Ingessana herders. They sell milk to cheese makers and they use supplementary fodder.

Not far from them is a group of Kenaana Fakhriya herders from Om Bineen with two hired herders, one Ingessana and one Adarub (Beja). They spent the wet season in the village. Part of them kept the animals in the Dahra to be watered by lorries. Those who keep small herds spend the dry season on the river bank depending on maize and green grass. The cattle belong to four households.

Waypoint 490



618.jpg: The plant cover.



619.jpg: The fresh green pasture.

From Elhadi's notes: Herding sheep, the group of Rufa'a Wad al-Faas from Guni spent the dry season in Guni. Now they are in Daharat Jalgani Sanda moving northwards. They water from a merchant pond for cash and used to reach Kosti in the past passing Buuzi. They had information that the route is blocked in Gala'a al-Baggar.



622.jpg: *Fakha*.



623.jpg: Observing a goat's preferences.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

One of these pictures depicts a poisonous plant named *Fakha* (622). Another one depicts a preferred plant called *Di'irriyya* (625).



624.jpg: Rufa'a herders.



625.jpg: A preferred plant. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

Waypoint 491: There is also a video sequence about this

Waypoint 492: Mbororo camp of Sheikh Muhammad Saalih

Waypoint 493: Mbororo camp of Sheikh Harun, house of Adam Muhammad 'Uthmaan, brother of Sheikh Harun

From Elhadi's notes: Sanda Sireu

In Sireu Hurriyya (*goz*) we were hosted by Adam Muhammad Saalih (Doedi), *fariig* Muhammad Saalih/Omda Haruun. They

reached the place four days ago. They spent the dry season in Geisaan. They reached it in early January. Their way led them over Rigeeba, Ufut, Sinja Nabag, Alyas, Bakuuri, Rahamtallah, Khartoum Bil-Leyl, Agaro, Balangsho, Somba and Geisaan. Their way back was Kashankaro, Hajar Al-Badooba, Bulan, Nawraaniya, Sinja Nabag, Madyam, Rigeeba, 'Agagiir, Jandeel forest (*hashab*), Khuur Dunya, Diisa and Sireu. They intended to head up to Gireiriisa (but in fact, as I later found out, they returned from Sireu to Khuur Dunya because of the scarcity of rain and reached 'Agagiir in October). The route is difficult from Baanat to Rigeeba due to the proliferation of farms. The dry season was long and some households lost 50 to 60 animals. The young men take the cattle to Geisaan while part of the household settled in Sireu (10 years practice). From Bakuuri to Geisaan, the local groups have become hostile and prevent Fulbe from digging wells on the bed of the river Tumat. 'The Dawwaala used to put earth in the wells we dig, because they grow *adas* (lentils). Their migration from Geisaan up to Sireu took a whole month. They told us that the situation is good for those who went to Girinti. They left Girinti because all groups dislike the presence of strangers (*itdayagat*). Fulbe groups found difficulty to migrate and so each group moved separately. No one told the others to join it.'

Other materials: Film, Collection of rainwater. Lamb and find shelter on the *angareb*. On the *angareb* there is a (sick?) female person who I do not film. Note the mosquito net.

Waypoint 494: House of Sheik Harun, who settled here many years ago, in Sireu Adam, who has accompanied us to the house of sheikh Harun in Sireu, told us, when we parted, that he wanted to join sheikh Baabo 'Umar in Juba. There are new arrivals from Chad there who are in difficulties. The Nile ferries there do not transport cattle.



626.jpg: Making chesese from milk purchased from the mobile pastoralists.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 2009

MANAGER OF ABU-HUJAAR AGRICULTURAL AUTHORITY

‘AWAD ABDALLAH AL-FADOL

Abu-Hujaar locality extends from Baanat in the North up to Shamaar in the south and from the river bank on the east up to As-Sahba in the west.

Between the farmers, many land disputes took place at the beginning of the rainy season (June/August 2009). Some of these disputes are still pending. This proliferation of land disputes is attributed to the rise of land prices and the rising prices of cereal crops in 2008.

Lack of animal routes has led to disputes between the farmers and the nomads. This situation is aggravated by the increasing number of animals, mainly sheep, as in the recent years most of the farmers have raised sheep. Many of the farmers have received credit from the Agricultural Bank of Sudan. Credit was extended to farmers within the framework of two agricultural development programs, the Agricultural Mobilization (*An-Nafra Az-Zira‘aya*) and the Agricultural Revival (*An-Nahda Az-Zira‘aya*) programs. The former is described as more successful than the latter. The Agricultural Revival Program (ARP) started in 2008. Abu-Hujaar Agricultural Authority has made many feasibility studies to facilitate credit extension to farmers.

The agricultural authority coordinates with the pastoralists and farmers associations and the ‘native leaders’ to solve farmers-herders disputes.

The members of the pastoralists’ association (PA) are elected from notables and knowledgeable individuals among the nomads. The advisory for the nomads’ affairs and native administration of Sennar State does not interfere in the formation of the PA.

The Farmers association succeeded to solve a remarkable violent conflict that had taken place between two farmers: At-Taahir Musa and another man.

The Proposed Abu-Hujaar West Project. The project area is located to the west of Gireiriisa and extends up to Al-Gideediim. The total planned project area is about 105,000 *feddan*. The local rain-fed farmers resisted the project. Some of the farmers from Al-Lay-oono village attacked the survey team which started work and damaged their equipment. The local authority arrested 45 of the farmers. As result, several hundreds of the affected farmers demonstrated in Sinja town and demanded a release of the arrested farmers. They were released and from then on no work has been done on the project. It seems that the National Legislative Council made a decree or so to stop work on the project.

The *hurriyya* of Om Kheireen belongs to the forest authority but the farmers claim ownership of Gum trees (*hashab: Acacia senegal*) plots in it. Some farmers (Husein Baabikir and others) claimed in court that the ‘Azozaab Rufa‘a al-Hoi nomads are resting in their farm lands [in the *hurriyya*].

The Agricultural director (‘Abdel Rahmaan) explained that investment endeavours in Abu-Hujaar West area had started earlier by a Moroccan company called Omada in an area of 30,000 *feddan*. But the company was faced by local people resistance and withdrew. In the beginning of the 1990s, Al-Guar Sudanese Company, a joint venture between Sinja locality and ... [to be clarified] made a social survey to introduce Guar production in the same area but had to face the same destiny as the Omada Company.

Latter on Sennar State authority launched an agricultural investment campaign and invited many foreign investors to cultivate an area of 105,000 (or 150,000). This area includes some mechanized farms north of Om Kheireen owned by powerful and big

farmers such as 'Ali Ibraahiim and Wad Hamad, in addition to the old group of Seru farmers (Muhammad 'Abdallah Mansuur and 'Abdel Hay Yuusif).

ABU-HUJAAR SOUTH PROJECT. 'Abdel Rahmaan continued. Another agricultural scheme is proposed in Gorombok in Abu-Hujaar *hurriyya*. The land belongs to the forest authority while some small farmers cultivate part of it. Three groups are disputing over the land; the forest authority, the small holders and Sennar State authority. The commissioner of Abu-Hujaar locality mediated between the smallholders and an investing firm called Oswa Company which has a desire to invest in agriculture in the area of Gorombok. It is said that Oswa Company is the same firm which owns and runs 'Al-Kenaaf Agricultural Scheme' now. The people of Ajuula have showed their resistance to the scheme which, they said, will displace them from their farming plots in the *hurriyya*.

ABU-GHUNEIM RUFa'A AL-HOI: SHEIKH AZ-ZEIN, SOUTH OF ABU-HUJAAR

They were part of the northern Baadiya of Rufa'a al-Hoi. They used to spend the dry season south of Abu-Hujaar and move to the north up to Al-Mikaashfi and Kideibaat in the Gezira in the wet season. They settled after the second drought year (1990/91). In that year, their northern turning point was Ad-Daali and from then they started to settle gradually. They turned to depend on agriculture. Since early, they had own land practiced farming but they have turned to depend largely on farming and wage labour after settlement. Some of them migrate to work as herders in Kordofan (Abu-Jibeih). An old man commented that the Good man (*naajih*: successful) will return to his mother with sheep and the irresponsible (*safith*) will bring nothing to his mother but his stick. A large portion of them ran out of cattle and declined to poverty and destitution.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER, 16

'AZOZAAB, SHEIKH ADAM WAD AZ-ZEIN

The nomadic hamlet is located in Al-Laya, just northwest of a small village called Al-Birak. The hamlet (hamlets) is/are made up of about 70 households. They settled seven years ago because of farming expansion and the resultant shrinkage of pasture (*durna al-muwaatana al-mashi al-barra ma rayahna min diig az-ziraa'a, durna al-wasaa'a*).

In 2006, they built grass-roofed huts. In 2007, they pooled their resources and dug a *hafir*. Moreover, they made a contract with a pump owner from Abu-Hujaar and got involved in water sale, but the business failed because the returns were not high. In 2008, *omda* Ahmad Az-Zein (the *omda* of the Azoozaab) applied to Abu-Hujaar locality for a hand pump (*karjaaka*). The *Naazir* of Rufa'a al-Hoi (Yuusif) supported the application, given that group members contributed 2,000 SDG, as well as labour (digging). A hand pump was installed.

This group has land dispute with some of the neighbouring villagers of Naayra and Barankawa.

AWLAAD 'UTHMAAN HAMLET

THE MAIN RESPONDENT: ADAM MUHAMMAD 'UTHMAAN

Rain started late in June but there was not enough water on the surface. In the beginning of August, sheep herders moved to Jabal Mooya. The farmers in Om Jidyaan accused our cattle herders of causing crop damage. The Police force from Kenaana Sugar Company arrested the herders and they were fined 5,000 SDG (1,000 SDG as *zariiba* [corral] fees and 4,000 SDG for crop damage).

In July, some of the cattle herders went to an uncultivated scheme in the As-Sahba (20 km to the south). To avoid crop damage in an area of extensive farming, they made a fence to control animals. They spent three months there and moved to Abu-Hujaar to pay for grazing the failed sorghum fields (*bartaaj*) and to get water from the river. The

money to be paid for grazing one *feddan* of *bartaaj* is in the range of one till five SDG, depending on the quality of the forage and the growth stage sorghum has reached.

Adam explained that this 'year is an exceptional one. In the year of the first drought, the farmers allowed us to graze the failed crops free of charge but this year the farmers have become very keen to sell farm residues.' He added that this dry season had been very long but they expected the Kenaaf Agricultural Company, as it has done many years ago, to allow them to graze farm residues.

They explained that they resort to this *hurriyya* to make use of its rich forage (weeds and flowers) and to keep the animals away from farms. But farmers from Om Kheireen and Abu-Hujaar claimed that this land belonged to them. They prevented the nomads from building permanent houses. The forest authority allowed the nomads to rest inside the forest but not to build permanent settlements or to cut down trees. Some or most of the nomads cultivate small farms in the *hurriyya* while the forest guards come from time to time, mainly after crop harvest to receive payments (bribes). In certain years these guards collected their crop shares (*nisba*: percentage).

Adam said, last year the people of Ajuula were prevented *hurriyya* cultivation but this year they heard nothing. According to the respondent, this *hurriyya* (Om Kheireen) is part of the Abu-Hujaar West Project and so they are not planning to stay in the place for long. They are planning to settle in Abu-Hujaar town neighbouring to the Rufa'a al-Hoi Sinjirab group of sheikh Az-Zein. Because their crop has failed they are financially unable to move soon but later they will do. This situation is aggravated by the increasing costs of animal keeping. They also made an attempt to dig a *hafir* (artificial water pond). They cultivated 25 *feddan* to earn for that purpose but their crop has failed.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER, 20

THE ASHRAAF AWLAAD KHARFAAN

RESPONDENT: AT-TAYIB MUHAMMAD DAFA'ALLAH

The larger portion (*ad-deesh*: army) of the group moved to the *hurriyya* and has not returned yet, but they will return as soon as some of them purchased sorghum forage and stored it here. We have not moved to the *hurriyya* this year because of the poor rainfalls (*al-khariif sheen*, *sheen*, lit: ugly). The sorghum crop we cultivated has failed and we have nothing to do rather than to keep patient. At the beginning of the rainy season, cattle herds were moved to Wad an-Nayal but the small stocks remained here (Nawraaniya). In Wad an-Nayal, cattle herders faced no problems rather than the expansion of agriculture. Here, households depend on farmers' pumps for drinking water while herds water from the Sennar dam reservoir. *Birdi* (*E. stagnina*) grows on the dried part of the dam reservoir. Keep cattle for only two weeks then we can depend on forest fodder (weeds and flowers) which is a good source of fodder for the animals. In addition to that, we pay for grazing *jiruuf* residues in Maiurno and 'Ereediiba. In the last days of the dry season we resort to depend wholly on the stored sorghum forage that we bought from the farmers or which we produced by ourselves in our small plots.

We own no tenancies in the neighbouring irrigated schemes in Nawraaniya and Al-Majjaj. Five years ago, we took permission from the *omda* of the Kawaahla, Baabikir, who lives in Maraafa'a and built grass-roofed huts to settle in, but Ibrahiim Wad Jiddu from Nawraaniya and others from Maiurno claimed in court that these huts were built on their farm land and so they were destroyed. The closest group of Ashraaf is in Ash-Shariif At-Taahir near Mahala.

Due to the expansion of agriculture, we depend wholly on the *hurriyya* for grazing. If the *hurriyya* is not there, many problems will occur. So many groups, from north and south, come to or cross the *hurriyya* but this year only the Saffaala (from the Gezira) came to the *hurriyya*. The people of Nawraaniya want to cultivate sugar cane in this

NOV 20

area. An investor purchased a piece of land by the riverside to install his pump on it and started constructing. The canal was about to reach Abu-Amna but work had stopped.

A meeting was held in Om Shuuka concerning sugar cane production but we as nomads will not benefit from sugar cane production. Detailed information about this sugar cane scheme can be obtained from Al-Haj Muhammad who is a member of the Pastoralists Association and lives in Hillat Hajo.

ABU-HUJAAR AJUULA

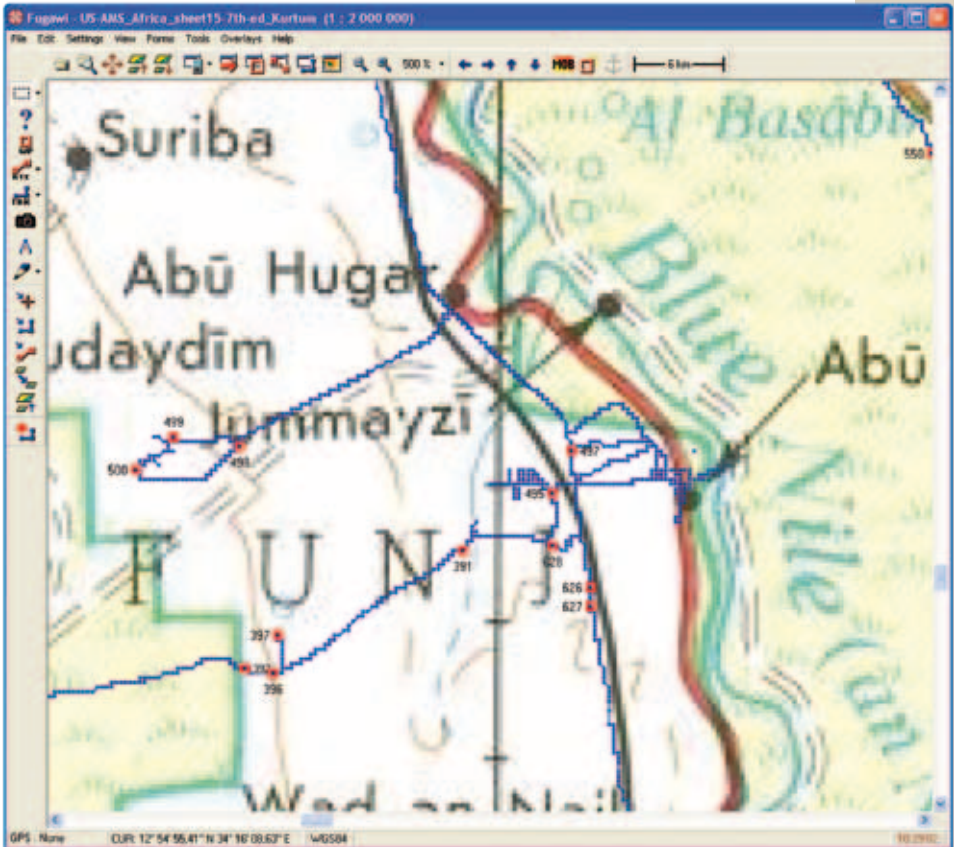
Field Notes Source: FN20091115AbuHujaarAjuula.doc
(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 2009

In Abu-Hujaar Elhadi and I went to the Agricultural Office, *al-majmu' az-ziraa'i*, and discussed with an officer named 'Awad 'Abdallah.

Later, at the *suuq*, we met 'Abdel Rahmaan Idris 'Basiir'.

In the whole administrative unit of Abu-Hujaar, there are no stock routes and no areas reserved for nomads. The *hurriyya*, the 'commons' or 'free lands' are thought to be for the common use of the local villagers. As they are not guarded, however, nomads manage to move from one *hurriyya* to the other.



Map 5: Base map US-AMS_Africa_sheet15-7th-ed_Kurtum (GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2009)

We moved on from Abu-Hujaar to Ajuula around 2 p.m. We stopped at the house of Elhadi Ballal (waypoint 495 equals 496) but he was not around. In the neighbouring house we met Muhammad Ahmad Adam Ballal, a man in his 30s. We held our Middyay prayers in the mosque, a few steps away. There was no call for prayers and no-one else around, because everyone had gone to the market (left the village).

Muhammad Ahmad explains that there was no harvest this year.

I take a film sequence of the village from less than half way up the hill to the west of it.

Later we take Muhammad Ahmad and a young boy along to show us the fields. On one bare field I make an interview with Muhammad Ahmad which Elhadi films (ca. 5 min).



642.jpg: This field has been sown with sorghum (*'eesh*) which should be ready for harvest by now. To the extent that anything has grown, it has not matured, and was left to the livestock to graze on. Some stalks can be seen but no leaves are left. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

From Ajuula we move on to the settlement at the junction of the Singa-Damazin road with one of the tracks leading to Amarna (waypoint 497). I count 17 houses. Elhadi recalls that there were three when he started to work at the Abu-Na'ama faculty 15 years ago.

The people are from the same group as the inhabitants of Ajuula, Abu-Ghuneim (Rufa'a). Elhadi collects data on their seasonal migrations before they settled here. Now none of them has a viable herd left. We see bundles of tall grass in piles for sale. This grass is used for thatching. By the road there are bundles of firewood on offer.

None of the children go to a Government school. Just a Qur'anic school is mentioned.



650.jpg: This water pump was installed in 2008 with funds provided by UNICEF.



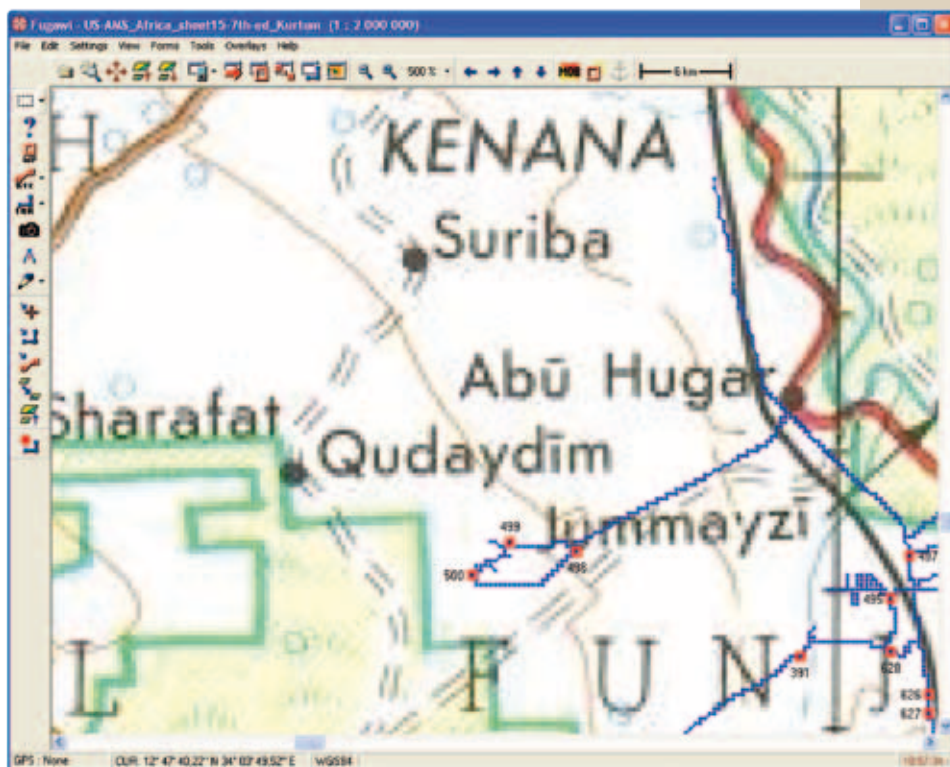
652.jpg: Rufa'a Abu-Ghuneim. An example of destitute nomads who ran off animals and forcibly settled to get their living by any possible means (cultivation, firewood gathering etc.).

