



SOS Sahel



**RETURN TO THE ROOTS?
MIGRATION, LOCAL INSTITUTIONS
AND DEVELOPMENT IN SUDAN**

DAVID PRATTEN

1996

© SOS Sahel International (UK) and Al Fanar Centre for Development Services, 1996.

Extracts may be freely reproduced with acknowledgement.

This study is based on the research project 'Rural-urban linkages: the role of migrant associations in Sudanese development,' funded by The Ford Foundation (grant number 930-1239). It forms part of a series of studies assessing migration, local institutions and development in the Sahelian region which also includes research conducted in Mali and Ethiopia.

SOS Sahel is an association of African and European voluntary agencies founded in 1976 in Dakar. SOS Sahel (UK) works with rural people across the Sahelian zone of sub-Saharan Africa supporting community actions and initiatives that focus on the management and conservation of natural resources and on increasing small-scale food production. Parallel with project work is an applied research programme, which has explored three main areas: improving community participation in project planning and evaluation; the environmental consequences of migration, and links between rural and urban communities. SOS Sahel International (UK) is a registered charity, no. 296311.

Al Fanar Centre for Development Services, formed in Khartoum in 1993, is an independent research and consultancy group. Al Fanar specialises in providing training and evaluation for national and international agencies in Sudan. In addition to numerous technical contributions, Al Fanar members and associates have conducted studies on the non-governmental sector in Sudan, on harmful traditional practices, and on post-conflict trauma among children.

For further information contact:

SOS Sahel International (UK)
1 Tolpuddle Street
London N1 0XT
Tel: (+ 44 171) 837 9129
Fax: (+ 44 171) 837 0856
Email: sossaheluk@gn.apc.org

Al Fanar Centre for Development Services
PO Box 44177
Khartoum, Sudan
Tel: (+ 249) 11 772813

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS | 4 |
| GLOSSARY | 5 |
| FIGURES | 6 |
| 1. INTRODUCTION | 7 |
| Migration and Urbanisation | 11 |
| Local Institutions in Sudan | 17 |
| Civil Society and the State | 25 |
| 2. NORTHERN SUDAN | 29 |
| Northern State | 31 |
| Nubian Associations | 40 |
| River Nile State | 43 |
| 3. EASTERN SUDAN | 48 |
| Arba'at and Port Sudan | 48 |
| Beja Associations in Port Sudan | 50 |
| 4. WESTERN SUDAN | 54 |
| Northern Kordofan state | 54 |
| The Nuba Mountains | 62 |
| 5. CONCLUSION | 65 |
| REFERENCES | 70 |
| ANNEX 1 | 75 |
| Profiles of Additional Migrant Associations in Sudan | 75 |
| ANNEX 2 | 78 |
| SOS Sahel Project Sites | 78 |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

With the flooding of the Nile in 1988, community groups in Northern Sudan appealed to international development agencies for emergency assistance. Several such organisations, previously unknown to SOS Sahel, approached the agency's director and secured shelter and medical supplies for their rural relatives. It was largely as a result of similar encounters that urban-based associations representing their home communities were recognised as significant alternative channels for relief and development. I would therefore like to thank Nigel Cross for pursuing the enquiries which led to this research project and for the support he provided throughout it.

This study is the culmination of three years of co-operation between SOS Sahel International UK and Al Fanar Centre for Development Services. Al Fanar was responsible for assisting in the design of the project, and in undertaking the fieldwork. My particular thanks to Suliman Ali Baldo and all of the Al Fanar team, which included Tawhida Osman Hadra, Abdel Basit Mirghani, Ahmed Malick Abu Sin, Sarra Akrat, Rabab Mohamed Ali Baldo and Hag Musa Kuku, for their commitment to the research under difficult circumstances. Thanks also to Mohamed El Hadi Abu Sin and Yusuf Fadl Hassan at the University of Khartoum.

During the course of the research we have incurred an enormous debt of gratitude to countless people who have participated in interviews and discussions, and who have welcomed us into their homes and clubs. I would also like to extend our thanks to SOS Sahel staff at the projects and in Khartoum for their hospitality and logistical support. In London, I would like to thank all of my colleagues at SOS Sahel for their help, and in particular Duncan Fulton for his encouragement. Finally, thanks to my wife, Emma Hawksworth, for her unending patience and invaluable help.

David T. Pratten
London, April 1996

GLOSSARY

| | |
|----------------|---|
| <i>Abna</i> | sons; |
| <i>Agab</i> | literally 'the root' - the person who stays behind to care for the family and the land while other household members migrate; |
| <i>Azaba</i> | hostel; |
| <i>Balula</i> | household; |
| <i>Damira</i> | flood time (July to September); |
| <i>Deim</i> | urban neighbourhood or district; |
| <i>Dura</i> | sorghum; |
| <i>Gafir</i> | guard or boss; |
| <i>Goz</i> | sandy soil; |
| <i>Hadam</i> | river bank erosion; |
| <i>Hafir</i> | reservoir; |
| <i>Hawasha</i> | tenancy; |
| <i>Jerif</i> | fertile land on the river bank; |
| <i>Khaima</i> | tent used to celebrate social occasions; |
| <i>Khalwa</i> | institution of Koranic education; |
| <i>Khor</i> | seasonal water course; |
| <i>Nafir</i> | communal work group; |
| <i>Nazara</i> | administrative unit based on several <i>omodiya</i> ; |
| <i>Omodiya</i> | administrative unit based on several sheikhdoms; |
| <i>Rabita</i> | self-help association; |
| <i>Sagia</i> | irrigation pump and land-holding; |
| <i>Sandoug</i> | rotating savings and credit association; |
| <i>Zakat</i> | <i>Islamic tax</i> ; |
| <i>Zawiya</i> | Sufi lodge. |

Measures

| | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Feddan</i> | 0.42 hectares |
| <i>Mukhama</i> | 1.78 <i>Feddans</i> (0.75 hectares) |

Currency

The Sudanese pound is gradually being replaced by a new currency, the *dinar*, at a rate of Ls.10:SD1. The *piastre*, exchanged at Ls. 1:Pt. 100, has been phased out completely. Floating exchange rates were introduced in 1993. At the time of writing: Ls. 525:US\$ 1 and Ls. 840:sterling £1.

FIGURES

| | |
|---|----|
| Map 1.1 The Republic of Sudan | 10 |
| Figure 1.1 Net Internal Migration Rates for 1956, 1973 and 1983 by Region. | 11 |
| Table 1.1 Population of major urban centres (1956,1973 and 1983). | 15 |
| Map1.2 The Republic of Sudan showing post-1992 state boundaries | 28 |
| Table 2.1 Village populations and area of available agricultural land | 31 |
| Map 2.1 Detail of Northern State showing Ed Debba, Karima and Merowe | 32 |
| Table 2.2 Occupations of migrants on arrival in urban centres | 32 |
| Figure 2.2 Household ranking of the uses of remittances | 33 |
| Map 2.2 Sketch map of villages in Rural Karima Council | 34 |
| Map 2.3 Shendi and surrounding villages | 43 |
| Map 3.1 North-eastern Sudan | 48 |
| Map 4.1 El Obeid and surrounding districts | 55 |
| Table 4.1 Incidence of migration by married men and the ratio of seasonal to long-term married migrants | 57 |
| Table 4.2 A historical profile of livestock ownership in Bint Joda | 59 |

1. INTRODUCTION

The message of *Al-Awda Ila al-Gezour*, 'returning to the roots' broadcast in the official discourse of the Sudanese state, captures a range of policies and designs. Islamic revivalism, widespread urban displacement, dependence on agricultural imports and international isolation are features of contemporary Sudan which lend considerable weight to the current slogan. 'Returning to the roots' implies a return to traditions in religious and social life, a return to national self-sufficiency, and evokes a nostalgic image of rural family-based production. In many respects, 'return to the roots' represents a key weapon in the government's 'war of visions' with both the rebels in the ongoing civil war and with the international community.¹

Yet 'returning to the roots' is a popular and traditional concept associated with the principles of household co-operation and rural-urban linkages common to Sudan as elsewhere in the Sahelian region. It is based on the primacy of birthplace, family, and community. It relates to seasonal workers returning home for the harvest and religious festivals, and to migrants sending home goods and wages. Those who remain in the village are called the *agab*, literally 'the roots'. Those who migrate form clubs, associations and unions which preserve community identities and organise collective responses to rural emergencies and local development needs. Despite Sudan's ethnic and religious diversity, these organisations, formed by migrant communities in urban centres, are a common and significant feature of social and economic life.

Since independence in 1956, Sudan has enjoyed only eleven years of peace; the current war between primarily southern-based rebel forces and the northern-based government began in 1983. Furthermore, in recent decades successive droughts and food shortages have dashed the country's ambitions to become Africa's breadbasket economy. Agricultural productivity, state capacity and international investment are in unremitting decline, while inflation and population, particularly in urban centres, increase rapidly. Until the mid-1970s, relative economic stability in Sudan was derived from the production of cotton and groundnuts and the livestock trade. By the 1980s the remitted earnings of expatriates working in the Gulf states represented the main source of capital accumulation. Conditions in Sudan are therefore characterised by political and economic insecurity.

This study assesses community responses to insecurity. Since the 1984-85 famine in Sudan, it has become ever more important to assess the ongoing effects of these deteriorating conditions on local livelihoods, and to understand the strategies through which households and communities are able to respond. This research focuses on two coping mechanisms, migration and community-managed development initiatives.

Migration is a significant community response to political and economic insecurity. Often referred to as forced migration or displacement, it enables families to reduce pressure on household food supplies, to supplement incomes, and to escape conflict. Throughout the Sudano-Sahelian zone, however, labour mobility or voluntary migration is a dominant livelihood strategy. Labour migration is a historically related and culturally organised process through which communities respond to ecological and commercial opportunities. The scale of inter-regional migration in Sudan is indicated by the fact that in the 1983 census, 1.3 million Sudanese had changed residence since birth, which compares with 0.7 million in 1973 and 0.4 million in 1956. While rural-rural trajectories have been important in the history of labour migration in Sudan, the most significant current flow is from rural communities to towns and cities.

Rural-urban migration, however, does not represent a definitive exit or a severance of relations with communities of origin. In contrast with traditional sociological approaches which proposed a rural-urban dichotomy in which the solidarities of rural society are eroded

¹ See Deng (1995).

by the specialisation of urban labour, it is evident that the urban and rural poor have devised interactive coping strategies which include the intensification of rural-urban linkages. Indeed, analysts of the contraction in the rural-urban income gap in Africa's economies since the 1970s suggest that, 'It was never correct to divide African labour markets into neat categories - rural/urban, formal/informal. Most workers have always straddled both the rural and urban sector ("circulatory migration") and the formal and informal sector ("moonlighting")' (Jamal and Weeks, 1988: 289).

The extent of rural-urban interaction is dependent on the nature of the migration process, on gender and on socio-economic status, and on the development of social networks and forms of organisation. Households draw on extra-domestic kinship for access to resources, and organise support according to culturally specific rubrics in both rural and urban environments. Migrants maintain connections not only with family at home, but also with the community as a whole by participating in organisations which support them in their transition to urban life, and channel resources, through fund-raising and lobbying, to their home community. Indeed, by sharing a community of birth and retaining familial and economic links to it, the migrant community retains varying degrees of authority in local decision-making and in representing rural interests.

In the context of international donor priorities and the economic situation in Sudan, the role of community-based organisations like migrant associations has assumed a particular contemporary relevance. Indigenous or introduced, institutions which aggregate demands and capacities at the community level operate at a significant interface in the development process. Local institutions are mediators between the state and society, and between development agencies and the household. Their assumed operational characteristics of flexibility, innovation, cost-effectiveness and participatory approach have led many commentators to argue that legitimate local institutions are a vital component in sustainable development projects. Indeed, this represents a point of convergence between the views of agrarian populism which presents local participation as an instrument of empowerment, and the free-market approach which calls for the privatisation of development interventions.

In Sudan, retrenchment in government services, investment and employment has meant that communities are forced to fall back on self-help initiatives. Throughout the country, hospitals, clinics and schools have been constructed and are maintained by community-based organisations. They sponsor drinking water projects and agricultural irrigation schemes, and are the first to respond in emergencies. Migrant communities and organisations, as the nexus of a range of local institutions, play a crucial investment and management role in the provision of public services and social infrastructure. The importance of these initiatives is not lost on the government which has, in recent years, adopted the vocabulary and some of the institutions of community self-help in its own development programmes. 'Return to the roots' is one such appropriation. In practical terms, as both migrant associations and the state negotiate declining funding opportunities, 'returning to the roots' is an increasingly common idiom of development, though one which is subject to a variety of interpretations.

This study provides a comparative analysis of migration and local institutions in Sudan. It presents, in the form of extended case studies, the context of regional migratory strategies and highlights the scope of rural development initiatives supported by migrant communities. The research is based on fieldwork conducted between August 1993 and July 1995 with migrant groups representing over 25 communities in Sudan. The main case studies, however, focus on four rural areas. Two sites in northern Sudan (Ed Debba and Shendi) were chosen, along with the Red Sea Hills in the east, and North Kordofan in the west. Each of these rural areas is the location of an environmental protection project run by SOS Sahel (see Annex 2, p.78). The main urban destination studied was Khartoum, though research was also conducted in Port Sudan and Wad Medani. Material on the associations formed by groups from the Nuba Mountains is included in the chapter on Western Sudan although this fieldwork was conducted exclusively in Port Sudan. Profiles of associations representing various other communities involved in the research and subsequent workshop are included in Annex 1 (p.75).

The case studies highlight the contrasts between three geographically and culturally specific situations. Firstly, examples from northern Sudan demonstrate well-established rural-urban migratory routes and social networks. Young, male, and often educated, northerners in 1965 provided 40 per cent of the migrant population in the capital (Miller, 1992: 17) and form a high proportion of expatriates working in the Gulf states. As a result, northern groups represent the backbone of the national bourgeoisie and are well positioned in political and economic structures. Indeed, as Lobban suggests, 'Although there is a multi-ethnic component in the bourgeois class, it is composed primarily of those riverine Arab groups that have long been close to the centres of power' (1982: 77), including the Nubians, Bederiya, Ja'aliyin and Shaigiya. These factors have contributed to the capacities of community-based organisations from the north to engage in effective dialogue with the state, and to design and implement local development programmes.

Secondly, cases from the east of Sudan, among Beja communities, illustrate a highly localised system of rural-urban exchange. The Beja are a minority group within Sudan, like communities from the Nuba Mountains and the Shilluk from the Upper Nile also included in this study, and their institutions are engaged in various strategies to secure representation, to preserve their identity and to enhance their share of amenities.

And thirdly, studies conducted in western Sudan demonstrate significant shifts in local migration strategies and limited rural-urban interaction. Finding marginal occupations in both rural and urban settings, western Sudanese often live in unplanned settlements and have had little access to positions of political and economic power because, as one observer notes, '... they belonged to groups which, for historical reasons, were not involved in a long urban process (as Nubians and Riverine Arabs were) and had not built economic and social networks throughout the country' (Zahir, 1972: 55). Consequently community associations from North Kordofan do not operate elaborate organisational structures, but attempt to respond to community needs through traditionally appropriate processes.

The case studies therefore illustrate local variations in a changing national landscape of rural-urban and state-society relations. The context of these regional cases is further elaborated in the following overview of dominant migration trends within Sudan during this century and an outline of the role of community-based organisations.