ABU-HUJAAR WEST

Field Notes Source: FN20091116AbuHujaarWest.doc
(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 16, 2009

Elhadi, our driver 'Uthmaan, and I left Abu-Hujaar around 1 p.m. Our trip took us to the *hurriyya* of Abu-Hujaar. The term stands for 'commons', more literally 'freedom' or 'free land', and the question common to whom or free for whom is often contested. The place Al-Birak (Birak on the map, waypoint 498) is a former camp for labourers. Normally, it derives its water supply from a *hafir* which this year, however, has dried up early.



Map 6: Base map US-AMS_Africa_sheet15-7th-ed_Kurtum (GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2009)

Waypoint 499: We hold our Midday prayers at the Fariig Awlaad Az-Zeen

The group settled here three years ago. Until seven years ago they had been nomadic pastoralists. I take a video from the *hafir*, which has dried up 20 days ago. Last year it held water until February. Water is now brought by lorry and sold at four SDG per barrel (160 !?).

There is little sorghum to harvest this year. The group does, however, have small-stock. Pasture is also purchased. The price is one to four thousand SDG per *mashru'*, i.e. per 1,000 *feddan*. Taking the average price of 2.5 SDG per *feddan* this would be a bit less than one Euro per *feddan* or two Euros per hectare (current exchange rate 1 € = 3.4 SDG). This is for grazing the stubble and any other crop residue. If there is no crop to be harvested, whatever has grown is counted as residue for the livestock.



660.jpg: Elhadi is taking notes at the *fariig* Awlaad 'Uthmaan.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

Last time, he had been here in May and then talked sheikh Muhammad Ahmad 'Uthmaan, who died shortly after that. Now our host is his brother Adam. The conversation takes place at the house of the Faki, near the Qur'an school. All structures are made of tree branches and grass, because no permanent buildings (stone or mud) are allowed here.

According to Adam, the *hurriyya* does not belong to anyone. But the authorities, of course, believe to have a say in them. This year the Forest Department has tried to forbid agriculture. Livestock is allowed in, as long as the herders do not cut trees for them.

They report trouble because of crop damage.

Maafi darib lee l-baggar: There is no way for the livestock to pass. Water is within relatively easy reach, because livestock from here drinks from the river, but there has been a severe issue metaphorically referred to this year as *Kabiisa*, empty or threshed ears of sorghum.

The dry conditions also have an advantage. There are no mosquitoes here this year.

661.jpg: The Qur'an school and mosque are entirely made of sticks and grass, because no permanent building materials are allowed in the *hurriyya*.





658.jpg: *Fariig* Awlaad ‘Uthmaan.



659.jpg: The *hafir*, the water reservoir dug for run-off surface water in the wet season, has dried up three to four months earlier than last year. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



664.jpg: Some of the water which is brought by lorry and bought for four SDG per barrel is poured into this plastic-lined 'small *hafir*'. Losses by evaporation must be high. Adam has also hired a tank of the type used on lorries to keep water for his smallstock. There are no losses by evaporation there, but the rent of the tank is 80 SDG per month. (PHOTO: G. SCHLEE)

Elhadi explains about the controversial land use policies in Abu-Hujaar West:

The *Naazir* of the Rufa'a al-Hoi is part of the privatization plans in favour of large mechanized schemes. His former advisor Falaah is leading the opposition against this. Falaah is also the ex-head of the Pastoralist Association. ('All those who oppose the plan are now "ex."') He is the son of the *omda* of Abu-Hujaar Omodiya.

There is also a sheikh Az-Zeen who is now at Damazin who is well informed about all this.

Observation about communication technology:

In the house of the *faki* the mobile phone is suspended from a post at a height of about 2 m. The loudspeaker is on so that one can hear what the other participant is saying without taking the phone down to the ear. Everyone here is holding their phones up to make calls. There is no network close to the ground.

Film sequences:

Dried up *hafir*

Karro

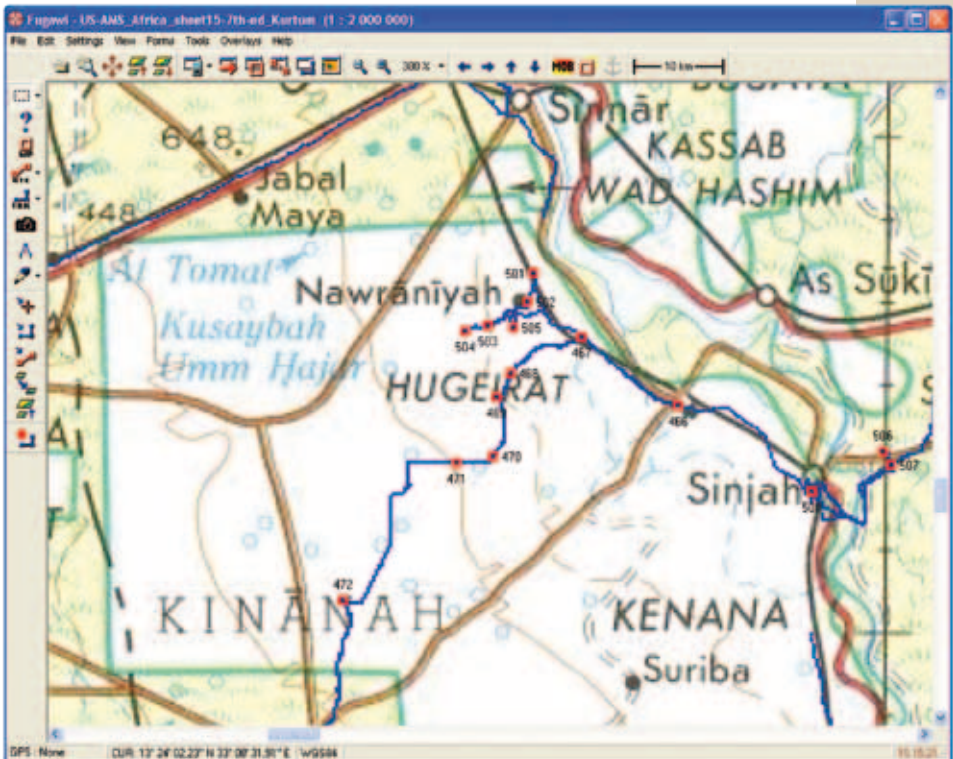
Small, plastic lined '*hafir*'.

WEST OF SINJA

Field Notes Source: FN20091118WestOfSinja.doc
(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 2009

Northwest of Sinja, not far from Maiurno, we visited the *fariig* Ashraaf Awlaad Kharfaan, waypoint 501. It is on an open stretch of land between the Sinja-Sennar Road and the forest, parts of which are flooded from the overflown river and now form a vast pond.



Map 7: Base map US-AMS_Africa_sheet15-7th-ed_Kurtum (GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2009)

They have stayed for some time at Wad an-Nayal. Only part of the livestock is here. They have had problems with an *omda* who is Kawaahla, namely Baabikir Ya'a goob who lives in Al-Murafa'.

Elhadi has met all of them last year in the vicinity of Nawraaniya.

Elhadi: Do you use land which belongs to the sugar factory? Reply in the negative.

They sell milk.

Shigla, east of Sennar, is another Ashraaf village. Apart from that, there are no other Ashraaf in the area. There is a sheikh who lives at Shigla. They also have a *sheikh al-baadiya* by the name of 'Abdel Rahmaan.

They buy residues from the *jiruuf*.

NOV 18



673, 674.jpg: The flooded forest. View from the western edge.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



675.jpg: Flooded forest.

The livestock drinks from this pond, and in fact as we arrive in the early afternoon, we find herds of smallstock resting after drinking. For human consumption water can be collected free of charge from a water point in the gardens by the river, where the water is cleaner. The gardens belong to 'Fallaata' from Maiurno, which is not far from here.

We are close to Khuur Buuba.



676.jpg: Goat at flooded forest.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



678.jpg: Flooded forest.

Waypoint 502

We move on, crossing the main road, to Alrauniyya village and the village Abu-Amna, where I take pictures of the huge machinery used for excavating a new canal.



679.jpg: Machines for the excavation of the new canal.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



704.jpg: Abu-Amna village.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

Waypoint 504

We find the *fariig* of the sheikh al-baadiya of this group of Ashraaf and the man himself, Sheik ‘Abdel Rahmaan.



684.jpg: Elhadi taking notes about the conversation with sheikh ‘Abdel Rahmaan.



691, 687.jpg: Conversation with Sheikh 'Abdel Rahmaan.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



694, 697.jpg: Tent at the *fariig* of 'Adurrahman, the sheik al-baadiya of the Ashraaf



706.jpg: The newly excavated canal. It is yet unconnected. The eastern end is at the railway line near the main road, before it reaches the Blue Nile.

The canal is planned to serve irrigation. Presumably the land will be distributed among big agricultural investors. So the fears of the local farmers and herders are about displacement. (waypoint 507 on page 53).



708.jpg: A discarded piece of machinery



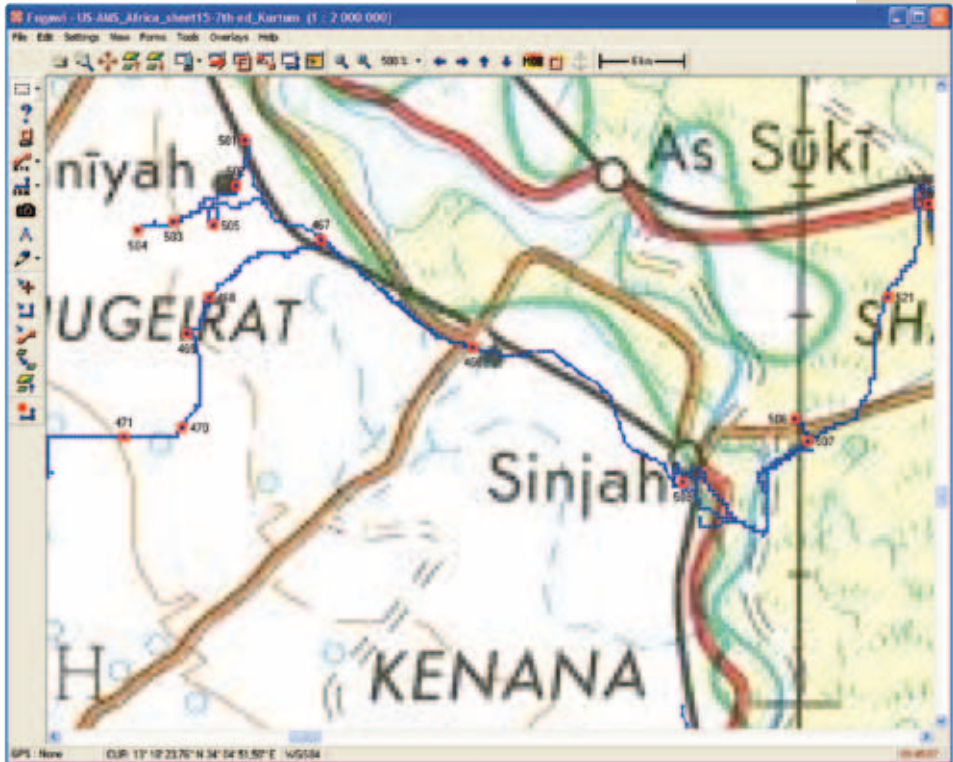
707.jpg: Close-up

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

EAST OF SINJA

Field Notes Source: FN20091119EastOfSinja.doc
(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 2009



Map 8: Base map US-AMS_Africa_sheet15-7th-ed_Kurtum (GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2009)

Waypoint 505

Elhadi and I, with ‘Uthmaan the driver, visit a *fariig* of the Awlaad At-Toom As-Saafi.

Waypoint 507

They fetch their water at an irrigation canal.

Video of conversation with the sheikh of the Awlaad At-Toom As-Saafi

Video of the canal

On the other side of the canal, opposite waypoint 507, we later visit another group of the same section, comprising the brother of the sheikh.

Video of interview

Waypoint 508

Stands for the parental home of Elhadi.

This implement, called *honkol* in Arabic, is the same as what the Rendille call *khonjor*. According to Ivo Strecker, depictions of it are found in Pharaonic paintings. It is used to handle thorny branches, the hook for pulling, the fork for pushing, when building a *zariiba*, a thorn bush enclosure.



726.jpg: Weeds are brought from a *mashru'* to feed the livestock.



714.jpg: *Honkol* is used to handle thorny branches. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

At the second *fariig* we visit, on the other side of the canal, elders engage with us in a vivid discussion about attempts to close their migration routes. A *taajir*, a rich businessman, this year tried to hold them up with a private militia of 15 camel riders and to prevent them from crossing his sorghum fields which blocked their way. The police actually helped them. This was the first time, our interlocutor stresses, that the government has ever taken their side. They were allowed to pursue their route irrespective of damage to the crop which had been illegally grown.

Another complaint is that everything nowadays needs to be bought, be it water from a *hafir* which belongs to a *mashru'* or water from a borehole ('donkey'), or farm residue. Insecurity is another problem. Shukriyya bandits are well armed, while the government takes care to disarm the nomads.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 2009

THE ASHRAAF WAD KHARFAAN

Seven years ago, the people of Nawraaniya and Khaliil (Ma'alya, Borgo and Berti) started to cultivate part of Abu-Amna Hurriyya. In 2007, a local decree was made preventing *hurriyya* cultivation. The Ashraaf hope that this ruling will be expanded to include Al-Ghabiya *hurriyya*, west of Al-Giweizaat which is cultivated by the people of Al-Giweizaat and Khaliil (Kenaana, Jawaama'a and Berti). In October, a farmer from Khaliil found one of the Lahawiyiin herding sheep near his farm and accused the herder of damaging the crops and so they fought with each other. The angry people of Khaliil transported sheep to the animals corral (fence) in Nawraaniya but many sheep died as result of the careless and aggressive handling. To prevent further conflicts, two police groups came from Sinja to keep order. The farmers demanded compensation for crop damage while the Lahawiyiin demanded compensation for animal loss. The case is in front of the court in Sinja. More information will be collected from Sennar State Ministry of Agriculture.

The other part of the group is in the *hurriyya*. The main respondent is the sheikh 'Abdel Rahman.

They used to come to this *hurriyya* in July but they are late this year and waited until August because of the delay of rainfalls. Sheikh 'Abdel Rahman said that this 'is a bad year (*al balad shina*).' The time for returning to the riverside has come but they intend to stay here and return there late. There they will have to buy supplementary fodder ('*aliiga*'). They have already bought dura stalks and stored for *seif*. They usually depend on '*aliiga*' from May but this year they will depend on '*aliiga*' from March up to July. Now the cattle are grazing the residues (*talaga*) of the rain-fed farms (*bildaat*). Some farmers ask for payments while others allow the herders to graze freely. These *bildaat* belong to their kinsmen living in Nawraaniya and the Mahmadiya Kawaahla of Abu-Amna.

This group is administratively attached to sheikh Khalid in Ash-Shigla just south of Nawraaniya. They once settled, built muddy rooms and huts in Ash-Shigla but faced many difficulties and reverted to nomadism. They found the place not suitable for the cattle during the wet season due to the existence of villagers' farms while there is not enough water during the dry season (*seif*). And they can not depend on the borehole which is not working well and often needs to be repaired. They said this place is good for the animals and if there is enough water they can spend the *seif* here. Their answer to the question why they do not stay here and fetch water by tankers is that this year there is not enough pasture that enables them to stay and depend on tanker water. Currently some animals water from the river and the other part water from the borehole. They see that the two places are essential for their cattle; this place is preferred for pasture and the other for pasture and watering points. They said that they started building huts but the agricultural authority (*Naas al Zira'a*) prevented them from continuing.

A sugar cane scheme is planned in the area. The investor started digging the canal and it was about to reach Abu-Amna village but the investor (Ballah) stopped work two years ago. The investor contacted the sheikhs of the surrounding villages and they gave him the green light to start work. The *omda* of the Kawaahla in Al-Morafa'a also agreed with him. The agreement was that 25 % of the land will remain in the hands of the villagers while the rest of the land will be invested.

Many pastoral groups spent the wet season in the *hurriyya*, next to cattle herders from the As-Saafil (north: Gezira) and camel herders from the east crossing through Singa

Bridge (Waliya, Kawaahla and Hamada). Our cattle went to Wad an-Nayal through the *dahara* and returned by the [disused] railway [line] because of the expansion of agriculture. Our route went from Nawraaniya, Rawda, Om Sineita, Wad 'Ireeki, Um Arda, over Om Kheireen, Al-Jibeil Al-Obayid, 'Abal to Wad an-Nayal *hurriyya*. Sometimes we water in Wad an-Nayal from the asphalt road ponds and sometimes we water in As-Sahba, from water station along the water pipe line to the east of Zink Al-Hakoma. The water is poured in cement basins and sold at one Sudanese pound per one barrel (159 litres). We spent four months along the route to Wad an-Nayal. In Wad an-Nayal, we faced no problems but people there were afraid that animals might merge with ours and so they showed their unrest.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21

HAMADA AWLAAD AL-MAAMOON

RESPONDENT: SHEIKH 'UTHMAAN AT-TOOM AS-SAAFI

Our old *murhaal* is from here to Kilo Tamaanya, Dinder, At-Tammaaya, Ab Sagrood (small *khuur* that starts from the bridge 60 to Nuwaara ['Amaarat Ash-Shariif]) to the east of Kawli. This year our cattle moved to Damazin. It was the first time for us to go there. Their way to Damazin (along the river: because there is no water) led over Hillat Yuusif, Karkooj, Mansuura, Om Baarid, Abu-'Ushar, Abu-Zuur, Kaara, Gaddaala, Karuuri, Hamda, Azaaza Reisiya, Al-Ayaadi up to Al-Garri. We returned from there in August by Shaari' Al-Hawa to rest in Om Ganaatiir for a long period. [In response to a question who else was there:] We could not recognize the other groups because this year the nomads are continuously moving and do not rest for long in one place (*jayliin*). We started using forage from September: we entered Wad Salmaan and Abu Al-Banaat, they are our kin and they own fields in the irrigated scheme of Wad Salmaan Shimaal of As-Suuki Agricultural Corporation. Our people own two fields. We cut green grass from the canals and carry it on shoulders to the cattle. We have not bought forage yet because the scheme is not harvested yet.

Ibraahiim At-Toom applied on behalf of the group for settlement in the place. He applied in As-Suuki. The *omda* of the Funj, Jobaara Jaadeen in Meina refused the establishment of the village. Our father Baabikir once built huts east of Wad Ar-Riif. The people of Wad Ar-Riif and Hillat Yuusif resisted and made a counter-claim and the huts were destroyed. *Omda* Jobaara provided him with his farm to live in and he made his huts in Baanat near Kilo Tamaanya for a long period. Wad al-'Ajab said you are welcome if you want to settle in Dinder locality but he has no authority over the people of As-Suuki. Our father settled for seven years in Wad Salmaan and owned a field in addition to the rainfed plot (*bilaad*). We also have another *hawaasha* (irrigated field) in Abu-Gara'a.

Here we only keep part of the cattle for milk, the rest are with my brother to the south of the canal. There is some standing hay to graze.

On the other side of the canal we meet his brother's group.

THE MAIN RESPONDENT IS MAAMOON WAD ASH-SHOBALI ALI

Our sheep are in Al-Mokhamasa. We buy dura stalks (*al bartaaj*) from the people of Wad al-'Ayyis and water from the canal once every two days.

In August, we moved with camels and sheep through Dinder, Khayaari, Gabala, Gri'a'a, Om Sireeba, Al-Mundura, an-Nusab, Geele and Abu-Dileeg. Those with few animals (cattle) spent the wet season here. Wad Al-Faki (a merchant farmer) stopped us while we were moving through his dura fields (*kabd al 'eesh*). He brought Hajana Force (camel riders, a police force). He directed us out of his farm in another direction. We refused, because we were moving along the *murhaal* (animal route). (He explained to

me that they were moving as *dabbooka*, i.e. in compact formation, the animals do not disperse for grazing and they stuck to each other). We led negotiation with the police force and we were about to bribe them for allowing us to move (*nashtaru ash-shaaria*; we buy the road) but the merchant refused so the police force contacted the police centre in Al-Faw. The police centre sent a police force. We were afraid that we would be sent to prison but they stood on our side and gave us the right to move and to graze the dura which was cultivated in the animal route. This happened in October when we were returning home.

Because of the expansion of agriculture, we used to walk three days without halting. The newly born sheep lambs died on the back of the camel as a result of exhaustion. *Al mal har*: the government should provide a space for us. The last rainy season we moved through the high lands. Now some herders moved to Hawwaata and Damazin. The majority went to Hawwaata and Al-Hooj Al-Wara. They buy farm residues and pay for watering from water ponds owned by the farmers. The government disarmed us and we face hazards of animal theft and robbery. The Mihiedat are the main threat and the looting of animals has increased in size and involved the use of large vehicles to transport the loot.

DAMAZIN

Field Notes Source: FN20091122Damazin.doc

(ELHADI)

The following case history has been used in a publication, namely:

Elhadi Ibraahiim 'Uthmaan and Günther Schlee (forthcoming). 'Hausa and Fulbe on the Blue Nile: A case of farmer/herder conflict on land use.' In Calkins, Sandra, Jörg Gertel and Richard Rottenburg (eds.): *Pastoral Sudan: Disrupting Territories*.

Cf. also the file FN20091129DamazinKhartoum.doc in this collection for more material on this case.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 2009

Ahmad Ab Saas, the range manager of the Blue Nile State (BNS), told us that there are some developments in the case of *fariig* Malakaal. The herders complained in Ufut that the farmers started to burn the standing hay. They also complained that one of them was fined one thousand Sudanese pounds for damaging crops that were not worth that much. The local authority directed the people of *fariig* Malakaal to move their camp to Maganza. The people of Maganza attacked Ufut Administrative Unit (UAU) centre, an officer was wounded. A police force from Damazin was sent there. Ab Saas commented that because of the fodder gap herders have concentrated near streams (*kheiran*) and the reservoir of the dam and this will lead to clashes. To solve this problem, Ab Saas suggested that grazing on the flooded area should be regulated and the watering points should be specifically recognized. The area covered with *birdi* grass should be controlled by the local authority and a special committee should be formed to carry out this work. This committee is proposed to include the administrative officer, the head of the economic committee, the heads of the PA and the FA². The committee determines the value of the *birdi* and sell it to the herders on behalf of the villagers so that the revenue will be divided between the villagers and the locality administration. But before all that, an agreement between village sheikhs and the locality should be reached in this regard.

FARIIG MALAKAAL: THE MAIN RESPONDENT IS MUSA SULEYMAAN IBRAHIIM

At the beginning of the year, a young man went to the Rigeeba market to buy *dura* for cattle. His bargaining for the price developed into a hot discussion that ended with a fight between the young men of two groups (Fulbe and Hausa). Fulbe women present in the market contributed to the fight.

Musa told that 'Awad Koronki set up a farming cooperative and cultivated sunflower in their camp area. This happened when camp members moved one kilometre away to escape the biting insects during the rainy season. The Hausa made us of the opportunity and occupied the place. They called for a collective labour party (*nafir*). Seven tractors did the ploughing, tens of people did the sewing while tens were standing for protection. There was about 50 motor-cycles in the place of the farm. Musa noted that the Hausa call this farm *bilaad al-shar* (the evil farm). They set fire on a shelter and made some damages on the school; tearing papers and damaging two water pots and plastic sheets. The Fulbe complained in Damazin and ceased going to the Rigeeba market.

Musa added that two weeks ago (November 2009) the Hausa accused one of them of crop damage. Musa reported to the head of the popular committee of Rigeeba that about 400 of the Hausa are on their way to attack the Fulbe camp in revenge.

Musa noted that, some days ago, the Gumuz of Maganza suggested another place for the Fulbe to live in, far from the Hausa. He thinks that the Hausa told them to do so. A meeting was held attended by the head of the PA (a *pullo*), the head of the FA (Hausa), the *omda* of the Hamaj (Al-Amin Al-Kurdi), the representative of the police authority and

² Pastoralist Association and Farmers Association respectively.

the representatives of the four villages/groups (Hausa Dawwaala, Gumuz and Woyla).

Omda Yuusif Abdelgaadir, a Woyla Fulbe, said that the Hausa – all over the country– are mobilized to work against the Fulbe. The Hausa of Rigeeba urged the Gumuz to press the Fulbe to move from Gangar, he added. He also thinks that the problems of Rigeeba are related to the conflict which took place between the Fulbe and the Hausa in Omdurmaan Fallaata in 2004.

Omda Yuusif narrated that the people of Malakaal and the Hausa fought in 2006 and April 2009. They reached peace in June 2009. In his opinion the Hausa welcomed the peace making process and signed the agreement because they want to cultivate their *bildaat* which they could not cultivate if their relations with the Fulbe remained hostile. According to Omda Yuusif, they signed the agreement and accepted the pressing conditions that involved forgiving their casualties tactically and kept their bad intentions hidden. Yuusif continued that they held many meetings in their pursuit to expel the Fulbe from the place; to press them to move and spend the wet season away. They went to the *amiir* of the Fulbe and demanded his intervention to convince the Fulbe to move during the *khariif* and to come only in the dry season as usual. The *amiir* contacted the leaders of the Fulbe to persuade people of *fariig* Malakaal to move. The Fulbe leaders replied that the standpoint of the Fulbe tribe is in opposition to that of the *amiir*. The standpoint of the Fulbe is that they used to settle (to rest) here for 27 years. They buried 65 people here and they decided to settle permanently and to stop movement (*masaar*). The sheikhs and the leaders of the Fulbe quarrelled with the *amiir* and declared that he is not going to be their *amiir* any longer. The *amiir* felt despair and declared that he is not responsible of what will happen as result of Fulbe insistence to stay in Gangar and told the Hausa that the Fulbe did not accept his point of view. Later, the representatives of the Fulbe and the Hausa met again in the PA headquarter in Damazin and spoke frankly. The two parties were insistent on their standpoints. The Fulbe leaders again told the *amiir* that they are not going to move. This has frustrated the *amiir* and he decided to resign from his post.

Omda Yuusif added that the Hausa tried many times to expel the Fulbe from the place by force but they failed. They met many times in the FA in Damazin and in Eastern Quarter (*Al-Hay Ash-Shargi*) in Roseiris and realized that the only way to expel the Fulbe from Ganagar is to pay (bribe) the Hamaj, Gumuz and the Berta to do so. They formed an alliances with the above mentioned groups and with the Masaalit of Madyam (sheikh Saabir).

Three weeks ago, one of the Fulbe was moving with his sheep herds to the south on his way to Geisaan district. One of the Gumuz accused him of damaging his crop and tried to capture him but the herder shot the farmer with an arrow and wounded him in his leg and escaped without being recognized. The Gumuz of Maganza directed their accusation at *fariig* Malakaal, however the wounded told them that the one who shot him is not from *fariig* Malakaal. The Gumuz insisted to go to Malakaal (to attack) to capture the offender. They tried three times but the police from Ufut prevented them from doing so. The police and some of the Gumuz together with the wounded came three times to the camp to recognize the offender but they did not find him among the people of *fariig* Malakaal. Soon the sheikhs of Maganza and Ufut resorted to the commissioner of Geisaan and demanded him to expel (*yarfa'*: raise) the Fulbe from the place. The commissioner called for a meeting including the *amiir* of the Fulbe, the PA and the FA, the trustee of Fulbe Shora Corporation, and four members of the state constitutional council. In the meeting, the commissioner ('Ali Az-Zein) mentioned that the Fulbe are old-timers in this place and he will look for a suitable place for them to settle. The leaders and notables of the Fulbe accepted his suggestion. An appointment was made for another meeting in Ufut to involve the sheikhs of Maganza (Gumuz and

Hausa), the sheikhs of Ufut, the *omda* of the Hamaj (Al-Kurdi) and a representative from the constitutional council, two representatives from the security and two representing Blue Nile Television and BN Broadcasting. These in addition to the *amir* of the Fulbe and the heads of the PA and the FA, four notable Fulbe, the sheikh of *fariig* Malakaal, the concerned *omda* of the Fulbe, the sheikh of the Hausa of Rigeeba and the trustee of the Hausa Shora Corporation (*hayaa*).

On November 14, 2009, the meeting was held in Ufut Administrative Unit (UAU) in the presence of the police director of Geisaan locality. In the meeting, the Gumuz, the Hausa, the Dawwaala and the Berta demanded expelling the Fulbe and transferring the director of the police (Lutfi) to another place. The sheikh of the Fulbe denied the accusations against the Fulbe. The heads of the PA and the FA suggested settling the Fulbe in another place away from the villagers' farms. The commissioner made a decree and formed a committee of seven members headed by the police director plus six neutrals (*a'adal*) to determine a place. The committee specified a place between Maganza and Ufut. The commissioner, the sheikh of Maganza and Fulbe representatives went to see the site. Right from the beginning, the Fulbe representatives declared that the place is very narrow and not suitable and they suggested looking for another one. In the meanwhile, a group of angry people from Maganza holding their traditional weapons were advancing towards the suggested location and the committee members managed to have a narrow escape. But the angry people continued their march and attacked the head office of UAU. One of the policemen was wounded and fire was set on a hut which belongs to UAU. The demonstrators even beat their sheikh accusing him of trying to settle the enemy in the vicinity of the village. In fact, they targeted the police director Lutfi and speared him twice but they failed to harm him. Omda Yuusif added that the Fulbe realized that the Hausa were behind all these events and so insisted to fight for staying in the place. After the events, the government of the BNS summit and the security committee decided that the camp should remain in its place and so does Lutfi. Some of the Gumuz, being accused of participating in the violent events, were arrested. The judicial process is still going on.

Omda Yuusif comment on the sunflower farm is as follows. In August mosquitoes proliferated and the Fulbe moved their camp to a relatively higher place to the southeast of the old place. The Hausa made use of the opportunity and held a *nafir* with seven tractors and cultivated the camp area with sunflower. A group of people was guarding while others were sowing the seeds. The Hausa call this farm *bilaad al-shar* (the evil farm). Omda Yuusif narrated that when the Fulbe saw the tractors ploughing, they decided to fight the Hausa with their bows and arrows but the *omda* of the tribal section ('Umar Hambay) prevented them from doing so. The same scenario of collective labour and guarding was repeated in the weeding of the farm. The Hausa decided not to harvest the crop but rather fine any herder who might cause damage to it and deprive the Fulbe when they, by any chance, come to the place again.

Omda Yuusif explained that, two months ago, the Uda Fulbe of Rigeeba quarrelled with the Hausa and from then on the Hausa refrained from buying Fulbe milk and cattle. When then one of them bought an ox from *fariig* Malakaal, they fined him and refused to eat the beef fearing Fulbe 'magic'. He added that it happened that the Hausa added poison to water and some Fulbe calves died after drinking the polluted water. The Hausa crushed some Fulbe with their motor cycles and in the farms people often heard the Hausa calling *allaho akbar* (a gesture that embodies victory and/or threat).

The *omda* continued that it happened that Fulbe sheep caused damage to a Hausa farm. 400 Hausa were mobilized in response.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER, 23

AFTER VISITING UFUT DAY MARKET WE MOVED TO MAGANZA (GUMUZ)
THE MAIN RESPONDENT IS THE SHEIKH OF THE VILLAGE
HASAN AZ-ZEIN 'ABDALLAH

Maganza is a small village south of Rigeeba surrounded by water almost from all directions. There is only one way leading to the village so that people prefer to go by boat to Rigeeba and go by car to Damazin rather than going by car to Ufut and Damazin to lessen the distance and the costs of transport.

The first location of the village was on the bank of the river to the east. Heavy floods took place in 1943 and the village was transferred to the west. In 1961, another flood took place and the village transferred to the west again. At the time of the construction of the dam (1966) the village moved from there to present location. Part of the place from which we moved is covered by flood and the rest is a forest land. At that time the engineer told our grandfather that the dam will be heightened by ten metres and the place they selected will be covered with water. But they refused to move. The sheikh and his people are content that they are not going to find a good place similar to this after the heightening of the dam.

The village is inhabited by the Gumuz, Hausa, Arabs and assimilated Fulbe (*Fallata mutajaanis*). Among the Gumuz, there are some Funj.

Agriculture is the main activity. In addition to the rainfed (*matariya*) *bildaat* cultivation, they practice cultivation in the *jiruuf* and the dam reservoir (*huud*). From 1912-1916, they used to cultivate *jiruuf* land. From 1966, they started cultivation in the *huud*. The *huud* has two production seasons; during the *khariif* and the *shita*. The total population is 1033 people, the majority are Gumuz. The Gumuz still speak Gumuz and when children go to school they learn Arabic. But the people are generally multilingual and the sheikh, beside Gumuz, speaks Arabic, Hausa and Berta. The eldest people of Maganza received their primary education in Baw. The primary school for the Maganza and Ufut was established in 1956.

A survey of the people affected by the heightening of the dam was carried out.

The people of Maganza will be resettled in one settlement with the people of Ufut, Diruub and Sinja Nabag so that each village forms a separate quarter. The people dislike the aggregation of people in one place and living in adjacent houses but, at the same time, they are looking for better services and development in the new settlements. Describing the situation in the present village compared to the situation before the construction of the dam, the brother of the sheikh said '*asaruna* (lit: they pressed us) and added that they like to live in spacious areas because they have animals. In the new village they have good contact with the market and the neighbouring groups and developed good relations with the people in the area that extends from Abu-Zaguuli up to Ufut and there is no conflict. The Gumuz noted that similar relations exist between them and the Masaalit of Madyam and added that problems occur when outsiders such as Woyla come into contact with them.

SHEIKH HASAN

The Woyla came in 1986, at the time of the Kurmuk invasion by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), during the third democratic regime. At that time pasture was good and there were many nomadic groups in Kurmuk district. The Woyla came and stayed on my farm land (*bilaad*). In 2006 they started building huts and soon other three huts were built beyond the *khuur* (Bobok or Maganza). We sent a group of six men to investigate and they told us that they were intending to settle and to stop movement. We asked them if it was not wrong to build huts in our land without our permission. They admitted that it was wrong but they claimed that the *omda* (Al-Amin Al-Kurdi) gave them the permission to build these huts. The sheikh continued. Then we went to the

omda and he emphasized that this place belongs to the Gumuz as *bildaat* and ordered the Woyla to remove the huts and they did. But in 2009 again new huts were built and the question is still pending.

Before that a problem happened between the Woyla and the people of Rigeeba. Efforts were exerted to reach peace. The Hausa condition for reaching peace was that the Woyla be removed away from the agricultural land, but the Woyla claimed that they bought the land from the people of Maganza. When people of Maganza heard this they accused the sheikh of treason. To reveal the truth, the *omda* called all parties to a meeting and the Fulbe failed to provide documents to support their claim that they purchased the land from the Gumuz. The *omda* took the case to the *mak* (Al-Faatih). In April 2004, a meeting was held in the *mak*'s house in Roseiris. In that meeting, the Fulbe declared that sheikh Hasan had not sold the land to them.

But later the Fulbe claimed that the commissioner of Baw registered the land to them. The commissioners of Geisaan and Baw localities met and disputed over the land but they reached a conclusion that the land belongs to Geisaan locality. Based on that conclusion, the commissioner of Geisaan formed a committee to look for an alternative suitable (spacious) place away from the villagers' farms (*bildaat*) in the area from Rigeeba up to Geisaan to settle the Fulbe. The committee was headed by a *pullo* police officer called Lutfi. Sheikh Hasan told that the committee met in July for the last time and that Lutfi did nothing. When they went to him in Rigeeba he was absent on a holiday.

The sheikh narrated that in October 2009, one of the Fulbe damaged crops of one of the Gawaasma Arabs of Maganza. The farmer traced the foot prints and found the herder and began to talk to him but the herder shot 14 arrows at the farmer and wounded him on the leg. The officer Lutfi found the wounded lying on the ground and did not take him to the hospital. Later Lutfi phoned the police in Ufut asking about the same case and how it was solved. After that event we called the sheikhs of the villages to meet to put an end to the continuous events of crops damage. The police, accompanied by three of our people, went to the camp to arrest the suspect but they found none of the young men in the camp as they had escaped. The police, with the three men, followed the noise of cattle that led them to the forest to find women with the tents and household luggage loaded for movement. At the end, the police did not find the suspect.

Later on a committee was formed to look for another place for the Fulbe to settle in but the committee did not perform its work and we do not know what Lutfi was planning for. In Ramadaan (August) we went to our farms but the Fulbe stopped us and accused us of attacking their camp. At that time Lutfi was on a holiday and he commented that it was late for farming but really he wanted to settle the Fulbe in the place. Later we (ten village sheikhs) went the police director who replaced Lutfi and he called for an urgent meeting in Ufut for an instant solution for the problem. The committee suggested a place between Ufut and Maganza, but when committee members were examining the place many people of Maganza with fresh memories of crop damage, demonstrated against settling their enemies – the Fulbe – in the place. The people of Maganza believe that the Fulbe bribed Lutfi and the commissioner and accused the two of politicizing the problem and this has excited them. The sheikh concluded that their final say is that they are against settling the Fulbe in the district.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER, 24

INTERVIEW WITH MUHAMMAD ISHAAG 'ALI (BADAMAAS), BNS LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY MEMBER AND HEAD OF THE FA IN GEISAAAN LOCALITY

The indigenous people of Rigeeba are Dawwaala while the Hausa and the Fulbe arrived in 1949. The Dawwaala welcomed the Hausa and aided them to settle. The Dawwaala benefited from the Hausa who introduced the cultivation of new products such as to-

matoes and vegetables. Before the coming of the Hausa, the Dawwaala only knew the cultivation of sesame and *dura*. The Hausa intermarried with the Dawwaala. At first, only the Hausa married Dawwaala women but later the Dawwaala turned to marry Hausa women. Badamaas attributed the earlier state that Dawwaala did not marry from the Hausa to cultural differences. He explained that when a Dawwaala woman becomes a wife to a Hausa man she enjoys comfortable life compared to her brethren Dawwaala because the Hausa do not allow women to work outside the house or to fetch water and firewood. He added, but now life has become easier than before as cars and *karros* have replaced women in water and firewood fetching and Hausa woman can marry a Dawwaali.

The Woyla came in the area in 1970 after the construction of the Roseiris dam and lived in Rigeeba while the nomads (Woyla and Uuda) come yearly and move. We welcomed the coming of the Fulbe and appreciate their intention to settle so that we can stand together against the hegemony of the Dawwaala under the umbrella of native administration. With the coming of the National Salvation Government (1989) and the introduction of the popular committees we got rid of Native Administration hegemony and all groups formed their own committees to administer their own affairs. We were living in peace for a long period so that there was no need for the police. Only recently, in 2001, the police centre in Rigeeba was established. From time to time, disputes between the Fulbe and the Hausa used to take place, only involving the young men. In 1990 the people of the village and Woyla nomads made an agreement that everybody involved in a dispute should bear his individual responsibility. The agreement proved its fruitfulness. In 1992, young Woyla men involved in a dispute and were sent to prison even before court trial and this was appreciated by all.

In the beginning of the 1990s, crop damage by Woyla cattle increased. The people held a meeting in Rigeeba to discuss this problem and they met again in Damazin and the problem was solved without resorting to the court.

According to Badamaas, the Hausa own 5% of the *huud* land, the Gumuz own about 95% of the land but they have had no ability to cultivate it. The Hausa rent the land from the Gumuz, but the Gumuz, sometimes refuse to rent the land to the Hausa. He added that in Maganza the Gumuz own the *maya'a* and they rent part of it to the Hausa and the other part to the Woyla. Badamaas commented on the Woyla complain that the Hausa and the Gumuz do not sell farm residues to them that the price Woyla offer is always below that of the Arabs and so we prefer to sell to the Arabs. But the Fulbe misunderstood this and have explained it negatively. He added that Woyla want us to let them graze farm residues freely.

Badamaas' answers to the question whether the Hausa-Fulbe conflict in Omdurmaan Fallaata has implications for the relations between the two groups in Rigeeba is that its implications were confined to tongues and did not involve hands and they (he and others) played a role to mitigate tension between the two groups.

His comment on the Fulbe claim that the police in Rigeeba tried to disarm them in 2005 is as follows. It happened that a farmer quarrelled with a herder who brought his animals to graze near his farm. The herder fired a warning shot; the police heard the noise of the gun. As it is known to all that the nomads own arms, the police went to the camp to investigate the matter.

Regarding May events, Badamaas narrated that for more than 20 years crops damage events have used to occur and have been solved by mediation. The Farmers' Association (FA) formed crop damage committee, the Fulbe are represented in it and so are the Dawwaala. But the Fulbe always complain that the committee is favouring the farmers and the estimates for crop damage are high and they pay unwillingly. To avoid this, Badamaas said, we made a joint committee and the committee continued doing work

properly. But recently problems of crop damage have proliferated and the number of cattle has increased in the district as many nomads came from the south. Some of these nomads have changed their dry season grazing lands while others were blocked during the war time and found the opportunity to come after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). At the same time, the Fulbe attitude has drastically changed and their response has become violent. In case of crop damage, the Fulbe instead of initiating negotiation, from the start, they use force and this has aggravated problems.