Map 1.1 The Republic of Sudan



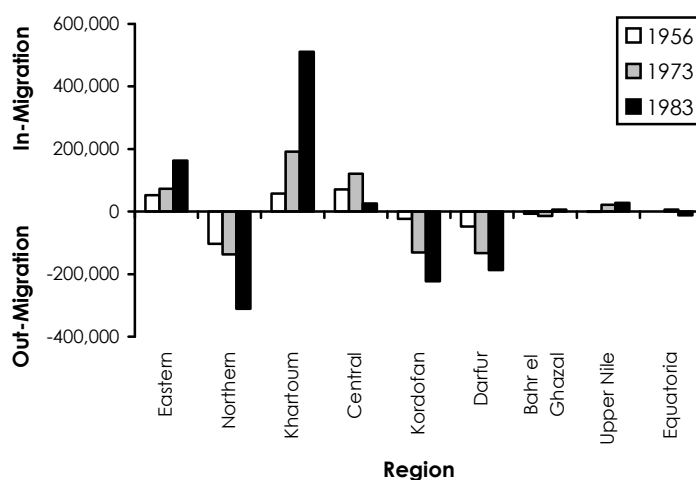
This map does not show the revised state boundaries introduced as part of a package of decentralisation measures in 1992 (see Map 1.2, p.28).

MIGRATION AND URBANISATION

Internal Migration

The key feature of current labour markets in Sudan is the striking geographical mobility of workers both within the country and abroad. The complexity of migration flows within Sudan supports Fallon's view that, '... no single model can adequately describe the detailed functioning of rural labour markets' (1994: 213). The formation of the wage labour force in Sudan during this century, however, has been dominated by two major trajectories, migration from the west to the agricultural schemes in the Central and Eastern regions, and from the north to the construction industry in the Khartoum conurbation.

Figure 1.1 Net Internal Migration Rates for 1956, 1973 and 1983 by Region.



(Adapted from The Republic of Sudan, 1989: 1.40)

These historical patterns of internal migration are illustrated in Figure 1.1. Khartoum's exponential growth has been generated by consistently high levels of in-migration from the former Northern Region where the narrow Nile farm lands are unable to support more than marginal population increases. The 1983 census indicates that, of the migrant population in Khartoum, 27 per cent came from the Northern Region. However, the rapid growth in recent years of unauthorised settlements, such as Um Badda, west of Omdurman, generated by migrations from communities in the south and west, is a clear indication that Northern Kordofan and the Nuba Mountains have replaced the north as the main source of new migrants. Indeed, rural-urban migration to the capital from western states appears an increasingly typical pattern when compared to seasonal migration to the agricultural schemes in the former Eastern and Central Regions which were traditionally well-established routes.

Migration and the agricultural schemes

During the first decades of British colonial rule after 1898, the threat of Mahdist resistance made internal labour migration a strategically sensitive issue which was subject to strict control. Policies introduced in 1909, and subsequently reinforced in 1922 and 1932, facilitated the entry of Egyptians to work in the colonial administration and established Closed Districts in the south.² This legislation attempted systematically to establish oppositions between

² The Proclamation Relating to Permits to Enter the Sudan and Closed Districts was issued in 1909. This was reinforced in 1922 by the Passports and Permits Ordinance, and again in 1932 by the Closed Districts Ordinance. The later legislation, indeed, was sparked by fears of north-south unity following

northern and southern Sudanese and between the Sudanese and Egyptians, which were designed to prevent the formation of a unified political opposition.

Faced with labour shortages in an expanding colonial and plantation economy, coupled with this fear of further nationalist resistance, the government sought to conserve rural domestic agricultural production rather than forming a landless proletariat. Until about 1910, as El-Shazali states, '... the self-sufficiency of the domestic producers was not yet broken ... However, by the turn of the second decade of colonial rule, the process of incorporating domestic production into the circuit of capital was well under way' (1988a: 189).

The expansion of the agricultural wage labour force is therefore a relatively recent phenomenon and is directly linked to the organisation of agrarian relations promoted by the colonial regime on the irrigated and rainfed agricultural schemes in the central regions. The irrigated Gezira scheme, opened in 1925 and operated by a British corporation, the Sudan Plantations Syndicate, was based on a system of family tenancies. Family labour proved insufficient, however, to cope with peak season demands for weeding and harvesting. British policies therefore promoted a seasonal labour market that facilitated the maintenance of peasant and pastoralist productive systems. Labour migration to the schemes was stimulated by cash needs which were introduced through familiar colonial devices including cash taxation (re-scheduled to the beginning of the cotton-picking season in 1943), a ban on independent cotton cultivation thereby undermining handicraft trade, and aggressive marketing of key consumption goods (particularly tea, coffee and sugar).

With the growth of production in Gezira, which had expanded to 200,000 *feddans* by the 1930s, and the development of pump-irrigated private estates, which put Sudan second only to Egypt in the supply of long staple cotton to the Lancashire mills, the need to secure the supply of seasonal wage labour became ever more acute. The settlement of large numbers of Hausa and Fulani immigrants (*Takari*, or *Fellata* to the Sudanese) in Maiurno near the scheme provided a permanent pool of cheap labour.³ However, the nationalisation of the Gezira Scheme in 1956, and the corresponding growth of the seasonal labour force, led to the introduction of highly elaborate recruitment systems. In order to keep wage rates stable, tenant committee representatives recruited cotton-picking labour from regions such as the Jawaama dominated areas of central Kordofan. Here, sheikhs, or 'sheikhs of migrants', guaranteed set numbers of labourers who were paid *Mal-al-diayia* (recruitment money) and were provided with transportation to the schemes in return (O'Brien, 1988: 142; Abdelkarim, 1985: 51).

For many communities, migration to the schemes became a regular part of the seasonal calendar, while for others it was induced by crop failure, low livestock prices or exceptional expenses such as marriage. This recruitment system therefore led to different patterns of community incorporation into the wage labour economy and resulted in a, '... highly segmented labour force structured on a basis that was expressed in terms of ethnic identities' (O'Brien, 1986: 900). From 1975 to the present, however, rising wage rates have led to the collapse of the recruitment system and its ethnic segmentation. Faced with higher wage bills and transport costs, employers cut back on the long-distance recruitment effort in favour of hiring labour in regional market towns, and by 1978 several large irrigated schemes, including Gezira, had suspended cotton-picking labour recruitment. Nevertheless, between 1.5 and 2 million seasonal labourers work in weeding or harvesting operations in state and private plantations annually, 300,000 of whom pick cotton on the Gezira scheme (O'Brien, 1988: 137).

the nationalist uprising in 1924 which, to an extent, was based on alliances in the armed forces which crossed these boundaries (see Lobban, 1982: 72-74).

³ ³ Mai Wurno, son of the Sokoto caliph, established Fulani settlements on the Blue Nile, Dinder and Rahad rivers. Proposals for a *Dar* or homeland for Mai Wurno were initiated in 1930 to promote rural autocracy under Native Administration but also, as the Governor-General observes, to, '... have an assured and not inconsiderable source of labour so badly needed in the Gezira Scheme, where I believe the Fellata are the most valued labour of all' (Central Records Office, Khartoum, 66/8/57 4.2.30, quoted in Duffield 1979: 301; see also Duffield, 1981).

The ageing of the agricultural schemes, however, has given rise to fewer opportunities for seasonal and especially permanent migrant labour over the past 20 years. A related feature is the increased out-migration to Khartoum of the younger generation from the agricultural scheme areas. Indeed, increased mechanisation, depressed wages and declining domestic agricultural production have meant that '... previous patterns of seasonal labour migration have become difficult, if not impossible to continue' (El-Shazali, 1992: 123). The most attractive alternative income-generating opportunity is migration to urban areas, often leading to emigration to the oil-rich Arab countries.

Migration to Khartoum

Most towns in Sudan are heavily concentrated along the narrow ribbon of the Nile or are located along the east-west railway axis traversing the ecologically fragile savannah belt. Khartoum, which became the capital in 1830 during the Turkish era, lies at the confluence of the White and Blue Niles and, together with Khartoum North and Omdurman, forms an urban conurbation of the 'Three Towns'. Migration to Greater Khartoum and the formation of an urban wage labour market have been closely linked to the construction industry. By 1900, over 5,000 wage labourers were reported to be employed in the building sector. The first unskilled wage labourers in Khartoum were former slaves, dispossessed northern Sudanese and West Africans. Labour supply during the colonial period in Greater Khartoum, however, was characterised by oscillations between shortage and surplus (El-Shazali, 1988a, b).