In July 2009, an agreement of peace was signed between the two groups but the nomads decided to settle and started to build huts and this has disturbed the Hausa, as the site in which the Fulbe are intending to settle is not suitable for settlement. It is located in a junction where the agricultural lands of four villages meet (Rigeeba, Maganza, Madyam and Ufut). Badamaas explained that Woyla pitch their camps in the Hausa farms after harvest and the Hausa cultivate their farm after Woyla move to their wet season grazing lands. He added, but for two years Woyla have not moved their tents from the place during the rainy season and we could not cultivate these farms. Not only that but we could not cultivate any farm adjacent to the Woyla camp as their neighbourhood has become risky security-wise.

In August 2009, Woyla moved their camp one kilometre to the south to a relatively higher land, the Hausa made use of the opportunity and sew sunflower in the place. As far as the land belongs to individual farmers and they are not able to stand against Woyla by themselves, the land was pooled into a cooperative so that returns go to the village fund.

In November 2009, ten sheikhs from Ufut, Rigeeba, Madyam and Maganza demanded expelling Woyla from Gangar. They stressed that the place, being adjacent to villagers' farms, is not suitable for settlement. The commissioner of Geisaan accepted the idea. The village sheikhs and the *omda* in addition to the representatives of the police, FA, PA, Ufut Administrative Unit and Ufut security unit met. In the meeting, the *omda* suggested moving Woyla to a site between Ufut and Maganza in which a group of Za-ghaawa settled in 1984 and left. This place was suggested three years ago but the Fulbe refused it. The place is almost an island surrounded by water from all parts except the road to Ufut. The committee went to see the location. The angry Gumuz of Maganza holding spears and sticks, followed by women making encouraging gestures, headed towards the place so that members of the committee had a narrow escape to Ufut, but Badamaas and the commissioner stayed for a while and left. The angry people directed their anger to the sheikh of the village and accused him of treason and marched to Ufut. In Ufut, they beat the police and destroyed a hut belonging to Ufut Administrative Unit and beat their sheikh. It is said that one of the SPLM affiliates in Maganza mobilized the people and led the demonstration against the commissioner's decree of establishing a new village for the Fulbe ('enemy') in the vicinity of Maganza. Badamaas accused the leadership of the SPLM in the BNS to stand behind these events and he mentioned that the Minister of Agriculture, Zaayid 'Isa Zaayid, visited Maganza one day before the events and urged the people to demonstrate. Immediately after the events, some of the Gumuz and the Hausa in Maganza shifted from the National Congress Party (NCP) and joined the SPLM.

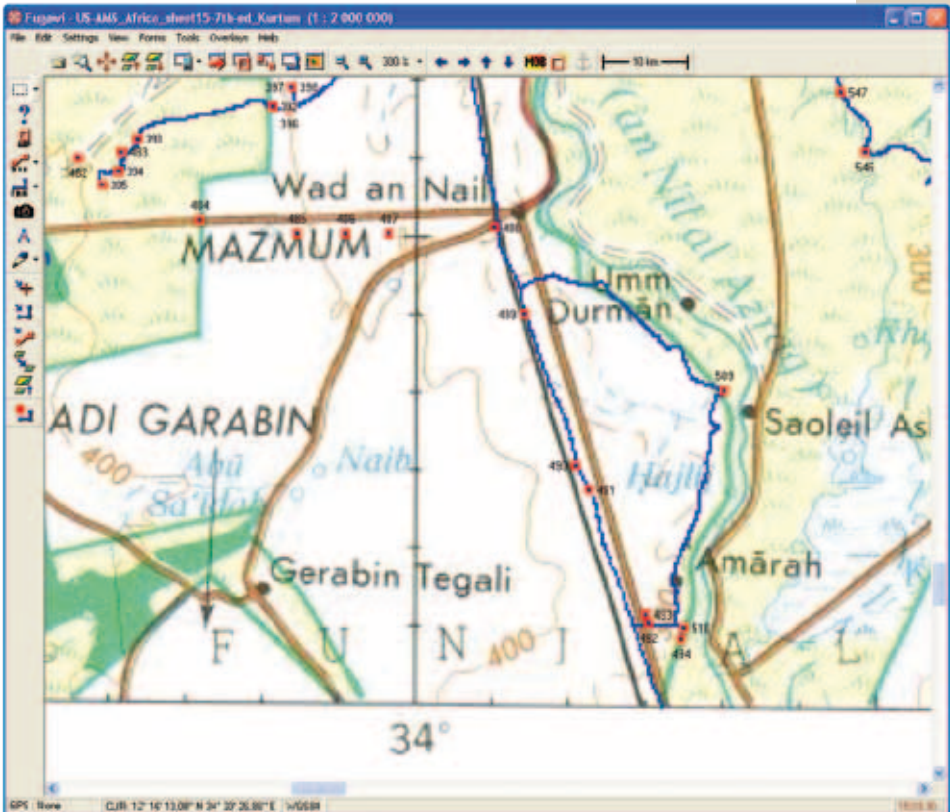
Finally the Fulbe leaders have no objection that the committee looks for another suitable place for them.

DAMAZIN KHARTOUM

Field Notes Source: FN20091129DamazinKhartoum.doc
(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 21, 2009 – TRIP FROM ABU-NA‘AMA TO DAMAZIN
PARTICIPANTS: ELHADI, G. SCHLEE, M. ADAM, ‘UTHMAAN ‘BIRA’ (DRIVER).

I identified those from my 1998 notes whom I had visited with Al-Amin Abu-Manga eleven years ago. For this reason we went the old one, the longer, lower road following the chain of villages by the river. We managed to meet Mustafa Taaqiya in Bijaawi whom ‘Uthmaan knew about and whose house he found immediately. (His house is waypoint 509). We also met *Omda* Ibraahiim in his shop at the market of Sireu (waypoint 510). To both I had to explain who I was, but, of course both, remembered that Al-Amin once had visited them with a European.



Map 9: Base map US-AMS_Africa_sheet15-7th-ed_Kurtum (GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2009)

Mustafa Taaqiya still is a rich trader. Later in Damazin, ‘Uthmaan pointed out one of his buses, a converted Bedford lorry, to me. I asked him whether he still had Oromo labourers in his *jiruuf*. He confirmed that. There are always new ones. They come and go. They either have problems finding a job in Ethiopia or evade conscription.

Omda Ibraahiim’s shop at the market of Sireu is more like an office. There is no merchandise around and it is not obvious what he sells. There are pictures of the Mahdi and his descendents on the wall. That makes his Umma Party affiliation clear.

A few kilometres further west we take photographs of the location where we visited a large Mbororo settlement during the rains in August (waypoints 492, 493) in order to see what has become of the location since it has been left. From here the Mbororo had turned south again, instead of first proceeding north like in other years, because they considered the rains north of here insufficient. The grass they left would still be considered ordinary dry season grazing for the cows of Arab villagers.



728.jpg: The soil cracked. The path with footprints has been baked hard by the sun. The grass was grazed several centimeters above the ground. That the grass is shortest along the path must be the effect of trampling. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



729, 733.jpg: Reminders of a fire, a plastic sheet, and a refused shoe. The grass forms patches of different height which have been grazed at different levels.



735.jpg Hardened hoof prints in the dried mud.

(PHOTO: G. SCHLEE)

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 22

In Damazin, we visit Ahmad Ab Saas, the Range Officer, in his office. There is no electricity. His ministry wants to save the expenses for this month. He may be right in taking that as an indicator that range management is low on the priority list of his ministry. At the same time new buildings are built and old ones renovated on the compound. But that is project money from the European Union. The project is named *Sudan Productive Capacity Recovery Programme*

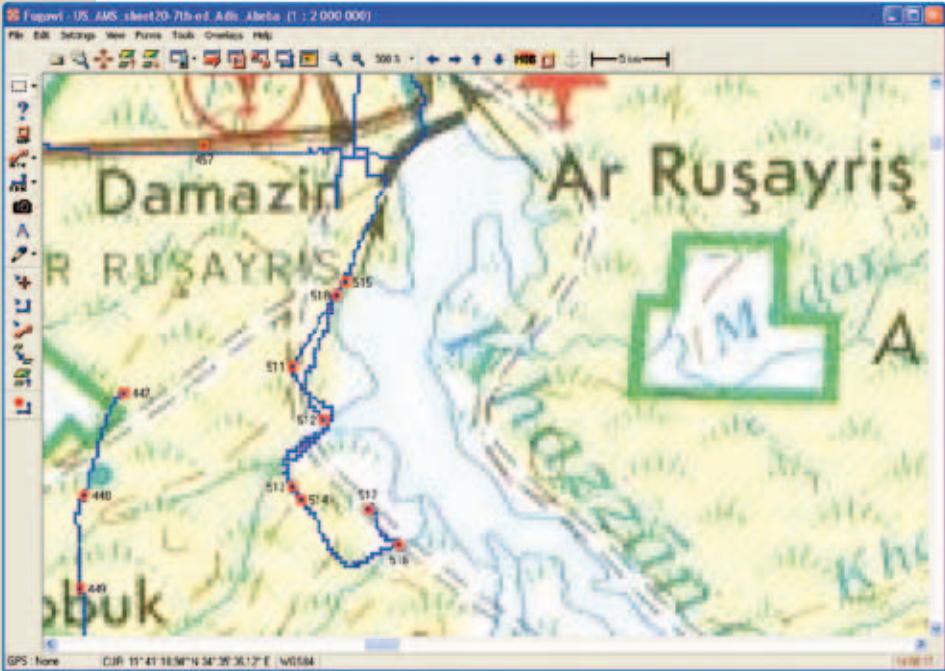
Money is scarce only on the regular budget.

The 2009 livestock figures for Blue Nile State are 2 million heads of cattle, 4 million sheep, 66,000 goats and 35,000 camels. Ab Saas explains that the animal population is too high to be supported by the vegetation on a sustainable basis. Many herders have stayed here because of the poor rains further north, and others have come from the north, including Fallaata from Gedarif and Kawaahla from Sennar. Normally the grass would only be used up towards the end of the dry season and only then the herders cut branches from trees. This year that might happen as early as April.

He has worked with Awad in the meantime, since we met in August. He is glad for this opportunity of collecting data. He has not done any field research since 1988. His work with us provides him with the opportunity to collect information which is also relevant for his job.

As a result of his work with us, Ab Saas has given recommendations to his ministry and to the Pastoral Association, *omdas* and *sheikhs*:

- to provide water tanks to remote pasture areas
- to grow fodder crops
- to have cane residue from sugar factories brought here.



Map 10: Base map US_AMS_sheet20-7th-ed_Adis_Abeba: Waypoint 511 Photographs of construction work, 512 Rigeeba/Hausa village, 514 Gangar/fariig Malakaal (GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2009)



741, 795.jpg: Material for construction is excavated from a hill. Waypoint 511.



797, 802.jpg: Construction of an airport ‘for the Chinese’ in connection with the heightening of the Roseires dam. Waypoint 515. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

The following case history has been used for a publication:

Elhadi Ibraahiim ʻUthmaan and Günther Schlee (forthcoming). 'Hausa and Fulbe on the Blue Nile: A case of farmer/herder conflict on land use.' In Calkins, Sandra, Jörg Gertel and Richard Rottenburg (eds.), *Pastoral Sudan: Disputing Territories*.

Cf. also the file FN20091122Damazin.doc in this collection for more material on this case.

Waypoint 513



746.jpg: Sunflowers on the contested area.

(PHOTO: G. SCHLEE)

There is a sunflower field with a conical-roofed hut and another hut which served as a school for nomads right in the middle of it. It belongs to Hausa from Rigeeba. Elhadi knows its story. It used to be an important grazing area for the Mbororo of the *fariig* Malakaal (waypoint 514), which belongs to the village Gangar. In fact, it is right between them and the river so that the animals, on the way from the water, could get some pasture.

[The Rendille have a special word for the condition of animals, which have their bellies full of water and are hungry for some solid matter. This condition is called *ebeh*. The action of getting rid of it is called *ebeh a guusta*. Is there a similar concept in Arabic or Fulfulde?]

The area was then appropriated by Hausa from Rigeeba, obviously acting in a concerted way, as a form of interethnic or inter-village competition. They ploughed the field with seven tractors, obviously just in order to increase their numbers and fighting power, as for ploughing one would have been enough, and had 50 'cavalry' motorbikes with them. Nevertheless, there was a fight and some Hausa were wounded by Mbororo arrows. Elhadi has the impression that more than 10 Hausa were wounded. On one occasion he heard the number 17.

A police officer was also wounded by Hausa. The Mbororo seemed to feel gratitude towards the police. On the way back we took a big ram with us which was meant for a police officer at Khartoum who earlier had been stationed at Geisaan and who had intervened on the Mbororo side, himself being a Pullo.

Behind a small *khuur* (*wadi*, seasonal water course) up the slope there is the *fariig* Malakaal. The Mbororo were engaged in a small festivity, the name-giving of a child, and many of them had gathered also from surrounding villages. They were busy preparing arrows.

Film sequence of the sunflower field

Waypoint 514: Village Geisaan



748.jpg: The village is Rigeeba in Giesaan locality.



749.jpg: The *fariig* Malakaal of the village Geisaan.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



754.jpg: The preparations of arrows.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



763, 764.jpg: Arrowheads. The two on the left are said to be poisoned. Note the flukes.

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS

I filmed much of the preparations of arrows. There is also a sequence of the *modibbo* who writes Qur'anic texts on a *lawha* while listening to the discussion. Sometimes he also intervened in it.

I filmed also Elhadi's interview, assisted by a certain 'Abdul Latiif from the University of Blue Nile, Damazin, who had come with us. This group interview should also be on the soundtrack of the other sequences. If the wind was not too strong there could be about half an hour of interview sound fit for transcription.

Mona went over to the huts and took some pictures of the female sphere.



768.jpg: Women plaiting a mat with plastic ribbons.



769.jpg: Looking for lice.



772.jpg The decorated straw mat is a distinct item of Fulbe women craft.

(PHOTOS: M. ADAM)



775, 777.jpg: The calves tying rope, ribik of the Fulbe.



779.jpg: A medicine for de-worming cows.

(PHOTOS: M. ADAM)

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 23

In the morning we went to Roseiris. At the crossing of the Nile the work on the dam heightening project was going on.

791.jpg The road passes this gate on the way from Damazin to Roseires.
(PHOTO: G. SCHLEE)



In the Ministry of Agriculture office in Roseiris we met an officer, Muniir Alyaas who has worked on communal land rights. He explains that these are a hot issue. The implications of the heightening of the dam for the land rights of all those whose land will be submerged is a taboo theme. He refers to some publications by colleagues REFERENCES (to be identified).

The Hamaj will lose their *dar*. The native administration will change dramatically, as there are no *omdas* without *omodiya* etc.



784, 782, 783.jpg: Construction work on the dam.



(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



792.jpg: The upper half of the gate.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



794.jpg: The gate of the General Pastoralist Union of the Blue Nile Province in Damazin.



808.jpg: Picking tabaldi, the fruit of the baobab tree.

In the afternoon we went south again to the villages along the shore of the reservoir. Between waypoints 515 and 512 we took a route closer to the lake than yesterday. I took some pictures of the amphibian landscape.



810.jpg: Sheep coming to drink from the reservoir behind the Roseiris dam. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



813.jpg: A lorry collects water at a waterpoint close to the shore of the Roseiris dam reservoir.



816.jpg: A boat on the Roseiris dam reservoir.

Waypoint 516: Ufut village



820.jpg: The granary of sheikh of Maganza.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

ADDITIONAL MATERIALS

At Ufut village I took film sequences of the market: bicycle repair, cutting of a rubber belt.

From Ufut we moved on, northward again, around a bay of the lake to Maganza village. There we stopped at the compound of the sheikh, for whom we had to wait for quite a while, being served teas and *ghada* in the meantime.

His compound has the feature of the compound of a village sheikh with a large granary and a generator.

Maganza is a village with a Gumuz majority and the sheikh is Gumuz. He explained that the village had been relocated in the same area three times in the course of the 20th century; in 1916, 1943 because of natural floods and in 1966 because of the rise of the water level due to the dam construction.

In 1966, when their grandfathers decided to move to the present location, they were told that they would not be able to stay there, as the dam would be heightened and the water level would rise by 10 m. So they said, 'Let us settle there until that happens!' (Of course, they were right because the village now has enjoyed over forty years of proximity to the water and access to riparian garden land. Having to build new thatch and mud houses further up one day is a fair price for that.)



824.jpg: The generator of of sheikh of Maganza.



826.jpg: The sheikh of Maganza.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

MULTILINGUALISM

The Gumuz language seems to be rather dominant here. Non-Gumuz children also learn Gumuz. The sheikh himself speaks Arabic, Gumuz, Hausa and Ingessana.

ETHIOPIA

He is aware that most Gumuz live in Ethiopia and that many of them are Christians. In the western area and also in Ethiopia, however, there are Muslim Gumuz. They mix with the Beni Shangul and Berta.

On the 24th of November, I manage to compare notes about our trips in August with

Ab Saas and to incorporate his observations into the respective files. Because there is no electricity in his office, he comes to the guesthouse where we are staying. We then move back to Abu-Na'ama.

Because the 'Id ul-Adha is approaching (Friday, Nov. 27), we travel back to Khartoum on the 25th. Everyone is buying a ram for the sacrificial slaughter. At sheikh 'Abdallah I took pictures of one sheep market of many we saw on the way. We had tried to buy a ram at Damazin, but Mona claimed the prices there were higher than in Khartoum. She later turned out to be right.

Especially out of Khartoum, there is dense traffic, for many stretches an uninterrupted convoy of packed micro-buses, buses and cars. Most Sudanese have village links and everyone goes home for the 'Id.



842.jpg: Sheep market at sheikh 'Abdallah, two days before the 'Id ul-Adha.



849.jpg: Leading the purchase home by tail.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

DAMAZIN

Field Notes Source: FN20091223Damazin.doc

(ELHADI)

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 20, 2009

AB SAAS

The *huud* land is about 60,000 *feddan*, 50,000 flooded all year round. 45,000 *feddan* of arable land, of which 30,000 are actually tilled. The rest of 15,000 cannot be cultivated as the rate of moisture is lower than the level which supports farming up to the maturity of crops. It is covered by flood water for a shorter period located on high lands used for pasture. Next to it is the *jiruuf* land for crop production. *Jiruuf* land was surveyed (*jinziir*) and allocated to farmers in 1964. As the reservoir filled, however, more and more of it became submerged under water. Watering corridors for taking livestock to the shore were made in the area. The land from Rigeeba up to Maganza is not part of the *jiruuf* land. It has a sandy soil not suitable for farming. Every village has customary right over its share of this land. *Jiruuf* land is distributed among families and registered by their names. Each family owns about 5–10 *feddan*. One ‘*feddan*’ equals 15 metres width, the extent up to one kilometre and more depending on water retreat. The land left undivided between the villages and not included in the *jiruuf* land is called *karab*. Individual villagers used to rent this land to the nomads and this caused problems even between the villagers themselves. From Ufut up to Sinja Nabag and Abu-‘Ushar all land is distributed as *jiruuf* land and there is no corridor.

There are new areas seasonally covered with flood, where new sediments had been deposited. But due to the recent nature of this siltation, and the thinness of the layer, these lands have not yet reached the quality of *jiruuf* land. Some farmers used pumps to cultivate tomato on it. It also has attracted farmers from outside the BNS who come to rent it.

BADAMAAS

Before the construction of the dam the village (Rigeeba) was on the bank of the river. When the flood took place we were not there. We came from the White Nile, Gezira, Kordofan and Darfur and from Baduus and Shamaar. We came to the area which was new and attracted migrants. The Dawwaala came from Ethiopia during the 1920s. Their leaders are Al-Imaam Rizgallah and Musa Dagga. We rent land from both. Hausa fertility is high so we need more land to cultivate.

The *huud* land was first distributed along ethnic lines. Hausa who did not have nationality certificates were excluded regardless of their history of residence while the Dawwaala (Berta) were given land without being asked for a nationality certificate. There are, however, no problems about the Dawwaala lands, which is intensively cultivated as *jiruuf*, but about the Gumuz land. The Gumuz just monopolize land which they do not cultivate. So there is ethnic discrimination in land distribution.

A Dam Heightening Survey is being carried out. From Abu-Zaguuli up to Rigeeba people will have to be resettled in just one village. Ufut and Maganza will also be combined in one village on higher ground. Sinja Nabag, Diruub and Jabir are also to become one.

The resettlement will lead to some problems at first but the people will lead town life and this will lead to integration. Badamaas and other leaders are doing their best to make this possible.

Now there is peace in Rigeeba as the farmers completed harvest while the nomads moved away.



312.jpg: Madyam Masaalit market.

(PHOTOS: ELHADI)



320.jpg: Street scene.