Until the early 1910s the supply of labour to Khartoum failed to meet demand. The shortage of labour in Khartoum was particularly acute during periods of cultivation and there was constant circulation of labour between the capital and the agricultural areas of Gezira and the Tokar and Gash deltas. Indeed, wage differentials between construction and agriculture meant that there was little incentive for workers to settle in the capital. In 1913, for example, the daily wage in Khartoum averaged 3-5 *piastres* but was as high as 13 *piastres* in the Tokar cotton fields (Galal Al-Din, 1980: 428).

The effects on rural out-migration of rising wages and monetisation through taxation, however, were soon manifest and the labour market in Khartoum was saturated when construction of the Jebel Aulia Dam first began in 1920. Indeed, stoppages on the project and the depression of cotton prices during the 1930s led to Khartoum's first mass unemployment. Despite a brief respite during the war years, the 1946 floods led to an exodus from Northern Province and Greater Khartoum which exacerbated the unemployment problem. The Second World War, however, was an important watershed in the history of migration to the Three Towns. During the post-war boom, an unprecedented expansion in the building industry, especially the construction of new *deims* in 1949 and 1950 and government investment in the industrial sector in Khartoum North from the early 1960s onwards, led to a reversal of the wage differential between agriculture and construction which, combined with greater levels of education, dramatically fuelled urban-wards migration.

At Independence in 1956, Khartoum attracted a net inflow of 58,000 migrants. The growth of the capital since then is indicated by the fact that the proportion of the population living in Khartoum has grown from 4.9 per cent in 1956, to 8.7 per cent in 1983 and to 14.4 per cent in 1990. Indeed, an interim census of Greater Khartoum conducted in 1990 showed that the total population of the area had expanded to 3.6 million and that the average annual growth rate had leaped from 8 per cent between 1956 and 1983 to 16 per cent between 1983 and 1990 (Davies, 1991: 132). Khartoum, however, is not alone in its rapid development. According to current estimates, between 20 and 25 per cent of Sudan's population live in urban areas, a total of approximately 5.5 million people (Hassan, 1994: 131). The growth of the most populous cities in Sudan is indicated in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Population of major urban centres (1956,1973 and 1983).

| | 1956 | 1973 | 1983 |
|-------------------------|----------------|------------------|------------------|
| Urban Sudan | 885,000 | 2,606,000 | 4,166,137 |
| Greater Khartoum | 260,599 | 784,294 | 1,343,567 |
| Port Sudan | 54,676 | 132,632 | 212,741 |
| El Obeid | 53,932 | 90,073 | 139,446 |
| Wad Medani | 50,171 | 106,715 | 141,065 |
| Kassala | 39,784 | 99,652 | 142,909 |
| Atbara | 36,536 | 66,116 | 73,009 |
| Wau | 19,864 | 52,750 | 58,008 |
| Nyala | 13,982 | 59,583 | 113,623 |
| Juba | 11,352 | 56,737 | 85,168 |

(Adapted from Hassan, 1994: 131)

International Migration

A central feature of the Sudanese economy is the large number of its citizens working abroad, most notably in the Gulf states. This pattern of labour migration is closely linked to the oil price boom of 1973-74. The boom increased the demand for labour in the oil-exporting countries of the Gulf, and at the same time led labour sending countries to compensate for the crippling rise in the cost of oil imports by encouraging their citizens to work abroad and invest their earnings at home.

Saudi Arabia is the highest recipient country of Sudanese emigrants, taking about two-thirds of the total, while Libya, Iraq, and the United Arab Emirates are the chief alternatives. Saudi Arabia and Libya have suffered acute shortages of skilled labour because of the sparsely distributed Bedouin populations and extremely low participation rates of women in economic activities. Many potential Sudanese emigrants take the opportunity to cross the Red Sea to Saudi Arabia on the annual pilgrimage to Mecca and to stay on for work. The process of finding employment in the Gulf states is facilitated through the *kafeel* system by which local sponsors have been allowed to 'import' workers for their businesses in return for upholding the labour regulations (Owen, 1985: 8).

Calculations of the exact size of the Sudanese expatriate labour force are problematic as only a small proportion leave the country through legal channels, as few as 22 per cent according to one 1978 estimate (Galal Al-Din, 1988: 294). The number of Sudanese currently working abroad is variously estimated to be between 334,000 and 457,000 (Fallon, 1994: 215). These figures represent between 5 and 8 percent of the total labour force in Sudan, but more significantly since emigrants are largely drawn from skilled occupations they therefore constitute a proportionately greater drain on the country's human resources. In 1978, for example, it was estimated that emigrants included, 17 per cent of all doctors and dentists, 30 per cent of all engineers, 45 per cent of surveyors and 20 per cent of university teaching staff (Ricca, 1989).

Sudanese workers remit a large proportion of their earnings though accurate remittance figures are similarly elusive. Money sent through commercial banks and official channels is thought to be no more than 24 per cent of total remittances (Galal Al-Din 1988: 304). Nevertheless, in 1983 Choucri found, for example, that skilled workers abroad earned an average of US Dollars 19,300 per year, of which US Dollars 11,307 was remitted to the Sudan (1985 in Fallon, 1994: 216). A recent ILO study calculates that in total international remittances into Sudan amounted to US Dollars 297 million (Stalker, 1995: 123). This is equivalent to 2.5 per cent of Sudan's GDP and 54.7 per cent of the country's exports. This high level of cash remittances is identified as a significant cause of inflationary pressures within Sudan.

Following the 1990-91 Gulf crisis and Sudan's vocal support for Saddam Hussein, it is estimated that up to 200,000 Sudanese expatriate workers were expelled from the Gulf. The situation

has been compounded more recently by expulsions of up to 300,000 from Libya in November 1995 (Sudan News and Views, November 1995). Although it is anticipated that the demand for foreign labour will decrease in the near future due to the decline in oil prices and the completion of development projects which utilise immigrant labour, the rebuilding of Kuwait and Iraq after the Gulf conflict may offset this tendency.

LOCAL INSTITUTIONS IN SUDAN

Households and communities in Sudan negotiate both crisis and routine through a broad range of active local institutions. These social structures illustrate the various ways in which communities organise and manage scarce resources according to local knowledge and culturally specific practices. To employ definitions which distinguish 'social' from 'economic' institutions would therefore ignore the combination of functions and factors which make local groups dynamic, popular and significant features of rural and urban livelihoods. The strength of these support mechanisms is identified as an important factor in ensuring household and community level social security, as '... their weakening or disappearance increases household vulnerability and threatens the future of communities' (Pyle and Gabbar, 1989: 7).

The regional case studies focus primarily on the role of migrant associations, but also highlight the roles of a broad range of local institutional processes with which they interact. Indeed, to categorise migrant associations as a particular type of institution with the rational, bureaucratic and legal framework that this implies can be misleading. Instead, emphasis should be placed on how issues are arranged and how activities are managed between people and groups (see Nuijten, 1992). This analysis of the processes rather than the structures of local institutional development reveals that the dynamics of migrant association operations in Sudan draw on a range of other, often traditional, community practices.

Despite Sudan's ethnic and ecological diversity it is possible to identify a broad range of *al-jam'iyyat al-khayriyya*, or mutual-aid associations. In addition to migrant associations these include communal labour groups, rotating savings and credit associations, various forms of endowment and donation, student associations and co-operatives.

Since the early 1970s, however, the local institutional landscape in Sudan has been dominated by state managed community structures. The People's Local Government Act of 1971, for example, introduced a framework for popular participation through the creation of village councils, rural development committees, youth groups and women's unions. Reforms implemented by the Revolution Command Council for National Salvation since 1989 reflect this structure. The current network of administrative organisations includes Popular Committees and a range of para-statal groups with branches at the community level. The interconnections that exist between these state sponsored organisations and non-governmental groups, in terms of membership, decision-making and activities, however, suggests that the relationship between state and civil society in contemporary Sudan is also complex.

Migrant Associations

The term migrant association is used here to refer to a form of community-based organisation established by urban migrant groups who share a common rural identity, provide welfare support to members in the city and channel resources to a rural home. In Sudan such groups are known as *rabitat* ('the tie that binds us together') or simply as the *abna* (sons) of a particular community. Elsewhere in Africa the associations are known as home town improvement unions (Nigeria) or *associations d'originaires* (Francophone West Africa).

The formation of migrant associations in sub-Saharan Africa dates back to the 1920s. Since that time opinions have been divided on the roles they have played and the interests they have served. Indeed, the position of migrant associations in Africa's social, political and economic development has been subject to an array of contrasting and apparently contradictory interpretations. These groups have been described as both welfare systems for poor migrants and vehicles for a politically ambitious élite. They capture the youth's dynamism and yet institutionalise the position of traditional hierarchies. They represent a model of innovative community-managed development but invest in conspicuous social infrastructure. They are participatory and accountable institutions but neglect women and

are subject to individualism, clientelism and inter-community competition. They are structures of ethnic particularism but also pluralising agents within civil society.

Migrant associations are often claimed to represent the transfer of rural institutions to recreate and reinforce traditional identities and systems in the urban milieu. Indeed, it has been argued that these types of social organisation are associated with ethnic groups based on segmentary lineage structures such as the Igbo in Nigeria, the Luo and Luhya in Kenya, and the Gurage in Ethiopia, and that they compensate for the absence of specialised authority roles (Parkin 1966; Southall 1975; Fecadu 1970). This substitution of roles is identified in the lineage functions, such as burial, which migrant associations perform.

At the same time, however, as we are reminded, '... people do not come to town merely to reconstruct village institutions' (Meillassoux, 1968: 75). While these cultural forms are persistent, they assume new meanings and functions in the reorientation of rural identities to town life. Commentators have therefore highlighted the role of migrant associations as, '... the newly arrived migrants' response to urban conditions,' (Little, 1965: 24), and as adaptive institutions in which, '... migrants from egalitarian tribes adapt to the urban 'class' system by using traditional social units and arranging them in some hierarchy by formalising certain of their activities through associations' (Parkin, 1966: 92-93).

Representing migrant associations as either conservative or innovative adaptations to urban life, however, obscures the multiplicity of roles they perform. Indeed, it is precisely their fusion of seemingly contradictory strategies of social organisation, the '... creative cultural combinations of old and new' (Jules-Rosette, 1979: 20), which provides the dynamic for communities to negotiate urban life and rural development.

Associations in Sudan have developed from urban neighbourhoods called *zawiya* (literally 'corners' or centres for Koranic study) which are dominated by migrants from a shared community of origin. Among the Sufi brotherhoods in West Africa, Cruise O'Brien identifies the *zawiya* as a significant multi-purpose institution:

The most impressive institution in the world of sufism is perhaps the 'lodge' or *zawiya*. The lodge is sited at the tomb of a revered saint, and apart from pious pilgrimage, it exists for the task of sacred instruction. But the social purposes of the *zawiya* are wonderfully varied, a true functionalist utopia; an inn to accommodate the pious traveller, a school to instruct the faithful, a court to arbitrate differences sacred or profane, a market place and farm to provide for the material sustenance of believers, a miniature welfare state for the distribution of alms, as well as a church and a final resting place for the bones of the devout (1986: 74).

Zawiya in Sudan have often become sites for the construction of permanent clubhouses which are linked to community *khaima*, a tent in which weddings, funerals and *Moulid* (the day of the Prophet's birth) are celebrated. Today the clubhouses are not only centres for meetings, recreation, and folklore, but also provide migrants with accommodation. It is common for new arrivals to stay for a week in the clubhouse before moving into an *azaba*, a hostel for five to ten migrants from the same community who share the costs of food and rent.⁴ In contrast to migrant associations elsewhere in Africa, membership of contemporary groups in Sudan is not confined to the 'comparatively strong' (Barnes, 1975: 87), but is rather, for men at least, an inclusive process. Differential membership rates paid by members according to their economic status help to maintain group inclusiveness, as does the fact that only a small proportion of members pay their fees regularly.

The existence of a *rabita* is a clear indication of the degree of urbanisation among a particular community since urban association members are generally long-term or permanent migrants. The regional and ethnic distribution of associations in Sudan is therefore closely linked to the historical labour migration patterns outlined above. The plethora of

⁴ Among migrants from Kordofan and Darfur in the Um Badda settlement outside Omdurman, El-Kheir reported that, 'Single men live in *azaba* houses until they return home or bring their families to the city' (1991: 162). Such *azaba* resemble the bachelors' hostels (*foyers*) occupied by migrants from the Senegal River Valley working in Paris and other European cities (Quiminal 1991: 14).

associations representing communities from northern Sudan, for example, is closely linked to dominant rural-urban migration strategies and migrants' socio-economic status in the capital and other cities. In contrast, very few formal organisations represent southern groups for whom the services and roles provided by migrant associations are, among the Nuer for example, performed instead by 'work clusters' and 'accommodation cells' (Kameir, 1988: 112).

It is important at this point to outline the various community identities which link Sudanese migrant associations and their rural constituencies. Indeed, this is central to understanding the representativeness, and hence the legitimacy, of community-based organisations. Typologies and definitions employed in the literature on local institutional development, such as 'people's organisations' are de-contextualising. They often fail adequately to explain who local institutions represent, and in turn, as Uphoff's analysis indicates, '... mistakes in development assistance can derive from too gross an understanding of an apparently simple term' - 'local' (1986: 11).

Since 'ethnic associations' were banned in Sudan in 1969, as they were in Nigeria in 1966 and in Kenya in 1979, the number of contemporary organisations representing ethnic groups is small but significant. Among the following case studies overarching structures are found which represent the Beja, the Shilluk and the various ethnic groups of the Nuba Mountains. It is no coincidence that these are minority groups and that a central function of their associations is the preservation of cultural identities in the face of exclusion and displacement. In the past, associations also represented Nubian and Darfurian ethno-regional groupings.

For communities from the west, the village provides a dominant organising principle, while northern groups are represented on the basis of a combination of village and *omodiya*.⁵ The key feature of organisational identities, however, is their flexibility. Though migrant associations act as agents of cultural defence, the relationship between association and community is not simply conservative. Rather, community and association share an identity which is constantly reconfigured, and as Trager highlights in the context of rural-urban linkages in south-western Nigeria, '... as political and administrative units shift, the hometown identity may be extended or shifted to reflect new structural opportunities and constraints' (1994: 19). This point is illustrated in the cases of the Kanar Union and the recent development of associations at state level.

Indeed, migrant associations have featured prominently in studies of ethnic identity, political consciousness and urban adaptation in Sudan. Hale (1988) has observed, for example, that Nubian associations have acted as both political pressure groups and, in the context of the resettlement which followed the construction of the High Aswan Dam, as symbols of ethnic Nubian unity. Similarly, a lobbying campaign for relocation among the Zaghawa, an ethnic group from Darfur, was spearheaded by the Zaghawa Committee for Migration and Resettlement formed in 1972 in El Fasher (Adam and Abdul-Jalil, 1988). By 1985 Ruppert observed that associations from the Zaghawa, together with 37 other Darfurian groups, were incorporated into the 'Sons of Darfur'. This group combined the collection of donations for infrastructural and emergency projects with an active role in nominating Darfurian candidates to elections in the capital (1988: 76). Indeed, according to Zahir (1972), following the overthrow of the military regime in 1964, political forces, in particular the Umma Party, were active in influencing the formation of committees representing marginalised western settlers living in unplanned neighbourhoods around Khartoum.

In the current political environment the role played by associations in nominating candidates is limited, although the Beja Club provides a unique exception. Rather, in terms of securing political position, a common theme, particularly among minority groups, is to support education services, student places and to lobby for civil service positions for graduate 'sons'

⁵ The system of Native Administration, abandoned by Nimeiri in the 1970s and recently revived, is based on a hierarchy of *sheikh*, *omda* and *nazir/emir* each representing corresponding areas - village, *omodiya* and *nazara*.

and 'daughters'. Such a strategy is clearly evident among the various Nuba groups (Mohamed Salih, 1988: 85), and is illustrated in the cases of the Nuba Mountains' Association, the Beja Club and Sharaf-Taiga.