The village was established in 1966. Its population is 1,250. They came from Ji-neina. They migrated as a result of two successive years of drought. They spent one year in Damazin and moved to this place attracted by the agricultural land. They found sheikh Naayil Bashiir of the Ingessana at the place and Ahmad Baduuli in Maganza. They welcomed them. Sheikh Naayil gave them the post of deputy sheikh to be approved from Geisaan. They have *bildaat* in three directions (east, west and south). East neighbouring to those of

Ufut and Maganza. In the West neighbouring to Ad-Daali and Mazmum Company and south to Ash-Sheikh Mustafa Al-Amin Company. We had practiced *jiruuf* cultivation for 15 years and stopped two years ago. For two years we did not cultivate because our crops used to be flooded before harvest. We rent the land from the Gumuz. This land is abandoned now. The Woyla appeared in 1966. A part of them started to cultivate *bildaat* with us four years ago. They rent land from the Ingessana. The old place of the Woyla was not neighbouring to our *bildaat* but the new site is neighbouring to our *bildaat*. The Ingessana settled first in the area but they were scattered. The Masaalit live together and are economically active and the village is named after them. We have good relations with the Fulbe. We sit to negotiate problems when they occur. When we came we found a few scattered settlements of Ingessana. The majority of the Ingessana came after 1984. Our own number increased after 1984 as new waves came from Gedarif and Western Sudan. The ex-sheikh

named 'Abdu has held office since 1984. I am in office since 2008 because 'Abdu became weak, an alcohol addict, and did not dare to meet government representatives. He did nothing. He failed to collect taxes for four years from the people and they forced him to resign.

With regard to the *fariig* Malakaal case, we do not like solving the problem in the manner it happened but the government interfered and did what it thinks good. We were intending to sit together to convince the Hausa to give part of the land to the Woyla and we offered some of our land to the Woyla but they did not come to live on it. Now they have one hut standing there. We want part of them to live neighbouring to us and will benefit from the commercial exchange (reciprocity). They buy crops and commodities and we buy animals and keep part of our animals with them.

The school was first established in 1995 for both the Ingeessana and the Masaalit, but later the Ingeessana turned to relate themselves to Baw and not to Geisaan and established a new school in 1997 for their boys. *Omda* Moon supported them to do so (sheikh Elhaaj Bashiir and sheikh Al-Ghoom). They received new ideas (*dakhalom faham jadiid*). The Ingeessana of Madyam want us and the Woyla to move from the area. They are jealous as the people have and they have nothing. They adhere to SPLM. They established a police station in Madyam that belongs to Baw locality. The sheikhs of the Ingeessana in Tireik, on the other hand, have the same view as us. Sheikh Naayil Bashiir is attached to the Masaalit and his people are listed with us under Geisaan locality. Madyam will not be affected by the heightening of the dam and we think that people may come to live with us here. The problem of boundaries is still pending but when we first came we found all the Ingeessana attached to the *omda* of Abu-Gumay, but from 1995 they started to attach themselves to Baw after the division of localities (Baw, Ufut, Sireu). Al-Kurmuk and Geisaan were in the hands of the SPLM and the opposition, forces but after re-occupation Ufut was added to Geisaan locality.



305, 304.jpg: Interviewing the sheikh of Madyam Masaaliit, Saabir, with his deputy and our driver Osman. (PHOTOS: ELHADI)

GANGAR: WOYLA SHEIKH 'UMAR MUHAMMAD HARUUN

The main sheikh of the group is still there in Gedarif ('Abdallah Musa Idris): We spent 32 years in Gedarif.

In Gedarif they spend the dry season. In Hawwaata, Fazara and Karsh Al-Fiil they spend the rainy season in Butana. We come here because the rainfall is short this year in Gedarif. The rest of the group wanted to come but they delayed until water ponds on the route dried up. They cannot come this year but they will come in the coming dry season soon enough still to find water for their cattle on the way. We pitched our camps here seven days ago. Our route was from Om Baggara, Dwiema, Shanfuur, Roseiris Bridge to Rigeeba. No dispute with the Hausa of Rigeeba. They recognized that we are new here. We used to do shopping in Rigeeba but we decided to stop that. This day a motor cycle moved over an old man from



our people. The people of *fariig* Malakaal spend two days with us here and they advise us to be careful of the Hausa. Our group consists of 43 households. About 13 households moved to Sinja Nabag as they do not want to live neighbouring the Hausa. In Gedarif all dislike us; Hausa and Masaalit. The Arabs in Butana like us because we are all livestock owners. Other groups, settled or nomads, dislike us and we are fed up of that place and we came to live here permanently. We want to own land for settlement and to continue moving with the herds. No one visited us, neither the government representatives nor the PA members. We registered our names for election in Karuuri and Dewa on the eastern bank. This year we are not going to the south because our cattle are not adapted to the south and the flies. We try to do our best to make use of the available pasture here for a month or two before the cattle become weak (*yaga'a*) and to go to Raba to pay for grazing birdi grass growing on the depressions.



308, 307, 309.jpg: The Woyla group of sheikh 'Abdallah Musa who came from Gedarif because of poor rainfalls and pitched their camp on the harvested farms of the Haus near Gangar. (PHOTOS: ELHADI)

The village was established by At-Toom. He moved from Bani Shangul in 1916 to spend two years in Geisaan. In 1918 he reached Iru on the confluence of the Ufut river and the Blue Nile to spend one year but he disliked the place as there were many wild animals, like lions and elephants.

Sheikh Khojali descends from the Ya'gobaab family. His followers are Berta (Fa Taamu, Fa Obi, Fa Karo and Fa Nbozo and Ya'gobaab). Then he moved to Ganiis Gharb and spent one year there. Then he applied to the colonial authority demanding a place to settle. The man in charge told him to go to Dangaash where An-Niweiraawi (Fasinju) lived, but he refused to go there in order not to get in rivalry about land with him. The authority advised him to go to Ufut (Ba Motro). He went there and lived with his people near the bank of the river. Boundaries with the Gumuz on the *jiruuf* land were made in 1920. People started to move westwards year after year and some people after others to the highland (*hadaba*). The first flood occurred in 1943, the second after the Italian war (*harb at-Tilyaan*). In 1948, part of the people moved and the other part remained, but in 1950, all people moved to the *hadaba*. In 1966, the whole village was resettled in the present location.

I hold the office of the *sheikh* since 2004 and there are two more *sheikhs*, Awad and Khamiis. Awad succeeded sheikh Naasir. Earlier sheikh Naasir had split from sheikh At-Toom. Khamiis split from sheikh Naasir. The number of people increased and sections grow and each section started to have their own sheikh. There is one more *sheikh*; Suleymaan Itnein who has also split from sheikh At-Toom.

The population of the village is 22,650. Most of them own one or two *habiil* of *jiruuf* land while some have three and four. We cultivate our land and we do not rent it to others. We also own *bildaat* and we use tractors for ploughing. Our *bildaat* are neighbouring those of Madyam and Fadamiya Ingessana.

Woyla Fulbe came before the construction of the dam but not these Woyla of Malakaal. There were also Jafun but they were peaceful. We welcomed them. They come to the market and their women come to grind grain in our houses. Woyla problems started with the Arabs (Rufa'a: Wad Hawati and Sibeihaab). That was in 1968 as a result of crop damage. The problems with Woyla started in Rigeeba and reached Maganza this year. The commissioner and Lutfi allowed them to settle in the place even after people ploughed their land for cultivation. Our point of view to solve the problem is that there is no place for the Woyla in Maganza. They are troublemakers. The government should look for a place for them to live in. During this rainy season in September, they moved their big camp and pitched it in our *bildaat* along the road to Sinja Nabag. They spent a month and left and we did our best to prevent clashes between them and the villagers. They spent the dry season in Geisaan and the rainy season here.

We were listed as affected by the dam heightening. Sinja Nabag will be resettled in Isseil. We do not know where we will be resettled but we prefer to live as one group without being mixed with other people. We are afraid of conflicts. Sinja Nabag is inhabited by the Gharraaba and Hausa. We have no problems with the Dawwaala of Diruub. We intermarry with them. We have good relations with the Ingessana of Diruub and we share ideas (*raynaa waahid*). Many of the Ingessana lived here in Ufut. They had come ten years ago. They like the place.

We heard about compensation but have no details (generally).



324, 325.jpg: Sheikh Al-Guum Turuk Waayif of the Madyam Tiwiik Ingessana.



(PHOTOS: ELHADI)

The history of the village goes back to the 1960s. The people spend the rainy season in the Ingessana hills and the dry season here. The first one who settled is sheikh Bashiir Yuusif, Naayil's father. This was after the Tiliaan and before the construction of the dam.

The name of the village Tiwiik refers to a species of tree locally known as *taaraaya* which was dominant in the area. The hill Gognor/Gangar is named after an Ingessana man. The hill Madyam is named after an Ingessana old women who

died of hunger in that place. We gain our livelihood from agriculture and rainfed farming. When the river cultivation started we put our hands over some *jiruuf* opposite to Gangar, but flood water used to sweep our crops frequently. So we restrict ourselves to the *bildaat aal matariya* in the *dahara* but some people (*mitwakiliin*) still cultivating their *jiruuf*. The land we abandoned is under Gumuz (Rigeeba and Maganza) control. They rent it to other people and give nothing to us. Our *bildaat* are neighbouring Ad-Daali and Mazmum Company. The company took part of our land. We complained to the local government which demarcated the *haram* (village space/bounds). Those who lost their land to the company were compensated within the *haram* of the village. Some of the people unable to cultivate all their land give it to others to cultivate without payment. The village committee rented part of the land and directed the revenue to school building.

We saw the Woyla wandering here before the construction of the dam. The authority did its best to solve the problem. We are negatively affected by the existence of Woyla here due to the frequent crop damage.

Before the establishment of the school our boys went to Ufut. Our school was built nine years ago. It is under the authority Baw. The government is convinced that this place belongs to Baw locality. But part of the Ingessana are attached to Geisaan and this is their choice and this choice does not depend on affiliation to the NCP or the SPLM. That has nothing to do with these matters.

The reason why some people think that we are attached to Abu-Gumay is that once the Arabs' cattle caused damage to our crops and there was no sheikh in Madyam and the people resorted to the sheikh of the Gumuz. I took the office over one year ago from *Omda* 'Aalim Moon. Sheikh Al-Haaj Bashiir in Amalma is also attached to Baw locality and he was appointed a month ago, after he disputed with the ex-sheikh Rajab.

The total population in 2000/2001 was 466, part of them split and joined Rajab in Amalma. We have sheikh Mayda in Tireik and the Ingessana houses are scattered from here up to there, forming a loose unit.

The Masaalit came in the first drought during the Nimieri Regime. The wrong name, Madyam Masaalit, spread and we cannot stop it. We welcomed their coming but later we suffered from their theft and they also used to cultivate any uncultivated (abandoned) land. Our boys work as herders with the Arab and their gains are handsome. Some of them managed to build their own herds. The Ingessana do not intermarry with the Masaalit or the Fallaata but we intermarry with the Gumuz.

The people of Madyam Tiwiik belong to Joke Kulu and Joke Kuliik.

ARTIFICIAL INSEMINATION

Field Notes Source: FN20100120ArtificialInsemination.doc

(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

SUNDAY, JANUARY 3, 2010 – ‘AWAD

There was a workshop here at the Agricultural Faculty, Department for Animal Production, with the title ‘Genetic improvement of the cattle types in Sennar State: The present and a future perspective’ (*Al-tahsiin al-waraathi lil-'abqaar bi Wilaayati Sinaar: Al-waaqi' wal-ru'a l-mustaqbaliyya*).

The papers were critical of Artificial Insemination with sperm or foreign high-performance breeds. This critical attitude was enforced by local farmers who had been invited as listeners and discussants. In the end, a list of points was sent to the State Ministry of Agriculture, culminating in the request to interdict the practice.

We discuss the matter for a while. ‘Awad perceives a major problem in disease resistance. In this area with trees and cracked soil, there are many ticks and sixteen tick-borne diseases prevail. Foreign stock and crossbreds have no genetic resistance against these. He recalls six Kenaana x Frisian crossbred cows which they got from the Agricultural Faculty in Khartoum North in exchange for six pure Kenaana cows. They tried to adjust them slowly to local conditions. When it turned out that they did not graze enough because they came back to look for shade much too soon, they were taken to the Kenaana sugar factory where they got plenty of residue. They mated with local Kenaana bulls and did give birth, but within a year after that all of them had died along with their calves. Similarly, at this faculty many attempts of colleagues to keep their own cross-bred cows here failed.

[I remember similar debates from the 1970s in Kenya. Check Pratt & Gwynne and my other books from that period. There is a picture of one cow in the shade of a tree while another cow continues to graze.

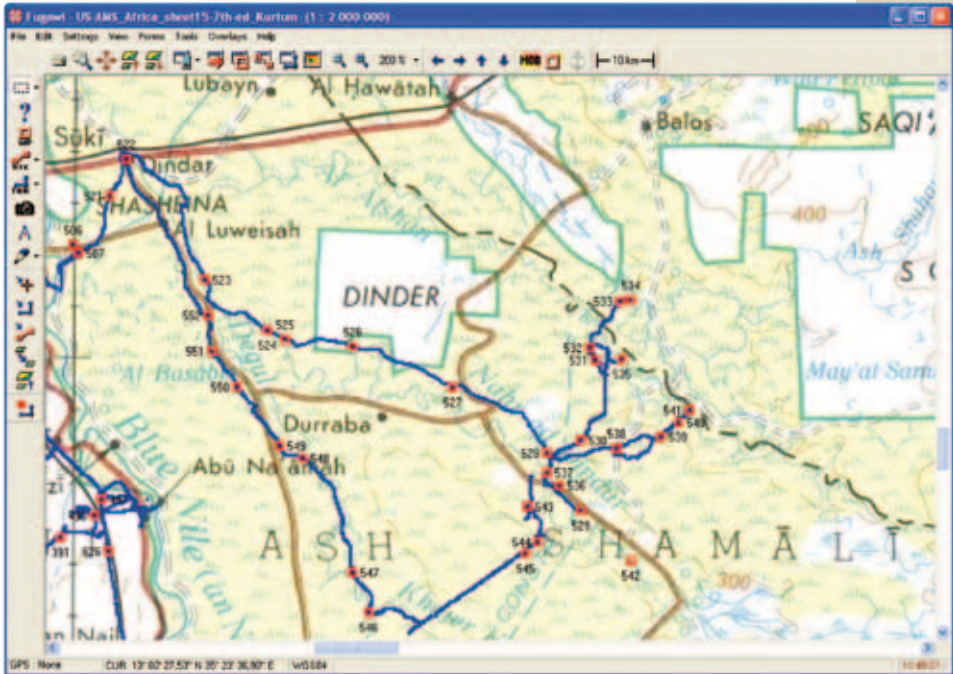
So the problem is not new. The biological facts are known. The interesting question is a sociological and political one. Why does policy not change. ‘Awad suspects the commercial interests of the AI industry to be the cause of this.

The problem is, of course, not with AI as a fertilizing technique but with the selection of the sperm. The trend goes to a very limited number pedigree bulls from the highest performer strains. This combines with another trend, namely the one towards one-use breeds (milk or beef) rather than dual use breeds (milk and beef) or even breeding for triple use (milk, beef, traction) as was the case before mechanization. Can one not expect multiple-use animals to be generally more robust than the extreme milk types (skinny with immense udders) or beef types (fast growth of a dysfunctional mass of muscle which impedes movement)? Another aspect of specialized breeding is its economic consequences. News from the EU periodically report excess milk poured into the streets by farmers protesting about low prices. Offspring of milk cows fetches lower prices per kg from the butcher, because of a low proportion of muscle in relation to bone. An observation from Westphalia showed that Dairy farmers, therefore, frequently use bulls from beef breeds (e.g. Limousine) on their milk cows (typically Holstein-Frisian), so as to get a reasonable price for the calves. In addition to the lack of disease resistance mentioned by ‘Awad, excessive specialization may be one of the genetic problems of modern cattle breeds which limits their usefulness here.]

DINDER

Field Notes Source: FN20100121Dinder.doc
(GÜNTHER SCHLEE)

THURSDAY, JANUARY 21, 2010



Map 11: Base map US-AMS_Africa_sheet15-7th-ed_Kurtum (GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2010)

After crossing the bridge at Sinja, we followed a new tarma^c road (the same one near which we had visited some nomads in December, waypoints 506, 507) part of the way to Dinder. The tarma^c ends at waypoint 521.

Waypoint 521: End of the tarma^c New road built in 2009

Waypoint 522: Office of the National Park Administration at Dinder

Waypoint 523: Villages to the west of the road: Daggaag

No Waypoint: Abraaw

Waypoint 524: Am Diheir

Waypoint 525: Takambari

Waypoint 526: Dabarki

Waypoint 527: 'Azaaza Damuus



900.jpg: The gate of the Dinder National Park (DNP).

(PHOTO: G. SCHLEE)

At Dinder we paid a visit to the headquarters of the National Park Administration. We talked to Sannad Suleymaan ibn Suleymaan. His rank is *liwa* and he is the director of the National Park. He turned out to hold an MA in Agriculture. His thesis was on domestic/wild animal interaction.

He has the CD of a workshop about international parks in Arab countries, held at Khartoum.

He mentions Mbororo as numerous newcomers who are difficult to control. The relationships with local Kenaana appear to be longer established and better. Pastoral and agricultural activities are not generally forbidden in the park. Within the park, there are 10 villages with agriculture permitted in a 5 km radius around them.

The borders cannot be controlled, but sporadic cultivation and trespassing nomad herds do not cause much damage. Politicians are more dangerous. Local level political interference always works against preservation interests. Politicians press for cultivation and grazing rights for the people of their constituencies. If politicians were to have it their way for one year they would cause ecological damages which would take thirty years to cure.

Our strategy had been to ask for permission to enter the park, although our research interest was more about its margins. We would be ready to pay an entrance fee but did not want to take an armed guard along, because, so we thought, that would scare the nomads. In the end it worked out the other way around. We were treated like guests and did not have to pay anything, but the director would not let us go without an armed guard. He chose a certain Hussein for us, a white haired man in his fifties, a very pleasant person.

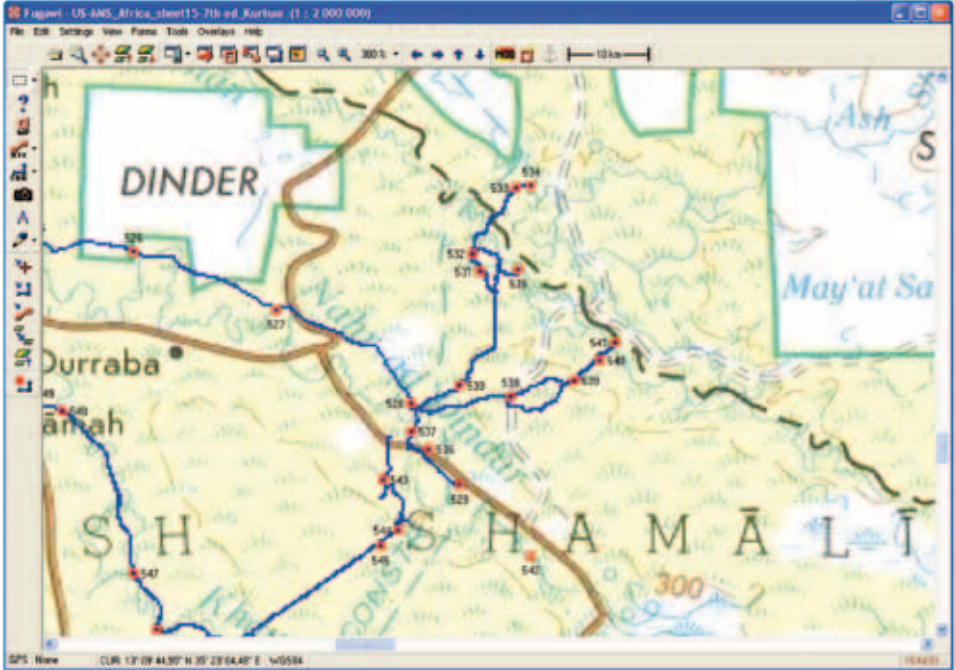
From Elhadi's notes: The villages we pass (waypoints 523, and 524-528, Map 11 on p. 93) are mainly populated by people from Darfur who came during or after the 1984 drought. They first collected firewood and made charcoal and later took up farming. Most of them are Fur and Masaalit, others Zaghawa.

We drive through land much of which shows traces of cultivation but because of insufficient rainfall has not been cultivated this year. At first, the land is completely bare

of trees. The further east we get, the more wooded it becomes. At the gate of the Park there is open savannah with a grass cover and scattered trees.

The road follows the bed of the Dinder River at some distance and from some points we are able take a look at it. It is broad and sandy with isolated pools of water. It only flows for some months in the rainy season.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 22



Map 12: Base map US-AMS_Africa_sheet15-7th-ed_Kurtum (GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2010)

The first trip on the following day took us back to the north on a more easterly route. Our destination was the village Baazuura (waypoint 534), just across the (seasonal) Rahad river within Gedarif State.

The rainfall has been exceptionally scarce this year. Crops have in many cases not matured. Now, in a dry state, they are used as fodder for livestock, either for a fee for the livestock of others, including nomads, or for the livestock of the owner of the failed crop.



904.jpg: A stand of sorghum which has dried while immature. (PHOTO: G. SCHLEE)

The owner of the *mashru* to which these fields belong had sown sorghum and some sesame on a surface of 6,000 *feddān* (6 *mashaari*). Only some of the sorghum matured. Later, I photographed a sesame field with a sesame crop which had not matured and been left standing. We also passed by some patches where the sesame had been harvested.

The owner is rich in livestock and keeps failed crops and the residue of harvested crops for his own animals.



906.jpg: The *mashru'* to which the failed crop on 904.jpg belongs.



910.jpg: Sesame which has not matured and has been left standing.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

One of the owners of the *mashaari'* we pass is called Muhammad Hamid. He is an Arab from Karkoj. Another one is an Arab from Dinder. A signboard we pass bears the inscription 'Al-Ayka Agricultural Company' (in Arabic). At Al-Ayka we see a pile of sacks. They appear to have harvested some of their sorghum.

The workers are local villagers most of whom (as explained above) originate from Darfur. One worker says he is Berta (from Upper Blue Nile/Beni Shangul).

One area is called 'Bosna'. The owner has been a religious teacher in Bosnia and apparently has made some money there, by teaching or whichever means. People have a critical attitude about him. Apparently, he behaves purely as a capitalist and has little of a religious man.

Additional material about waypoint 531 and flood retreat cultivation see video sequences with different kinds of vegetables, snake cucumbers, water melons, boy with boomerang (for scaring birds), and fence made of thorn bush branches.



915.jpg: Flood retreat cultivation of vegetables in a *khor* (riverbed). The donkey skull in combination with the 'flag' (piece of cloth) is meant to scare birds away. The Arabic term for such a scarecrow is *fazaa'a*.



918.jpg: The darker soil in the background is the depression in the riverbed. Note the vegetables sown in lines. Thorn bush fence to keep off livestock. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

A little behind waypoint 531 we found more flood retreat cultivation in the *chor*. Some shallow wells dug there, where livestock was given water.



921.jpg: Uses of a dry riverbed which contains moisture – giving water to the sheep and goats and float retreat cultivation.



930.jpg: Happy herder (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

Waypoint 532: *Om Baja'a*

Waypoint 533: *At-Tayba*

Waypoint 534: *Baazuura*

Waypoint 535: *Watering place*

Having found out at *Om Baja'a* that the *omda* could be found here, we came back to these waterholes and had an interview with the *omda* and other elders. Notes by Elhadi.

We cross the Rahad river into Gedarif State and have our *ghada* meal at *Baazuura*, a place with a long-stretched and very busy market.



933.jpg: Flood retreat cultivation on the western bank of the Rahad river near the crossing between *At-Tayba* and *Baazuura*.



934jpg: The crossing of the Rahad river between At-Tayba and Baazuura. Of the water only standing pools are left. The dam for the road obviously must be rebuilt every year after the flood.

On our way back we stopped at a watering point where a large camel herd was about to leave. I took a video and the following photographs.

As the Arabs who had taken their camels to the water point (waypoint 535) prepared for leaving, I took a series of pictures about putting on the saddles and the items attached to it, to illustrate the use of such saddles. Saddles of the same type are in the glass case in the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology.

File name: SudaneseArabcamelsaddle.doc



945.jpg: Camel saddle (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



937jpg: Watering place. Waypoint 535. The row of sacks in the background has been set up by fishermen.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 23

Like the day before we went to Umm Baggara (waypoint 528, Map 12 on p. 95) for breakfast. This is the nodal point where all roads meet. We want to explore the area to the east, around the village Rimeila (waypoint 540).

On the way to Umm Baggara, we find a Fulbe group (waypoint 536). They turn out to be Woyla and their sheikh is called 'Abdullah Musa. Elhadi had exchanged telephone numbers with some of them the day before on Umm Baggara market.

A complaint we hear repeatedly is that they have to pay *zakat* and all kinds of fees and taxes on the basis of their cattle, but that there is no return value. There is no place for the cattle and they have no grazing rights. As an illustration for fees and taxes documents are shown to us.



972.jpg: Translation: Republic of the Sudan. Council of the Sultan of Maiurno. Name: 'Abdallah Musa. Address: Ghaabat Al-Mayyitt. Locality: Fallaata Woyla Shaadin Ko'in, State: Gedarif. Location: Rahad. Date: 1.1.2001



973.jpg: (Backside) Council of the Sultan of Maiurno (Fulani, Hausa, Bornu, Zabarma); number (none). To help the bearer.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



977.jpg: National Congress Party. State: Gedarif. Name: 'Abdallah Musa. Village: Al-Mayyit. Location: Rahad. Status: Member



978.jpg: Backside of party membership card

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



980.jpg: Sudan Pastoral Association, Gedarif State (Membership Card), Name: Ash-Sheikh 'Abdallah Musa, Locality: Wad Ash-Shaair, Village: Nomads, Position: Livestock owner, Tribe: Fallaata



983.jpg: Number of the Card: 1772, Date of issue: 1997, Concerned bodies to facilitate the bearer, Date of expiry: 2001 (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

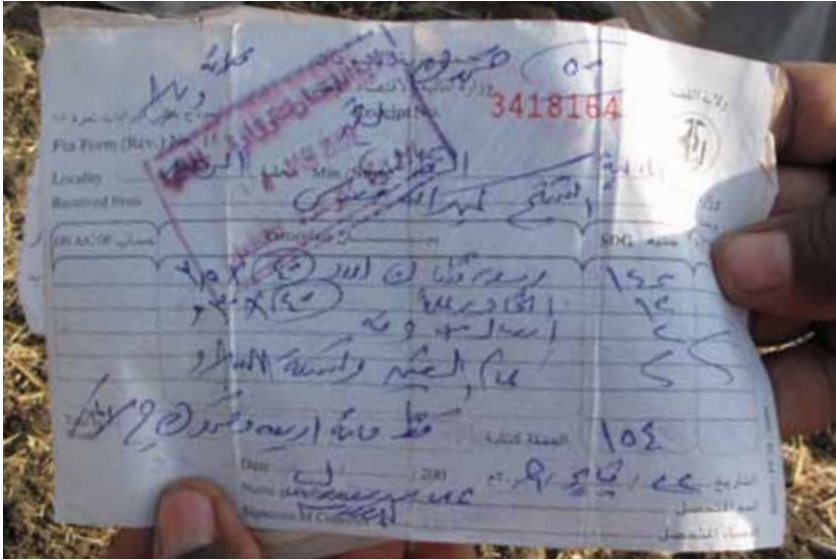


987.jpg: Gedarif Sate, *omda* 'Umar Al-Faki, Fallaata Al-Baadiya

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



989.jpg: Native Adiminstration Membership Card. Name: 'Abdallah Musa, Position: Sheikh, Profession: cattle herder, Age: 69, Settlement: Baadiya (=Beduin country, open range)



990.jpg: Receipt for livestock tax: 140, Pastoral Association Fees 12, Receipt and Stamp 2, Sum: 154



992.jpg: Gedarif State, Rahad Locality, Jihad Call Organisation, Contribution receipt, Date: 31 May, 2009, From Sheikh 'Abdallah Musa, 79 SDG (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

(Note: The Sudan was not engaged in any Holy War in 2009)

Waypoint 536

In this particular location, the Woyla had just arrived the day before. They were not certain whether they would be allowed to stay and, therefore, had not put up their tents and spent

the night in the open (following pictures: 995/996. There is also a video). Their fear turns out to be justified. As we are about to leave, a middle-aged Arab turns up in the company of a young man. He claims to have paid 1,000 SDG for the grazing right of the whole area, describing its limits. There is some discussion whether such arrangements only comprise the crop residue or also the natural vegetation on the adjacent fallow, where the make-shift camp of the Woyla is actually located. ‘No,’ the Arab claims, ‘I have bought everything which grows on the whole piece of land from the owner.’ ‘Owner’ here stands for the one who has registered the land as a *mashru‘* and has paid a fee for that.

In this way the *mashaari‘*, meant to be for mechanized rain-fed agriculture, actually turned out to be ranches. If there are no or insufficient rains and the area or parts of it had not been sown, the ‘owner’ of the *mashru‘* would still claim exclusive rights in the natural vegetation for his own livestock or to be sold to others.

The Woyla Sheikh grudgingly agrees to move on with his hamlet when his cattle come back from the water. This does not quite satisfy the Arab who blames him for trespassing and says he should not have come with his cattle on someone else’s land in the first place.



975.jpg: Conversation with Woyla Fulbe.



995.jpg: A very temporary arrangement. Sticks for the frame of a tent and other household items belonging to a Woyla camp which has not been set up.

996.jpg: Woyla women after a night in the open.
(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



Waypoint 537: Water pool in bed of the Dinder River

Video sequence with a herd of red sheep and unruly donkey. Different sections of Halawiin keep different breeds of sheep. The Was Al-Magbul the red ones, the Sinjirab the black-and-white ones.

Waypoint 538: Mashru' of Taaha Badur

His water point. He 'owns' many man *mashaari'*. The camels we find here are his own. He also has cattle and smallstock.

Waypoint 539: Camp of the mashru' of Umar Gudus, a Pullo from As-Suuki

Waypoint 540: Well at Rimeila village

This is the southern end of a chain of wells (Following photographs).



1000.jpg: Collecting information at a well in a *chor* near Rimeila village.



1006.jpg: Measuring the length of this rope reveals that the water table here is at a depth of 8.5 m.



1007.jpg: The bucket is a modified plastic container



1019, 1013.jpg: Scenes at the well

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

Waypoint 541

We visit a very large camp of Woyla Fulbe. The name of the sheikh is Musa Khaliifa. An old man shows us his bullet wounds and explains that they had come here eight years ago because of the fighting south of Damazin ('the war with John Garang'). Four of his brothers were killed in one day there. Here, there was peace.

They have been in the general area of Umm Baggara and 'Bosna' all year round.

'There is no way to sleep here. One is worried and has to pay attention all the time. On the one side, there is the national park, on the other side agriculture.'



1022, 1024.jpg; Young Woyla man. Note tato and hairstyle. This hairstyle distinguishes the Woyla from the Mbororo in the narrow sense who have longitudinal tresses. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

[Can we say more about style and ornaments and garments which distinguish the different sub-ethnic groups of the *Fulbe ladde*? Is this hairstyle particular to the Woyla or is it shared by other groups?]

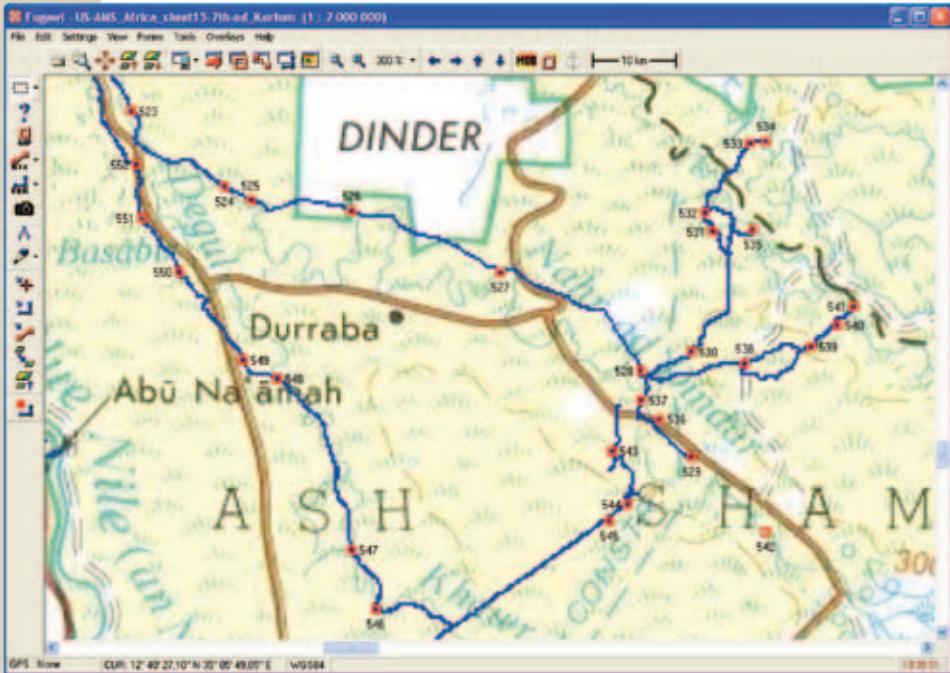
The old man takes us to a neighbouring hamlet where the *omda* lives. Our interlocutors there have undertaken seasonal migrations to the Butana. One of them explains that he has been to the Butana for the last 32 years, but since three to four years ago this has become very difficult because of the expansion of agriculture. They have come back to this area in September, having spent the Ramadaan (August 20 to September 17, 2009) at Katuku.



They have rented a pasture of 2,000 *feddan*.

They arrived today from Rimeila. The cattle have last had water at Singir.

There are Uuda in the area. There is a story about an incident some years ago, in which a park guard killed an Uuda man and one of the police was killed by Uuda. There was a court trial and the Uuda were found to be right, because the incident had taken place outside the park.



Map 13: Base map US-AMS_Africa_sheet15-7th-ed_Kartum (GPS DATA: G. SCHLEE, 2010)

In the morning, we went a bit inside the park to have a look at the vegetation. Fugawi (screenshot) does not show the track (blue line). It was deleted when later the memory of the GPS was full. The point we reached was waypoint 542 (right bottom corner). There I took video sequences of the different types of vegetation, fairly dense forest interrupted by grassy floodplains.



1025.jpg: Forest in Dinder National Park near waypoint 542.

(Photo: G. Schlee)



1029.jpg: A depression which had been flooded. The digging has been done by warthog.

We travel on via a long roundabout westerly route back to Dinder.



1033.jpg: The fruit called *nabag*. Same as Rendille: *meder*? Waypoint 542. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

Waypoint 543: Watering point

A pool in the bed of the Dinder River. I have taken video shots from the high bank.

Waypoint 544: Police Station Raas Al-Fiil

I came across that name in Sudanese history (Crawford). The police are not aware of any such significance. There may be another place by this name ('Head of the Elephant').

A little further east is a pool in the riverbed. On the opposite bank we talk to a Hausa farmer.



1036.jpg: This Hausa farmer has been digging up the bank of the river searching for the roots of the plant he holds up. His search has yielded very little.



1038.jpg: The root he has been looking for, a sweet potato.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)



1044.jpg: Up on the bank, the Hausa man has an irrigated farm of 15 *jeddān*. Now that the water has become scarce, he has sold the farm residue to the owner of the camels in the background for 2,800 SDG.



1047, 1046.jpg: Water is pumped up from the stagnant pool left in the bed of Dinder River.



1052.jpg: A little later on the road we meet tractor pulling this trailer with a water tank. A cattle owner is taking water to his livestock. The Uuda (waypoint 545) confirm that water is pumped up from the pool for that purpose. According to these Uuda, the man who gets water in this way from the pool is a *taajir*, a trader.

(PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

Waypoint 545: Ude settlement

An elder explains that he has come from the South because of the war, meaning An-nyanya. He has now been in the wider area for 30 years.



1049.jpg: A group of Uuda Fulbe camping on the western edge of the Dinder National Park. Leaving water and grass behind, they have no way but to trespass the park to feed herds during the remaining period of the dry season. (PHOTOS: G. SCHLEE)

Another elder talks about difficulties with the *muwaatiniin*, meaning the Masaalit who arrived here some twenty years ago. I ask him why he reserves this expression ('nationals, people of the homeland') to the settled farmers, as they themselves have been in the area for a longer period.

There seems to be some confusion about citizenship, collective land rights, and private property. Apparently those who permanently settle on or even legally own a given piece of land are citizens in a fuller sense.

Waypoint 545: Bresh village

1056.jpg: One cluster of the over 100 wells dug in the sandy bed of the Dinder at Bresh. Most of them have dried up or are about to dry up. As there are small quantities of water and the wells take a long time to refill, men have to come to pull water long before the arrival of their herds.



1061.jpg: Such roles of grass are used to stabilize the sand when digging for water in the riverbed.
(PHOTO: G. SCHLEE)

Waypoint 547: Abu-Seïd

Waypoint 548: Daleeba

Waypoint 549: Sarashara

Waypoint 550: Hillat Balla

Waypoint 551: Kaamrab

Waypoint 552: Khamiisa

At Dinder we part from Hussein and pay a visit the following morning to *liwa* Sannad Suleymaan ibn Suleymaan. He gives us his MSc thesis and other relevant materials to copy.

- Hamid ʿUmar Ali (2001): *Assessment of Water Resources in the Dinder National Park*, Higher Council for Environmental and Natural Resources: Dinder National Park Project, Khartoum
- Sanad Suleymaan ibn Suleymaan (1986): *The Effect of Competition Between Wildlife and Domestic Livestock in Natural Rangeland of the Dinder National Park*, MSc, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Khartoum
- Higher council of environmental and Natural Resources (2005): *The Administrative Plan for the Dinder National Park*, Sudan

DINDER NATIONAL PARK

Field Notes Source: FN20100121DinderNat.doc

(ELHADI)

THURSDAY, JANUARY 21, 2010

DINDER NATIONAL PARK AUTHORITY

The pastoral Fulbe (Mbororo) are concentrated in Fazara, Karsh Al-Fiil, and on the borders with Ethiopia in Taabya. They used to enter the park. We made special points to protect water points (Al-Birak) and pasture from the nomads. The majority of pastoral Fulbe are from Woyla. Their chiefs (sheikhs and *omad*) live in Al-^oIbeik, Fazara, Karsh Al-Fiil and Kariima. All belong to Gallaabaat locality.

10 villages (Om Kakar, ^oEin Al-Jamal etc.) were included in the reserves. We have a new vision. We formed reserves committees. We established nurseries, clubs with recycling (rotating benefits) funds, to develop villages. The project is funded by the UNESCO, Ministry of Finance, the Park, the Department of Investment. We have shifted from protection to partnership for three years with good results. We introduced gas containers and we enrolled their boys in the police. We allow the children to collect firewood and wild fruits. The park was divided in three zones; Core Zone, Buffer Zone and the Transitional Zone. This project mitigates problems, but we are afraid of political intervention. The politicians may make a decree to allow the nomads to enter in the park. The entry of the nomads for months will cause damage the effects of which will remain for decades.

Elhadi's waypoints from Thursday, January 21:

Waypoint EH 228: As-Sineit: The entrance of the Park

Waypoint EH 229: Kampo Wad Bador. On the way to Om Baja'a

Waypoint EH 230: Kampo Muhammad Haamid. On the way to Om Baja'a

Waypoint EH 231: Al-Ayka Agricultural Company: Salaah Hayba

Waypoint EH 232: Om Baja'a: People Fur and Dinka,

Respective sheiks: Yuusif and Malawlaw

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2010

DISCUSSION WITH THE RANGE OFFICER AB SAAS AT DAMAZIN

The extension of Dinder National Park (*haziira*) is suggested to be 20 kilometres to the west to mitigate clashes between the herders and farmers with check points along the borders of the Haziira to prevent merging of wildlife with the domestic livestock. Ab Saas presented a suggestion to the Nahda programme of an extension of 100x5 as a pasture. We were working to open an animal route. 200 households will be affected by the opening of the route. The project is called Sudan Productive Capacity Recovery Programme (SPCRP). The project suggests the opening of three animal routes in Kurmuk, Geisaan and Baw localities. The project also includes capacity building projects (CB) and model projects such as the opening of the route. A conflict resolution committee was formed. The governor of Kurmuk formed this committee. The *birdi* grass appeared in new places. The local people have no abilities to cultivate *birdi* land because it requires labour beyond the abilities of the farmers in the absence of modern equipment which is prohibited in the area. *Birdi* land in the *huud* usually is used by herders from February up to May.

AN-NAEIM MUHAMMAD AHMAD, THE DEPUTY HEAD OF THE FA, BNS

The area used to be a dry season grazing land. It is *mara'a shita*. The animals graze the new growing plants after the burning of the coarse grass. The camels graze for long periods without watering. Good quality of grass such as *tabar*, *dangal*, *baram*, *'uleef*, and *laalob*. After the introduction of mechanized farming the pasture has declined. The camels were forced to go to the south and many died as a result of flies and biting insects. The number of cattle and sheep have increased while the camels decreased drastically. Very few people own camel herds. The number of cattle has increased because people have turned to depend on the sale of milk in the urban centres. This year we face shortage of water. There is shortage of forage but the gap of water is acute and it is determining. There are farming residues in the western area and at Takaamul. There is natural pasture in the Kadaalu. The pasture in the *huud* is not significant. The people of Azaaza moved their cattle to the west due to the availability of pasture there. The people of Azaaza spent the period from September up to now (February) by the side of the river. They purchased farm residues in the northern area. This year even sesame residues (not preferred by animals) have become commoditized.

The commissioner of Kurmuk Musa Silak formed a committee of conflict resolution. Urgent solutions we planned include construction of four boreholes in Wad Abook, Sillak, Kadalo and Hifeira. The project will be financed by the chamber of Zakat. The contractor is Sugya Company.