In general, however, limited attention has been given to the significant position of Sudanese migrant associations in locally managed community development activities. El-Fihail's study (1988) of rural-urban linkages among the Miri of the Nuba Mountains touches on the response of associations to the famine of 1984. Al-Shahi, in a study of Nuri (a village of the Shaigiya ethnic group) similarly notes that the flood crisis of 1988 led to the creation, by politicians, businessmen and academics, of the Nuri Sons' Association (1991: 325). The most recent assessment of the capacity of migrant associations to undertake development activities was conducted by Al Fanar (1992) as part of an inventory of the non-governmental sector in Sudan which highlighted the position of a number of regional groups and associations representing urban centres such as Ed Damar and Atbara.

This present study shows that Sudanese migrant associations are key intermediaries in public service delivery and in the provision of social infrastructure. They are central participants in a bargaining process for facilities and investment, and offer appropriate local project solutions which also combine popular participation and self-financing. The case studies illustrate a range of strategies and approaches to rural development, of engagement and disengagement with the state, which are highlighted in many sectors of development intervention: relief, education, primary health care, water supply and agriculture.

Responses to rural emergencies are highlighted, for example, in migrant association relief efforts in northern Sudan during the flood disasters of 1988 and 1994. In August 1988 the *El Siyasa* newspaper reported that, 'During the rains and flood disaster of 1988, the state apparatus stood like a mud-house in the middle of a sea of water and inertia' (quoted in El Battanhani, 1991: 198). Meanwhile, in the former Northern Region, migrant associations lobbied government ministries for supplies, rented trucks or planes, and transported medical personnel, drugs, food and shelter to their rural communities where committees were established to target and monitor distribution. Some of the worst affected villages in 1988 were in Rural Karima Council, and on the basis of early warnings for the floods of 1994, associations made announcements on national television and on Omdurman Radio, calling upon all 'sons' of the area to return home and help build flood defences. Indeed, it is significant that, unlike 1988, associations from the Rural Karima Council, co-ordinated their actions and formed a joint committee to collect damage and needs' assessment reports which were presented to relevant ministries.

Projects sponsored by migrant associations in the health sector demonstrate that though access to the state and its limited resources is problematic, local organisations are able to provide effective and sustainable services. The construction of a clinic in Al Maghawir, River Nile State, for example, was made possible through patronage while community contributions towards staff wages and medical supplies supplement state assistance for running costs. Similarly, the use of a mobile theatre company by the Tagadum Centre to convey information about a vaccination programme in the Red Sea Hills in 1985, illustrates the potentially innovative role of voluntary association initiatives.

Projects in the education sector demonstrate migrant association responses to opportunities afforded them by the state agenda. From the first colonial policies supporting *khalwas* in the 1930s and secular education in the 1940s, through to contemporary reforms to the 'education ladder' in 1970 and in 1992-93, migrant associations have responded by lobbying and fund-raising to maintain local education facilities to national standards. El-Tayeb's suggestion that investment has been made in 'self-help schools' at primary and intermediate levels during the 1970s at the expense of secondary and technical education, serves to illustrate the point (1991: 188). The sequence of efforts in the education field among the riverine groups, notably Kuri and Al Maghawir villages, clearly show how communities have reacted to programmes which sought to extend primary level schooling. Recent initiatives in Kaboushia, however, represent a shift to investment in higher education.

The provision of drinking water supplies is a common theme in migrant association activities throughout the country. Community responses are dependent on available resources and range from the construction of *hafirs* (traditional reservoirs) such as the one supported by the migrant community from Dwaikhil, to elaborate networks such as those found in Gilas and El Seyal Soghir. Indeed, the Dwaikhil example, in which plans for expensive boreholes proposed by government contractors were rejected in favour of immediate community action involving local and migrant labour, illustrates how projects are made appropriate to local capacities and reflects a new realism concerning expectations of state assistance.

Livelihoods in all of the rural communities involved in the study depend on agricultural production. Migrant communities support rural production in various ways, the most significant of which is by returning home to participate in rainy season farming activities or to monitor the harvest. Agricultural production is rarely supported by migrant associations representing communities from the west and east of the country, but for northern regions it represents a dominant mode of intervention. Co-ordination roles and share-holding investment in agricultural co-operatives in River Nile and Northern States are widespread concerns among migrant association members as is illustrated in the case studies by specific examples from Gilas and the Kanar Union. Recent government policy moves to support production in the northern states have provided additional opportunities for this type of activity and are outlined in a discussion of the practical implications of the state's ideological position below (p.25).

The case studies, however, also identify sectors of development intervention which are very poorly dealt with by community level initiatives and migrant association sponsorship. Since women are rarely encouraged or enabled to participate in the associations, the most significant failing is the widespread indifference towards projects targeting or fully involving women. Priorities and areas of potential intervention identified by rural women concern access to credit, awareness about harmful traditional practices such as female circumcision, adult literacy, support for secondary and higher levels of education, and alternative household income sources such as cash crop and poultry marketing and small-scale industries such as soap and oil processing. Those organisations which have sponsored women's programmes, such as the Nuba Mountains Association, generally focus on handicraft production. Al Fanar (1992), for example, recorded that The National Committee for the Development of Atbara established a women's training centre in the town. Women were trained in dress-making, cloth-dyeing and embroidery and once they had completed the course they were assisted by the association in receiving a loan from the Savings Bank to purchase their own sewing machine.

Women's participation in migrant association activities is, nevertheless, significant and often involves contributions in terms of fund-raising and labour. Indeed, levels of participation in migrant association sponsored activities among both women and men is high. This is directly linked to the way in which community-based institutions interact and co-operate. Migrant associations do not design or implement projects in isolation and in general they have not devised new systems of participation. Rather, migrant associations act as a node or 'apex' (Barkan, McNulty and Ayeni, 1991: 462) for intra-community support groups and draw on a network of existing mechanisms which serve to enhance broad-based participation and legitimacy.

Nafir

Participation in general is often referred to as *nafir*, and numerous rural development projects recorded in the case studies have been undertaken on the basis of communal work groups often involving returning migrants. The rural *nafir* (or *faz'a* in the northern region) is a communal work group and a common form of inter-household labour co-operation. Organised on the basis of lineage, gender or, more frequently, representing an all-inclusive community group, *nafirs* are called to assist in agricultural production, house building and

various activities in the construction or repair of social infrastructure.⁶ The *nafir* is based on reciprocity and participants expect to be entertained with food and drink prepared by women, in exchange for their labour.

The contemporary importance of *nafir* in performing agricultural tasks on individual plots is reported to have declined in recent years because of the rising costs of organising the work-party, the expansion of commodity relations and the penetration of wage labour. Indeed, wage labour is identified as a form of monetisation of *nafir* and in the western savannah areas it is claimed that most household producers work alternately for each other for wages, instead of organising the same process through *nafir* (Abdelkarim, 1987: 146) Nevertheless, the work group is still an active component in collective efforts. In riverine northern Sudan, for example, communities call *nafir* to mobilise labour to construct flood defences, while in Northern Kordofan, *nafirs* are frequently organised in brick-making and in digging reservoirs.

Sandoug

Financial support for urban migrants, especially among women and groups from the west, is often organised on the basis of *sandoug*. The *sandoug* is a rotating savings and credit association. Literally meaning 'box', the *sandoug* involves regular contributions in cash or in kind which are pooled and distributed to a single member of the group in turn every week or month. Those members who benefit early in the cycle receive credit while those whose turn is towards the end are saving. *Sandoug* began to appear in Sudan in the early 1940s among women who used the system to manage rationed goods during the Second World War. *Sandoug* groups can be organised on various bases - home-community ties, neighbourhood (most frequently found among women), and common employment or education (Rehfishch, 1980). In general, the *sandoug* serves important savings and insurance needs but is often identified by the members themselves as a social occasion.

Endowments and donations

Donations for development projects sponsored by migrant associations are often styled in terms of rural hospitality and mutual support such as *kashif* and *mujib*. Funding sources for rural projects also include contributions from *zakat*. Indeed, there are various forms of community-based voluntary donations and welfare contributions in Sudan. Among these, *kashif*, *mujib*, *sadagah* and *zakat*, are perhaps the most significant for Islamic faith communities. Together they represent the processes through which households contribute to family events, support vulnerable groups in the community and participate in collective development efforts.

Kashif (literally 'list') is the record of names and donations made by friends and neighbours to a household's funeral expenses. *Mujib* is the equivalent process for women. *Sadagah* contributions are personal donations or endowments which are not linked to specific activities. *Sadagah* donations are therefore used in a variety of applications such as the dedication of mosques, schools, clinics and wells by wealthy individuals.

While the *zakat* system has recently been centralised (see below p. 25) it is likely that personal alms-giving and project funding in the name of *zakat* continues though its current level is unclear. *Zakat* is one of the five 'pillars' of Islam and constitutes a religious tax instituted by the Koran towards the equitable distribution of wealth within society. *Zakat* is traditionally a voluntary individual tax system based on a contribution of 2½ per cent of annual earnings above subsistence costs. A study of the 1983-85 famine in Sudan, illustrated that the use of *zakat*, with other systems of mutual support, had contributed significantly to

⁶ Ziche and Salih (1984) provide a critical account of the productivity of *nafir* in Sudan. They also describe the 'baramka nafeir' formerly practised in the Nuba Mountains. Though its use declined during the colonial period, the 'baramka nafeir' was based on hierarchical principles, and was called by a *nazir* or *omda* to work the fields of religious and political leaders.

the reduction of household vulnerability among Zaghawa and Berti migrants in Northern Darfur (Pyle and Gabbar, 1989).

Students' Associations

In structural terms migrant associations form branches in urban centres, within the country and abroad, wherever there is a concentration of village migrants. Students' associations formed in high schools and universities around the country are often formally linked to the migrant association branch. Indeed, they share many features in common with migrant associations since they provide support for new arrivals (welcoming parties), support local students in their studies (by providing accommodation and loans for books), and play a significant role in maintaining rural-urban linkages. 'Caravans', organised during the August holidays, return to the home community where students offer literacy classes, medical check-ups and training, and participate in community development efforts.

Co-operatives

Similarly, migrant association structures, particularly in the north, often operate in parallel with committees which co-ordinate agricultural co-operatives. Examples from the case studies include Gilas and the Kanar Union. The first formal co-operatives appeared in the early 1930s in the Northern Region, in areas close to the Egyptian border. In 1932 a group in Hafir Mashee, Dongola, established the first irrigation co-operative society, and imported diesel powered water pumps to replace the manual *sagia* irrigation system. The first legislation concerning co-operatives was drafted under British rule in 1948, though few societies were formed until the 1970s when President Nimeiri sought to utilise co-operatives in the economic system. According to the Ministry of Commerce and Co-operation, in 1990 there were 9,376 registered co-operative societies in northern Sudan with a total membership of 2,117,415 and a total investment of Ls. 112,904 (Al Fanar, 1992). The most numerous (4,687) were consumer co-operatives, of which 65 per cent were retail grocery shops. These co-operative shops combine government attempts to ration and control prices of basic commodities with community efforts to fight inflation and black marketeering. The co-operative movement in Sudan, however, is handicapped by irregular supplies, limited resources, which restrict credit opportunities, lack of co-ordination (between production and marketing), and the absence of training.

Popular Committees and Para-Statal Organisations

In many of the case studies planning, co-ordination, implementation and management of local initiatives backed by the migrant community is conducted by independent rural branches. Frequently, however, the membership of local executive committees overlaps with that of the Popular Committee. Indeed, in several examples, such as Al Maghawir, the Popular Committee serves as the rural intermediary which links the association to a range of village-based para-statal groups.

Popular Committees were defined by legislation in 1992 as the elementary unit of the political system established at the level of the residential quarter, village or nomadic camp. The other units of the political system, in ascending order are, Local Councils, Provincial Councils, State Councils and the National Assembly. Membership of a Popular Committee is open to all nationals over 18 who have been resident in the Basic Conference area (the committee's constituency) for at least three months. Members are considered civil servants by the state, though it is a voluntary function. The Popular Committee is an elected body with the Basic Conference able to vote for three-quarters of committee members while the State Governor can appoint the remainder. Under the 1992 law, women are guaranteed a minimum of 10 per cent representation on the committee.

Each Popular Committee has a two year mandate to promote community development and empower religious and moral values. Popular Committees are charged to adopt internal regulations and form sub-committees in sectors such as 'Services and Supplies', 'Women', 'Youth', 'Security, Public Order and Surveillance', and 'Popular Mobilisation'. Through these

bodies Popular Committees organise public services in co-ordination with the local council and guarantee the flow and distribution of consumer goods.

Parallel to the state political system there exist a number of para-statal organisations which operate with a national scope and are largely based on sub-committees and groups within the Popular Committee at the community level. They include the following:

The Holy Koran Society - focuses on religious education based around the community mosque;

The National Youth Organisation - the male branch of the national youth organisation, *Shabab El Wattan* (translates as 'Youth of the homeland'). The women's branch is *Shabat El Wattan*. Together youth associations are responsible for awareness-raising and mobilisation efforts in conjunction with the Popular Committees;

The Working Women's Association - unites women working in the public sector;

The Farmers' Union - responsible for communicating with the Rural Council to supply inputs at government prices, such as diesel quotas, fertilisers, and seeds which are distributed to farmers according to land-holding sizes. The union collects monthly contributions from farmers as a contingency in case of unexpected price increases.

The interconnections which exist between migrant associations, traditional mechanisms of co-operation and support, and government sponsored local institutions illustrate that within Sudan there is a complex pattern of interaction between the state and the organisations of civil society.

CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE STATE IN SUDAN

State-society relations are a 'precarious balance'; arguing this relationship in Africa as one of subjection and resistance obscures spheres of negotiation, of congruence, competition and compromise. The central aspect of state-society relations for most recent analyses has been the effectiveness of strategies through which local organisations compete and lobby for access to governmental resources on behalf of their community of origin.⁷ Indeed, some question whether, as agents of community representation, '...the destruction of ethnic associations, among Africa's most vital social institutions, will not also destroy some of the main guarantors of the popular right to argue about political accountability' (Lonsdale, 1986: 141).

The underlying debate concerning state-society relationships focuses on defining the roles of local organisations and political movements which make up civil society. It is equally important, however, to account for the practices of power and ideologies of development exercised by the state. The influence of state policy discourse in shaping community agendas, though often neglected, is significant in the case of Sudanese migrant associations. It is not suggested that migrant associations are co-opted by the state, but rather that the line is blurred between lobbying for facilities and acting as informally organised service-delivery mechanisms on behalf of the state. Indeed, as Bratton suggests, transactions between state and civil society should be seen to be, '... congruent as well as conflictual' (1988: 428).

During the most recent period of democracy in Sudan, 1986-89, constitutional guarantees led to the creation of over 35 political parties and more than 500 trade unions and professional associations. Freedom of association since 1989, however, has been subject to significant restrictions and the institutions of democratic civil society have been systematically dismantled. In the first Constitutional Decrees issued by the Revolution Command Council after the *coup d'état*, political parties and associations were dissolved, and areas of trade union authority such as the right to strike and collective bargaining were withdrawn. The largest and oldest women's organisation, the Sudanese Women's Union, was banned, and professional groups such as the Sudan Bar Association, the Sudan Medical Council and university students' unions were dissolved, suspended or replaced. Similarly, Christian and Islamic clubs and places of worship linked to associations such as Ansar al-Mahdi, Ansar al-Sunna, al-Khatmiya, and those representing the Catholic and Coptic communities, were subject to closures and requisitions (Hamad, 1993).