Last year we sat with DNP authority and discussed the ability to resort to the *haziira* in bad years to avoid entering Ethiopia. But we did not follow the issue. We advised the herders to depend on themselves to buy tankers for watering. Now 20% depend on tankers for watering. We have 150 herders cooperatives registered. (He stressed the contribution of animal wealth to Gross National Product [GNP] and the marginalization of herders). He concluded that the situation of herders was better during the previous governments than the present regime. He explained that during the previous regimes all the water points (*hafirs*) belonged to the nomads but now most of them belong to the farmers.

We complained to the President of the Republic about the extension of the Haziira. We demanded limiting the park to its 1935 boundaries. We demanded to let the extension of the pastoral land be put under supervision of the park authority. We got no answer. We used to spend six months east of Roseiris letting the animals feed on *baram* (flowers) of *talh* (*Acacia syal*). *Talh* disappeared. After the demarcation of the park, *talh* appeared again. In the *haziira* there are fast growing grass species like *tabar* and *anazora* that grow instantly as soon as the area received the early showers. The land in the *haziira* is fragile. This in contrast to the mechanized farming area where the soil is solid and keeps water in the top level. In this area the land will not become soft unless after bad rainy season. The western part is still soft so that its surface changes (*bitfuur*) after rainfall.

In the future, livestock owners have to be strong (powerful), who can dig a water pond (*hafir*) and own a mechanized farm so that his animals can depend on farm residues. In At-Tayba Al-Bileelaab there are about 12 *hafirs*. The digging of ponds has become facilitated by the contracting companies who accept instalments of 50 % of the costs and payment of the rest after a year.

He noted that their losses from nomadic movement are too much. Due to their movement, they were not able to own land on which they could now depend for cultivation to use farm residues and to dig *hafir*, to follow the current trends of livestock raising. He complained that migrants from west Africa [in fact he means Fur, Zaghaawa and Masaalit from western Sudan] and the expansion of farming is one of the factors in limiting the pasture. They use to come one after another and gradually put their hands on land, form villages, and aggravate the problem.

He reports that there are cooperatives of livestock owners who contribute towards the 200 sheep necessary to buy a tractor for fetching water.

One of the factors aggravating the problems is the coming of livestock from Sennar and Sinja at the beginning of the rainy season to make use of the early showers.

The authorities in Sennar state made use of Mazmum water project to make a tap on the water pipe from which the nomads can water their animals. This is helpful and the state *wali* promised to build a cement cistern to be filled with water from the tap so that tankers can be filled from it.

The Blue Nile State is an agricultural area and subjected to heavy pressure. Many animals spend the *roshaash* (the early rainy season) and the dry season here. The number of animals has increased hugely. We need government support in the land use plan. No plan is actually valid. There was a plan first made in 1970 but it has never been implemented. The problem lies in the horizontal expansion of agriculture. With financial support from the agricultural bank, a farmer cultivates three to four schemes and produces nothing. This should be curtailed and the farmer should restrict himself to one or two. There is a trend towards producing milk for the market and this resulted in the improvement of the cattle breed in the area. He referred to the Rufa'a al-Hoi Wad al-Faas in Barakaat who involved heavily in this practice. He added that Kenaana do not involve themselves in this new trend. You may find one of them owning 300 cows but he does not sell milk. They do not sell milk. They want to fatten the calf, to gain from sale of oxen rather than to gain from the sale of milk. He praised the strategy of milk selling as economically profitable. The people selling milk have improved the breeds. They select good milking cows and exclude low quality bulls from their cattle herds. He refused calling the local herds traditional because they are highly productive in meat. E.g. the *watiish* sheep have small bones and a lot of meat (mutton). He said we keep the herds and make them available to you (scientists) to improve. He said these local breeds are adapted to the ecology of the region and he suspects the success of any endeavour to introduce any foreign breeds.

The problems we are facing now are bovine small pox and ticks. There should be a cure to them.

‘AZAAZA AL-JADIIDA/SHEIKH ADAM BELLU

RESPONDENT: ‘ALI ADAM BELLU

We used to spend the *roshaash* in Gala’a Al-Baggar near the *haziira*. In the rainy season we go to Garri, Dwiema and up to Karduus. This year we returned from Garri because of poor rainfall. We spent a month there and returned to Azaaza and moved in November to either Mashiish and Majan in the Ethiopian land or to the west to Sobaat, Daju, Girinti. The majority took this direction because there is much grass. In the east there are some problems with the Gumuz and the *haziira*. Before two days, Uuda Fulbe fought with the Ethiopians. They used sticks in the fight. The Ethiopians are ordinary citizens; they capture people and confiscate animals. They are Amhara. They live in Mankuush and Abu Al-Haras in the Gumuz homeland. The Amhara are worker. They work as *Fahhaama* (charcoal makers). The authority in the *haziira* confiscated seven herds of cattle in the beginning of this dry season (divided them 50–50). The Ethiopians are better than the *haziira*. The *haziira* has been expanded this year. In the Early days of the dry season we were forced to enter the *haziira* because there is no pasture outside of it. In the harvest time, we bribed the police. We go to them in the camp and deal with the head (in charge), but they are so many that one may allow you to enter and then the other might capture you and confiscate the animals. The police post is in Tabya in the dry season and moves to Maganom in the wet season.

They have not given us permission to graze inside the *haziira* for exceptional reasons. The only way is to bribe them so that we enter secretly, but this will not help if the manager or the patrol accompanied by one of the higher ranking officers found us inside.

In Kurmuk District there are problems with the citizens but not as severe as the ones with the *haziira*. The local people demarcate areas by cutting the grass (with the cutting tool called *diwert*) and ask for payment for grazing inside the specified area. They also ask for payment on the watering point and the land on which we pitch our camps. This happens in Al-Keili. Part of our people went to Buut to be hired in sheikh Mustafa Al-Amin Company. This is a difficult year.

AZAAZA /SHEIKH RAABIH IBRAAHIIM

A new demarcation for the boundaries (*jara*) of the *haziira* was made two days ago that goes from Jandeel to Mashiish. At that time, the patrol arrested two lorries inside the new extension. This extension is not within the 2002 boundaries of the *haziira*. It is a new one. From hearsay, this new extension is made by people who came from Khartoum. They want to make new *haziira*. The people of Garri have detailed information. They can tell more than us.

Our cattle moved to the west in the direction of Abu-Garin and Wad Abook. They water from wells. They pay 500–800 monthly rate per herd.

The western area of the Ingeessana hills is better than the *haziira* because the authority in the park shoots the animals with heavy weapons such as canons (*doshka*). The water depressions and the ponds (*birak*) in the river do not dry up. But we ceased going to *haziira* early and limited our selves to Abu-Humra. The water ponds in Garri have not collected water this year. They are empty or dried up now. When there is water in Abu-Humra we do not cross to the west. Ar-Radi wad Ad-Daw (Abu-Kaduuk) used to buy the water of the *hafir* of Abu-Humra from the water corporation and sell water to the nomads. He has a water pump.

Answering my question about one of the Woyla Fulbe, nicknamed Sharoom, he says that he went to Madyam. He settled with sheikh Adam in ‘Azaaza Al-Jadiida and left because of the hardship of the bad year. (Sharoom was intending to establish a new village to the north west of the Azaaza. FOLLOW THIS UP!).

The cattle they kept in the homestead go out for night grazing and pass the days near

the hamlet where they are fed supplementary fodder; sorghum straw and sesame cake. The area to the west is good. We have not experienced a bad year such as this. Even 1984 was better. Most people went to the west.

The Fulbe have shallow wells in Ethiopia. We heard that the Ethiopians shoot the Fulbe Uuda. The Fulbe crossed into Ethiopia between Jabal Wisiin and Rimsiis.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 10 – GARRI

AS-SAADIG YUUNIS SULEYMAAN

On the way to Garri we met As-Saadig Yuunis Suleymaan from the Masaalit, resident of Azaaza, who was on his way to bring charcoal from a distant place inside Azaaza forest (*hurriyya*). He buys one sack of charcoal at 11–13 SDG and sells it at 15 to support his children at school. He resorts to this because of the bad harvest. He said the number of people who practice the trade in charcoal and firewood has increased this year. What invited our curiosity is that he took some forage for his donkey, an indicator that the donkey would find nothing to eat in the bush land. We passed so many donkey riders who are seeking their livelihood in the forest. The charcoal makers work for others and get a certain percentage. I asked him whether the local groups (Kenaana and Rufa'a) are involved in this trade. He answered that they have animals and the trees to them is a source of forage. But the Gharraaba have no land to cultivate and they cultivate land given to them for use by other people (*taakul goom* – eat and leave).

MOH. A. I. (KENAANA)

They settled in this place in 1980. Reasons were the shrinkage of pasture due to the expansion of agriculture. The main reason is the desire to settle for education, and in response to transformations and the emergence of new mode of pastoralism, like using trucks and tankers to fetch water. This new pattern is better than the old one, in so far, as each one has his own farmland and his lorry to fetch water and depend on his farm residues. Takaamul and sheikh Mustafa Al-Amin schemes have reduced the available pasture. This in addition to the *haziira*. Sheikh Mustafa Al-Amin's farm is in Gileia' Al-Baggar. The negative effect of the *haziira* surpasses that of the other factors due to confiscation of half of the herds (50%) which are found inside the park. Nevertheless, we are forced to enter because there is no pasture outside the *haziira*. Our only source of water is the Dinder River.

The old animal route led from Azaaza, Agadi, Garabiin, Mazmum, Buuzi, to Ad-Daali. The new one goes from Azaaza to Abu-Humra. In *roshaash* we go to Gala'a Al-'Ijil, Kadaalu. From 1996 onwards, we shifted gradually to the east (drifted). 1996 was the last time we used the old animal route (Abu Al-Yasor, Karwaash, Ab Sagrood, Biriesh, Abu-Siid, Daleeba, Dinder) and we moved between Dinder and Rahad.

In 2009, we reached Daleeba and returned to Garri in October. Now, parts of us are on the Ethiopian side in *al-mashaa'ish* (the area with the shallow wells). The herds of cattle and sheep are in Komor Gabaash and Komor Bashiir to the east of Abu-Ramla, at the limit of Gumuz *dar* (homeland).

We have no relations with the *haziira*. If they caught you inside 50% of the animals will be confiscated. The money to be given to regain animals is 80 SDG per head. Even in years of drought they did not allow us to enter the *haziira*. It happened that they offered part of the *haziira* for the herders in the district of Jabal Michal east of the Takaamul. They benefited from it. The villagers complained to the Omda and the commissioner of Roseiris. Two days ago a new cut line (*jara'*) for the *haziira* boundary was demarcated. This extension is from Gala' Al-'Ijil to Gala' Raas and includes Kadaalu and Mokla. After the *jara'* had been cleared, most of the animals moved to Ethiopia. The extension included schemes of people from Ganiis who were then forced to come here.

Our herds graze the *ghabaash* (standing hay), farm residues (sorghum), and we use trucks to water them. Our cattle get water from wells and there is no way for us not to enter the *haziira*. The government will not solve any problem. The only choice left to us is the armed struggle. We practice farming and we are against this extension.

The number of population is 2,300 and they drink from hand pumps (*karjaaka*). The *haziira* is the main obstacle and the government should solve this problem, otherwise our arms will speak.

Five lorries belonging to people from Ganiis carrying firewood were caught and fined 40 SDG each in the Roseiris office of the *haziira*.

Ethiopia welcomed the herders. There are about 7,000 to 8,000 head of livestock in Ethiopia. The Ethiopians give you permission against payment and order you not to set fire or to cut trees. If the way to Ethiopia remains open we will not go to the *haziira*.

Mansuur Al-'Ajab, the *Naazir* of Rufa'a Ash-Sharig was behind the extension of the *haziira*. He quarrelled with Abu-Doom. The *omda* of the Hamaj, 'Ibeid Abu-Shutaal (Naazir Imom Al-Hamaj) and the commissioner of Roseiris are working to stop this extension.

The Minister of Agriculture of Khartoum State put his hands over eight schemes (in Abu Al-Yasor near Khuur Abu-Mohhaar) confiscated from the sons of 'Abdallah Sa'ad who died years ago. 'Abdallah Sa'ad is Kenaani. These schemes have not been cultivated after the death of the owner, for 14 years. The rebel forces early attacked the camps of these schemes and took tractors. Now Al-Muta'afi and 'Abdallah Sa'ad's sons and the *haziira* are fighting over the land.

During the 1970s we were in a good situation. The animal route to Ethiopia was secure. The time of war is better than now. The police in the *haziira* use heavy weapons (*doshka*) to kill the animals.

ISA MUHAMMAD AN-NAAYIR

All the water streams which the animals use for watering have become part of the *haziira*. The *haziira* is over. [No longer of interest to us, also because] the Fulbe extended their stay in there. In the past, they spent the period from October to December inside it. This year they spent the whole rainy season inside the *haziira*.

We pay nominal fees to the Gumuz sheikh.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 11

MUHAMMAD 'AJAB SIIDU SA'AD ALLAH

Hillat Jaabir was established early during the colonial period. In 1964, before the construction of the dam, we were in a place called Ajmiish to the west of Diruub. From there we were displaced by a flood of the Ufut river. Later we moved to Shiira looking for good agricultural land. Our *jiruuf* lands are neighbouring those of Diruub. The people of Sinja Nabag own no *jiruuf*. We also have rain-fed plots. We have good relations with the herders. We have reciprocal relations. They buy *dura* and farm residues from us and we buy animals from them. We benefited from the dam. We have *jiruuf* land, apart from the patches of *birdi* grass growing in the *maya'a*, and we do not rent it to others. We do not ask herders for payment of grazing the *birdi*. The population of our village is 200.

All the people affected by the heightening of the dam from Jaabir, Abu-'Ushar and Abu-Gumay will be resettled in Iseil. We went to the head office of the DIU (Dam Implementation Unit) in Damazin. The deputy *wali* met us. The engineer in charge told us that we will be resettled in Iseil but the people of Abu-Gumay refused this place and then selected a place in Khuur Maako near the Jandeel Company camp. They said that the place is muddy. The people of Jaabir and Iseil are with the government while

the others are against the government. They spoke vaguely about the compensation for trees and *jiruuf* land. The resettlement will take place in 2012.

The people of Abu-Gumay experienced resettlement before. All the villages in the area experienced resettlement except the people of Jaabir, Iseil and Diruub. All contacts took place through the *Naazir* and the *omda*, the Naazir Yuusif. We have no school here. The school is in Iseil four kilometres away.

Abu-‘Ushar village

IBRAAHIM TOTA

The people are Berta, the total population is 686. They came from Ufut An-Niweiri (Dongaash) after the construction of the dam. The first two floods of 1943 and 1948 did not affect them. They are farmers and have both *bildaat* cultivation and *jiruuf* cultivation. Life in Dongaash was better than life in Abu-‘Ushar. We have animals and need space. Our relations with the Fulbe nomads are good reciprocal relations. We sell *dura* and farm residues and buy animals from them. There are minor problems which can be solved easily. We own *jiruuf* land. We never rent land to others. We are keen not to let anyone enter our land. We and the people of Abu-Gumay, Jaabir, Dandan and Babanusa will be resettled in *Ikthaar al-Bizuur* (seeds improvement centre) near Jandeel Company. The place is good for agriculture. There is a water pool (*eid moya*) we can make use of. There will not be spacious land for us but we are not afraid of the new settlement. This is a government matter. Our main market is in Abu-Gumay and from time to time we go to Sinja Nabag.

DAMAZIN

Field Notes Source: FN20100726Damazin.doc

(ELHADI)

MONDAY, JULY 26, 2010

USAAMA ABDEL-MAAJID 'UTHMAAN, AGRICULTURAL MANAGER, TAKAAMUL COMPANY

Work ceased during wartime. We resumed our work in 2005. The headquarter resumed work in 2006. The total area is 165,000 *feddan*. The maximum area cultivated is 11,000. 25 % of the area is not suitable for cultivation. It is a sandy area suitable for cattle grazing. There is an animal route (from Abu-Zaguuli up to Meinza) which crosses the scheme and took 14,000 *feddan* from the area of the scheme. We grow dura, sunflower, cotton and sesame. We sell farm residues to the pastoralists towards whom the respective fields extend. After harvest completion, the contracted livestock owners keep the animals outside the scheme for 24 hours so that they drop all dung and, hence, the seeds outside the scheme. When they enter they will be watered inside the scheme and not allowed to graze outside or water outside the scheme so that they do not bring the seeds of weeds into the scheme. The contract also says that the nomads should move outside the scheme immediately after the first rainfalls so as not to trample the soft soil.

This year we used a bundle machine (compressor?) to prepare farm residues for sale. We only did it as an experiment. We made some studies with a Brazilian firm for an idea of investing in animal production that encompasses a water harvesting project, to raise cattle for milk and meat production. [Which implies that, in the future, there might be no residues left for sale to pastoralists or villagers around the scheme.]

Early the scheme had conflicts with the Reisiya Kenaana of Zindiya. The police force and our people quarrelled with them several times and it happened that it resulted in bloodshed and casualties.

Now the relationship with the pastoralists has turned to be cooperative. This is because livestock owners have become keen to control their animals. Their awareness has increased their contacts with herders and the quickness of interference to solve disputes has become instant due to communication improvement. This is due to the use of mobile phones, the fact that some pastoralists and villagers now own cars, and their dependence on the purchase of farm residuals. The pastoralists have become responsible for protecting farms and prevent trespassers.

We adhere to a good neighbourhood strategy with the pastoralists. We developed personal relations with them. Social visits are common now. Before that, we only meet in court. Now we can borrow money from them to meet urgent needs, if we face shortage of cash. Claims of crop damages decreased in numbers.

The government dug a new water pond in Abu-Humra inside the company land without consulting the management. The digging of the ponds changed the topography of the area. The company made some terraces on the main drainage in the area of Khuur Zaguuli and constructed some bridges on the other water streams to ease movement during the wet season. These terraces and bridges were affected by the digging of the pond. They are located two to four km away from the pond. DID THE TERRACES INTERFERE WITH THE CATCHMENT OF THE POND OR WHAT WAS THE PROBLEM?

Abu-Humra pond has existed since before the scheme, which was established in 1975. The area was part of a scheme owned by what is called Abu-Muhhaar which failed to operate.

The nomads prefer sunflower and sorghum stalks. Sunflower has few residues but it is nutritive.

TUESDAY, JULY 27 – AGADI

THE SUDANESE ARABIC COMPANY FOR AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION
(BN): EX STATE FARM

INTERVIEW: THE AGRICULTURAL MANAGER: 'ABDEL HAADI' ABDEL RAH-
MAAN BASHIIR

It started work in 1990 as a partnership (Sudan 49% and 51% for the gulf countries). Its total area is 219,000 *feddan*. We first practiced the traditional 'semi-mechanized farming.' In 2001, the zero ploughing was introduced by experts from South Africa, the U.S. and Canada. They introduced the experiments and left (2000–03). From 2003 onwards the management has become Sudanized. The total area cultivated in 2001 was 2,000 and reached 70,000 this year (2010). The total area is arable but we leave 10% of it for forest growing. We grow cotton, sunflower, sesame, sorghum, maize and millet. The pastoral Fulbe come at the beginning of the rainy season. They pitch their camps near water points. They stay for two weeks or longer. They bring the seeds of weeds, damaging the growing plants and the hooves of their animals harden the surface. But they are peaceful.

The local pastoralists (Kenaana) cause the same problems. Most of the losses occur at harvest time. We prevent the entrance of animals in all times because we use expensive herbicides. We do not sell the residuals to the pastoralists. Residuals are left to add manure and moisture to the soil. Both farmers and herders trespass our fallow (*buur*) land. The only animal route left crosses the company land. No corridor for the animals even the village *haram* is cultivated. We have no intention to introduce animal production now. The average productivity is high; eight to ten sacks of dura compared to one to three in the neighbouring mechanized farms. The animal routes outside the company were brought under cultivation. The company protects the other. The forest authority plays an insignificant role in protecting animal routes. Rather they cause problems and they are the only Government department to do so because they are present on the ground. The animal route divides the company into two parts. Herders come from the animal route to water cattle from the ponds inside the company land. The company is the main provider of work for the poor people in Agadi, including the destitute nomads. Reciprocal relations between the nomads and the workers in the company are weak. We do not encourage such contacts. No remarkable case of conflict has occurred in the last eight years. The nomads awareness has risen. They become to some extent conflict avoiding. The Fulbe are keener than the other groups to avoid causing damage. They concentrate on the *buur* land. We have a crop damage estimation committee, including the police and local experts. The estimates are always biased favouring the nomads but we accept them. Herders concentration on sheep husbandry reduced conflicts. The presence of police protection also played a positive role. The local herders still cause problems. The land is flat and attractive to local herders. After harvest, the stubble and the waste constitute rich forage so the herders cannot refrain from entering.

The Ingessana as result of *thagaafat as-salaam* (the culture of peace) raised the question of village reserves (*haram*) at the expense of company land. Although the company offers more services than the former authority did, the people still treat us as foreign experts. They have no other source of income.

Damazin

SHEIKH MUSTAFA AL-AMIN COMPANY

AT-TAYIB AHMAD AL-HAD

BASHIIR ASH-SHEIKH MUSTAFA AL-AMIN

We started production in 1985 in Dindiro, 1986 in Buut and later in Fadamiya. The company withdrew from 50,000 *feddans* which were allotted to the war affected return-

ees. Now the company cultivates 45,000 *feddan* and leaves an equal space as fallow or as forest. We have direct contact with the nomads, Arabs and Fulbe, all year round due to the existence of water in Buut after the establishment of the water basin (*sad*) in 2005 and due to the availability of water in the Nile not far from Fadamiya. Crop damages from the part of the nomads occur continuously but are solved through mediation. Crop damage estimates are made by the mediators and we often forgive the nomads so as to avoid further conflicts. The Fulbe as foreigners were used to be peaceful and conflict avoiding but now after they had been enrolled in the popular defence forces they have become like the Arabs. Many of them settled. The damage estimates committees include the local leaders and notables. It performs its work fairly, however, it puts pressure on the farmers. Even after the estimate, the nomads ask for some discount. The Fulbe pitch their camps in the uncultivated land during June and July and during November/December. The negative effects are that both cattle and sheep harden the surface at the beginning of the wet season but the effect of the sheep is less than that of the cattle. The workers in the camps benefit from the exchange of sorghum with the dairy products of the pastoral Fulbe. The crops produced include sorghum, sesame, millet, sunflower and *guar* (a legume). Earlier, we let the nomads graze the farm residues freely after harvest in March/April. Now, we sell the remains to the Arabs who use tankers for watering the animals. This new trend reduced conflicts. We are intending to invest on livestock production. (He referred to the experience of the Rashaayda pastoralists in Om Shajara who shifted to farming and who cultivated mechanized schemes and made use of the residuals to feed their animals. They depend on animals to finance their agricultural operations. Depending on self finance they are not in pressure to sell crops and do so only for handsome prices; animals are a source of self finance).

In Buut pastoralists cultivated big farms and dug water ponds for their animals.

The company was affected by two animal routes which took up 6,500 *feddans* in the 1990s. We did not oppose that decree but the problem is that the nomads do not restrict themselves to the routes. *Dura* is the most preferred of the farm residuals and then come sunflower and *guar*. We have no conditions concerning the entry of animals into company land for grazing the farm residuals. In Fadamiya there is no sale of farm residuals. The trespassing is often at the beginning of the rainy season. The trampling by the herds hardens the surface and increases the costs of production (ploughing). We use herbicides.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 28 – ABU-NA'AMA

ABU-NA'AMA COMPANY FOR FOOD PRODUCTION (KENAAF)

FATH AR-RAHMAAN BAABIKIR, EXECUTIVE MANAGER

Established in 2008 on 30,000 *feddan*. The area cultivated in the first year was 5,000 *feddan*. The same figure for 2009 and 2010. Then irrigation had not started and the crops depended on rainfall. This year we rehabilitate pumps, canals and levelling technology so that, in case of rain shortage, supplementary irrigation will be provided.

Crops grown are sorghum and sunflower. There is no animal production but there is plan for it in the near future.

The pastoral groups include Kenaana. Part of them are present in the area all year round. In the last three years, Mbororo did not come.

We sell farm residuals to the pastoralists at nominal prices. The company makes an advertisement by the grazing areas after harvest time. Priority is given to local pastoralists. We ask them to pay from five to 30 SDG for one *feddan*. They water animals from the river. We suffer from the stealing of our irrigation equipment (*munzimaat*). But the company sympathizes with the local people who have some grievance that the company took their land. There are some complaining voices which represent a political agenda

and reflect the weakness of the government (similar to what is going in the White Nile sugar company). The company is mainly established to grow sugar cane for the production of sugar (a factory will be erected). For the time being, we will produce other crops. We are planning to produce green forage for animal production.

We have a police force for crop protection. Last year and due to *dura* shortage some cases of theft were registered.

We allow pastoralists to graze on the uncultivated land (*buur*). There is neither an animal route crossing the company land nor a water pond.

The contract is usually for one to two months. We do not grant access to the cultivated part of the farm.

There is some water in the major canal as we operate pumps for 10 minutes every two days to prevent silting. The pastoralists make use of this water.

THURSDAY, JULY 29. – AJUULA

‘ABDALLAH AN-NAAYIR BALAL

Abu-Hujaar forest authority grew acacia on the reserve (*haram*) of the village. There had been an agreement that *hashab* (*Acacia senegal*) will be sown west of the village limit. Kenaana from Gannuufa practice farming in this area. We used to have licence from forest authority to cultivate these farms. The forest authority prevented cultivation south of the *kharta* in an area of 250 *feddan*, but the people of Gannuufa took licences from Sinja and cultivated it. In the *hurriyya* we pay 10 SDG for cultivating one *feddan*. Forest authority in Abu-Hujaar destroyed our growing crops of *dura* and sesame. Our people (committee) went to Sinja to complain to the state *wali* and the commissioner of the locality. The commissioner said that the farmers should be compensated the costs of ploughing and the seeds and this is nonsense. This is a speech for the wind to take. One of the women lied down in front of the plough to stop destruction of her crop but in vain.

Om bojani (name of a disease) used to occur during the bad years. It did not affect our animals in the recent years. Our animals spent the dry season in Wad Abook, As-Suuki. In As-Suuki we have to buy crop residues from the Agricultural Corporation. The herders spend the day time inside the scheme and take the animals outside after sunset so that no seeds will be left inside from night time defecation. At the end *talaga* occurs (free grazing). We water animals from the canal in Shasheina. We also purchased residuals from Rammaash scheme. Prices in Rammaash are higher than in Suuki. However the residuals of sunflower in Suuki are better than the *dura* in Rammaash, but the people of Rammaash are rigid in their prices which are high (*hakmiin an naas*). The fields in Rammaash and Suuki cost 250 and 120 SDG respectively. Cattle herders and part of the sheep herders went to the south. The south is bad (Burun, Jumjum and Uduk).

We have another problem about the strip of trees east of the village. The people nursed the trees and safeguarded them and when they reached maturity, the forest authority gave permission to a charcoal maker to use them (*liabooha*, the authorities played with them, played a trick on them). When our children go to fetch firewood the authority prevents them. We said the forest is ours. The people of ‘Abal showed us licences from Abu-Hujaar forest authority. We were sent to prison. We claimed in court. The forest was found registered six years ago but we had established this village 16 years ago without the limits of the village being determined. Now we and they are prevented from using the forest and the case is in the hand of the court. *Yad algaanon*. We are against cutting down the forest. The president of the Republic should interfere to stop the cutting of the forest.

Those who are leading Abu-Hujaar South scheme came to us. The minister of agriculture promised to give the inhabitants of Ajuula 1,000 *feddan* (Ajuula has a population of 800). He told that the investment would be outside the limit of the village which would

be demarcated. The investment will not start unless the village limits are demarcated.

If a cow trespasses the Kenaaf Company the owner would be fined 150 SDG. The fine for one sheep is 40 SDG. The Kenaaf has become like the Dinder National Park (*biga mantiga bas*). We do not benefit from the scheme. The workers are brought from the Ingessana. The women who collect wild okra were caught and sent to prison. Our chickens scavenge in the limit of the village. The acacia plantation is so close to the village so that women go there to urinate.

‘Abal

ZEINAB ‘ABDEL RAHMAAN AL-HUURI (BINT AL-FALLAATI)

RUFA‘A AL-HOI-ABU-GHUNEIM

Seven of my father’s brothers died and when he was born his father named him al Fallaati to survive because the ‘Fallaata’ are ‘disbelievers’ (an ugly name to dispel envy and misfortune).

This is my first year to experience settlement. I was born and brought up in the *baadiya*. I married the year Gezira Aba was attacked by the Nimieri Regime (1971/72). My husband was from the Batuuraab. At that time, my fathers’ brother’s sons were too young to marry me. I had two daughters and two sons. Now only two are left, a boy and a girl. They are living with me now they are herding the goats (*shiwaihaat*). The daughter is married and living here with me. My son is also married, living here with me. He is herding the sheep. The other died. My husband is living here (meaning not far on the other hill).

I bought the nucleus (*sabab*) of my animals from the proceeds of sale of handicrafts: (mats making, *kabayit* and *shilba*). I first bought goats, then sheep and camels. I herd by myself holding my stick and milk pot on my shoulder. I did all pastoral work by myself like any other herder. My people did not resist my experience as long as I am on the right guidance (behaving properly). I sold the female camels and bought agricultural land. The pastoral land has become shrinking and the camels cannot be kept near the village. So I sold them. I used to select the best of my animals to sell. I sold the attractive (fattened) ones which the thieves prefer and bought light ones instead and used the remaining cash for meeting household expenses. I sell the *tarfa* (detached, grazing on the sides) which attract thieves, be they rams or ewes.

I grow sesame and *dura*, 35 *feddan*. The animals benefit from *dura* stalks and the residuals. We depend on it in the dry season. I bought this settling plot and built these huts. The *karro* for fetching drinking water and for watering the *rabbuub* (the weak animals kept at the homestead). I am intending to perform pilgrimage this year. We do not count animals. I have one herd but the goats outnumber the sheep. My husband divorced me and I left, nothing to me to depend on. I devoted my life to my work. He left us for no real cause and now, after more than twenty years, he married another woman. But she gave him no children. He failed to manage his herd properly. His herd deteriorated as result of mismanagement and theft. The men disdain him because he has no sons to defend his herd. Now, my son asked me to accept his coming back and I did. Now, he is living with me but each keeps his herd separately. I hire a tractor for ploughing and I hire labourers for weeding. I sell crops to buy water for the animals during the dry season. I have a desire to buy a lorry for fetching water but my sons (including her son-in-law) are not helpful and I cannot depend on them. My son is not responsible enough (*safih*).

During migration I used to go barefoot pulling the leading rope of the camel on which my daughters were carried. When I felt tired I rode a donkey. The cared-of women were on camels back, enjoying the care of their husbands. My father settled in Ajuula and I settled neighbouring to him, but Ajuula did not convene me. The space is narrow and there are so many farms. So I bought this relatively detached place which suits me.

The farm I cultivate does not suffice me so I purchase farm residues and pay for grazing the failed crops (*bartaaj*). I paid 800 SDG to the Kenaaf Company to graze on 90 *feddan*. They provide protection for me during that period.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 5 – SENNAR SUGAR COMPANY:

HORTICULTURAL INSPECTOR: *BADR AD-DIIN MUHAMMAD. 'ISA*

First year of production 1976. The planting of sugarcane started in 1974. Total area 30,000 *feddan*, including *katawot* area of 4,000 to 5,000, depressions and ponds utilized for forests and horticultural production (vegetables and fruits). Forest covers 650 *feddan*. The horticultural products are fenced. Animals are not allowed in the forest but trespassing often occurs and the management of the scheme is sympathetic to the pastoralists because of the shrinking of pasture in the area. The management is also afraid of pastoralists' retaliation in case they impose penalties and fines. The villagers and pastoralists often trespass into sugarcane fields. We have a 24 hours protection force.

We own a farm dairy and produce poultry. In animal production we employ more than 60 persons as farmers to produce forage and as milkers and herders. The forage farm is 150 *feddan*.

The pastoralists are An-Nifeidiyya, Batahiin and Ahaamda. The majority are cattle owners. The company has a crop damage estimating committee. In case of crop damage, the agricultural manager appoints the committee to estimate damage; including the herders, the popular committee, the inspector, and local experts. Trespassing proliferated during the dry season and concentrated on sugarcane due to its accessibility.

We do not produce forage for sale but the pastoralists benefit from the tops and the crashes (residuals). We have a factory to produce molasses for export and local markets. The Sudanese sugar company is planning to produce ethanol.

KENAANA SUGAR COMPANY

'ABDEL MON'EIM ABDEL RAHMAAN: AGRICULTURAL MANAGER

The production of sugarcane started in 1973. The total area is 150,000 *feddan* including the settlements. Forests cover 3,000 to 4,000 *feddan*. An extension which is not yet cultivated is in our possession. There are no disputes as the boundaries are demarcated and any dispute will be taken to court. The extension is 10,000 *feddan*. These will be cultivated soon. We only we have a problem with irrigation.

We keep a blind eye on the watering of animals from the major canal. Problems are the destruction of the canal by erosion of its banks. We do not want conflicts with them. We consider their bad need for water and consider their animals as a part of the national wealth. But when they enter into sugarcane fields they become our enemies and we don't forgive them. We resort to court. We have a police force plus a fenced corral for keeping the trespassing animals. The police demand estimation of damage. We have a committee including the agricultural manager and costs and accounting department. We also have a legal advisor who deals with the state and the laws. We do not include the other parties in the estimation of crop damage.

We have fenced grazing animal production. No remarkable case of conflict with the pastoralists. The pastoralist were employed in the animal farms and benefit from water and grasses on the canal side. Sometimes they enter into the fields. They settled and their life style has changed. Schools opened in Tugaaba and Fanga al Jabal. There is a problem of boundaries between Sennar and the White Nile State. Part of the fields are inside Sennar state. They demand customs and duties. The nomads are not part of this issue and the relation with them has not reached hostility yet.

Some of the nomads graze in the *buur* land illegally. This occurs after harvest time. The agricultural rotation is that a field planted with sugarcane will be ploughed after four to five years and left to rest for six months. The nomads make use of this rest period to graze the remains. The pastoralists are aware of this and their scouts are active to pass such information to their people.

GLOSSARY

al-baayir (buur): the uncultivated field or cultivated field which the farmer failed to weed and then can be left for animals to graze

‘aliiga: supplementary fodder

amiir: a native leader under the recently developed native system in the Sudan

baram: the flowers of *Acacia syal*, good fodder for sheep and goats during dry season

bartaaj: the remains of the failed sorghum or any other grain crop

bilaad (pl. bildaat): a rain-fed plot

birka (pl. birak): a depression or pond

buur: *al-baayir*

dabbooka: a herd of camels moving in a compact formation

dahara: the plains away from the river-side

di‘irriyya: plant

duur: the place where the livestock rest in the evening

‘eesh: sorghum or grain

eid (ragaba): a course of water rechargeable by river flood

Fahhaama: charcoal makers

fariig: a nomadic camp

fazaa’a: a scarecrow

feddan: a space measures that equal 0,4047 hectare

ghabaash: the dry grass

goz: sandy soil

guar: a legume

habiil: combretum glutinosum

hadaba: a relatively high land

hafir (pl. hafirs): an artificial pond of water

haram: village space/boundaries

hashab: *Acacia senegal*

hawaasha: irrigated field

haziira: a corral or fence enclosure or

even park

hollaaba: the early grazing

huud: reservoir

‘Id ul-Adha: sacrifice festival

Ikthaar al-Bizuur: seeds improving

jiruuf: light soil by the side of the river suitable for the growing of vegetables

karjaaka: a hand pump

karab: a sharply sloped belt of eroded clay

karro (pl. karros): horse or donkey drawn cart

khariif: the wet season

khuur (wadi): seasonal water course

mak (mek, meck): a native leader in some cases act as paramount chief comparable to the *Naazir* while in other cases his position is equal to the *omda*

masaar (or murhaal): traditional livestock route and sometimes the word is used to mean nomadism

murhaal: *masaar*

Naas al Ghaabaat: the forest authority

Naas al Zira’a: the agricultural authority

Naazir: is a native leader who acts as a paramount chief representing a larger group and he assumes authority over a definite territorial area

nabag: wild fruit

nafir: collective labor party

nizaam al-kuuz: keeping cattle mainly to produce milk for market

omda: is a native leader representing a tribal section and his position comes second to the *Naazir* in the hierarchy of native administration

omodiya: the office of the *omda* or the territory under his authority

rabbuub: the weak animals kept in the

homestead

ragaba: eid

roshaash: the early rain season

Saafil: land in the north

sabaaris: milk with tea

seif: the hot dry season

sheikh al-baadiya: chief of the nomads

shita: the cold dry season

taakul goom: the act of giving land by
land owners to the landless people to
cultivate free for charge

talaga: the free grazing of farm residues
after crop harvesting and sometimes
even after crop harvesting and the
bundling of stalks

tonja: the lower land that gathers water
during the wet season and con-
stitutes a favorable area for trees
growing

‘uleef: the cover of Acacia seeds that
constitute a good fodder for sheep
and goats during the dry season

wadi: khuur

Wali: a state governor

zakat: is an Islamic system of wealth
redistribution that obliges the rich
people to devote a fixed amount
of their wealth to be redistributed
among the needy people

zariiba: a thorn bush enclosure used to
keep animals

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TEXT AND FILM SOURCES

FIELD NOTES 2009

Damazin: FN20090818Damazin.doc

- Waypoint 455 (p. 12): Film not yet digitalised, Mbororo Cattle filmed by G. Schlee
- Waypoint 456 (p. 12): Film not yet digitalised, Mbororo Camp and Ingessana village filmed by G. Schlee

Tarro And Sireu: FN20090821TarroAndSireu.doc

- Waypoint 468 (p. 24): Film not yet digitalised, film sequence of the donkey with medicine against ticks filmed by G. Schlee
- Waypoint 470 (p. 25): Film not yet digitalised, film sequence of the borehole filmed by G. Schlee
- Waypoint 472 (p. 26): Film not yet digitalised, Camels in sorghum field + *tabar* –Ibimoya Kurdufana filmed by G. Schlee
- Waypoint 475 (p. 27): Digitalised film 4767, Mazmum, zoom out from Minaret, and hill in the background filmed by G. Schlee
- Waypoint 477 (p. 27): Digitalised film 4767, Al-Mijaawir village, film from half up the hill Jabal Al-Mijaawir filmed by G. Schlee
- Waypoint 478 (p. 27): Digitalised film 4767, girls picking *mulukhiyya*, mountain panorama, and herders on donkeys filmed by G. Schlee
- Waypoint 481 (p. 29): Digitalised film 4767, smallstock in Eastern Buuzi Forest, film of smallstock on fallow, and formerly cultivated land inside the ‘forest’ filmed by G. Schlee
- Waypoint 483 (p. 29): Digitalised film 4767, near Sahba, film sequence starting with pied crows filmed by G. Schlee
- Waypoint 486 (p. 30): Digitalised film 4767, film, among other things, of a calf in a saddle filmed by G. Schlee
- Waypoint 487 (p. 30): Film not yet digitalised, near Tuuzi, Kawaahla cattle filmed by G. Schlee
- Waypoint 491 (p. 33): Film not yet digitalised, there is a video sequence about the cheesemaker by the roadside filmed by G. Schlee

Abu-Hujaar Ajuula: FN20091115AbuHujaarAjuula.doc

- Waypoint 495-96 (p. 39): Film not yet digitalised, Ajuula, film sequence of the village from less than half way up the hill to the west of it filmed by G. Schlee
- Waypoint 499 (p. 40): Film not yet digitalised, video of the *hafir* which has dried up 20 days ago filmed by Elhadi

Abu-Hujaar West: FN20091116AbuHujaarWest.doc

- Waypoint 500 (p. 44): Film not yet digitalised, film sequence about dried up *hafir* + Karro + small, plastic lined *hafir* filmed by G. Schlee

East Of Sinja: FN20091119EastOfSinja.doc

Waypoint 507 (p. 53): Film not yet digitalised, video of the conversation with the sheikh of the Awlaad At-Toom As-Saafi + video of the canal + video of interview filmed by G. Schlee

Damazin Khartoum: FN20091129DamazinKhartoum.doc

Waypoint 512 (p. 72): Film not yet digitalised, film sequence of the sunflower field filmed by G. Schlee

Waypoint 514 (p. 74): Digitalised film 4768, film sequence of the sunflower field filmed by G. Schlee

Waypoint 514 (p. 74): Film not yet digitalised, *modibbo* writing Qur'anic texts on a *lawha* + film sequence of an interview held by Elhadi and 'Abdul Latiif filmed by G. Schlee

Waypoint 516 (p. 79): Digitalised film 4768, Ufut village, film sequence of the market, bicycle repair, and cutting of a rubber belt filmed by G. Schlee

FIELD NOTES 2010

Dinder: FN20100121Dinder.doc

Waypoint 531 (p. 97): Film not yet digitalised, video sequence with different kinds of vegetables, snake cucumbers, water melons, a boy with a boomerang (for scaring birds), and a fence made of thorn bush branches filmed by G. Schlee

Waypoint 535 (p. 99): Film not yet digitalised, watering place filmed by G. Schlee

Waypoint 536 (p. 105): Film not yet digitalised, location of Woyla who were not sure weather they can stay or not filmed by G. Schlee

Waypoint 537 (p. 106): Film not yet digitalised, water pool in the bed of the Dinder river, video sequence of a herd of red sheep and unruly donkeys filmed by G. Schlee

Waypoint 543 (p. 109): Film not yet digitalised, watering point, video shots from the high bank filmed by G. Schlee