Current attitudes towards community-based organisations have been shaped by the introduction of the three year Salvation Programme (1990-92) which aims to re-structure the economy on the basis of self-sufficiency. In a speech in 1994, for example, the Finance Minister, Abdallah Hassan Ahmed, stated that, '... the Revolution will not relinquish its Islamic orientation despite foreign pressures being put on it, and the government will pursue the development process on a self-reliant basis' (SUNA Daily Bulletin, 23 August 1994). The state's ideological position associated with this programme, represented as 'return to the roots', draws heavily on the concepts and mechanisms of community level self-help and self-sufficiency (see above p.7). This move follows a familiar practice in which, 'Grassroots institutions have been promoted by independent African governments not only to build upon traditions of community self-help, but in order to mobilize development activities, given their lack of resources' (Lee-Smith and Stren, 1991: 35).

National development programmes therefore impact upon traditional processes and organisations of self-help in a number of ways. State appropriation of the *zakat* system of welfare contributions represents a significant development. Though government control of *zakat* was introduced during the Mahdia State at the end of the nineteenth century, a set of

⁷ See for example Barkan, McNulty and Ayeni (1991) on the brokerage functions of home town unions in Western Nigeria.

legal provisions adopted in the 1980s gradually re-imposed the mandatory collection and state distribution of *zakat*. In the wake of the introduction of Islamic *Sharia* laws in 1983, President Nimeiri promulgated the Zakat and Taxation Act which came into force in September 1984. The purpose of this legislation was to replace the existing fiscal system with one based on Islamic teaching. A new body, the Zakat and Taxation Chamber was established in 1986 with regional offices all over the country charged with levying *zakat* on agricultural produce, livestock and trading profits. Recent years have therefore witnessed a centralisation of *zakat* collection, which amounted to Ls. 570 million in 1990-91, and an estimated Ls. 1.3 billion in 1992.

As a result *zakat* funds have also been employed by the government in national welfare campaigns. Categories of *zakat* beneficiaries are defined by Islamic teaching. Since 1991, however, in the northern states and some areas in the south such as Wau, Juba, Malakal and Raja, *zakat* has also been distributed in the form of monthly cash payments to assist vulnerable households to compensate for the effects of economic liberalisation policies. *Zakat* Chamber is also a frequent donor to relief efforts in the south and, for example, supported *Jihad Call* with Ls. 120 million in 1992-93.⁸

State appropriation of *zakat* has, nevertheless, had significant implications in financing regional and local government in Sudan. After the passage of the Zakat and Taxation Act, taxes on land, livestock, crop and date palms, which constituted a major source of revenue for local councils, were abolished. Since these taxes formed over 80 per cent of local revenues in Kordofan, Darfur, Central and Eastern regions the effectiveness of regional and local government declined. Indeed, it is argued that the introduction of an Islamic fiscal system based on *zakat* has seriously affected centre-regional financial relationships. *Zakat* collection is problematic and while the regions depend heavily on central grants-in-aid, regional distribution of *zakat* is not governed by any principle of allocation (Al-Teraifi, 1991: 138-39).

In addition to centralising *zakat*, the state has also adopted the vocabulary of self-help in its development programmes. Funding campaigns at state-level which support the government's decentralisation programme, for example, are advertised as *nafirs* and have sought to encourage private and commercial investment in infrastructural projects. Such initiatives include sponsorship of the administrative headquarters for El Metemma Province in River Nile State, and road construction projects from Omdurman to Dongola and from Khartoum to Shendi - *Tarig El Tahadi* (the Challenge Road). The role of migrant associations and recently formed state-level development organisations backing this programme is outlined below (p. 40 and p. 76). National applications of the language of community-based self-help activities also informs social welfare policies. In contrast to standard relief hand-outs, *Zakat* Chamber and the Social Solidarity Fund, the central governmental bodies for welfare distribution in the country, are attempting to re-orient funding towards income-generating activities and support for long-term agricultural production. This has led to the emergence of the concept of *Al Ussar al Muntijah*, 'productive families', which embraces traditions of household production undermined by the penetration of wage labour and migration.

In the context of the state's ideological position on self-sufficiency, migrant associations represent one of the most dynamic examples of community action in operation in contemporary Sudan. Associations have responded to political and economic marginalisation, the decline in state services, and government policies surrounding Islamisation through a number of innovative and contrasting strategies. While the case studies demonstrate varying degrees of engagement and disengagement with the Sudanese state, the area of greatest interaction is found in agricultural production policies in the Northern and River Nile States.

⁸ *Jihad Call* is a para-statal organisation whose aim is to support *Jihad* (Holy War) in the country through direct support to the Popular Defence Forces. It is responsible for collecting donations in cash and in kind for the war effort in the south.

Since 1989 the government has initiated a programme of 'crop switching' under which sorghum, wheat and groundnuts are replacing cotton in large parts of the irrigated area in a bid for food self-sufficiency. Between 1989 and 1993, the area under cotton had decreased by 43 per cent and production had fallen by 39 per cent (EIU 1993: 15). The message from the government is illustrated in comments made by the Vice-President, Major General Al Zubeir Mohamed Salih, during a visit to agricultural schemes in River Nile State in August 1994, who is reported as saying that, '... the Salvation Revolution is keen to prepare all lands in the state for wheat cultivation with a view to reaching self-sufficiency in this strategic food crop which is being used as a weapon against the Sudan by the forces of arrogance in the world' (SUNA Daily Bulletin, 23 August 1994).

This programme has therefore had particular implications for the traditional irrigated sector of Sudan's agricultural economy located in the north. In 1991 the government outlined plans to produce one million tons of wheat on the irrigated farms in central and northern parts of the country. Indeed, in specific proposals made to the local press the Minister of Agriculture and Animal resources for Northern State, El Haj Adam, proposed that one million *feddans* within the state would be put under wheat cultivation (*El Inghaz*, 28 June 1994). Lifting subsidies on basic commodities and the extension of credit and investment funds through co-operative societies and the Agricultural Bank of Sudan have all been instigated to further this policy.⁹ However, despite the 1991 pledges, farmers in 1992 were only able to produce 800,000 tons. By 1994, as a result of rising costs, wheat production had fallen to 300,000 tons and the official newspaper *Al-Sudan Al-Hadith* reported that 200,000 tons of wheat were imported into Sudan to meet local shortages (Sudan Update, 24 August 1995).

For migrant associations, however, the policy of 'return to the roots', and plans for the extension of wheat production in the north is seen as an opportunity to take advantage of state funding potential, as is expressed in the following statement by the president of the Kanar Union, 'The government is advocating agricultural development and there are schemes in the government's agenda targeting Northern State. We thought that we should step in and join hands with the government and implement these plans: to be the implementors and beneficiaries.' As a result of this policy the Kanar Union, in common with at least ten other associations from the northern region outlined in the case studies, are planning a large-scale land rehabilitation and irrigation project which will concentrate production on wheat. A significant implication in the organisation of the scheme is that the project monitoring committee is composed of relevant national and provincial ministers as well as officials from the union.

The case studies below, particularly that of the Kanar Union, illustrate various ways in which the policies of the 'return to the roots' campaign are subject to local 'translations' and how Sudanese civil society is adapting to the state's ideological, political and economic framework. Indeed, the regional examples highlight the significance of migrant associations in a multiplicity of roles and their relative capacities to adapt to shifting rural-urban and state-society relations.

⁹ First established in 1957, branches of the Agricultural Bank of Sudan (A.B.S.) have grown significantly from 34 in 1989 to 118 in 1994 (23 are located in Northern State). The area of cultivation funded by the A.B.S. also expanded rapidly from 2.4 million *feddan* in 1989 to 4.7 million in 1991.

Map1.2 The Republic of Sudan showing post-1992 state boundaries



2. NORTHERN SUDAN

Case studies from northern Sudan are drawn from communities in the former Northern Region, now divided into Northern State and River Nile State. The cases provide detailed examples of migration patterns and local institutional activities among groups from the Nubian region in the extreme north, Karima in Northern State and from Shendi in River Nile State. These cases highlight dominant rural-urban migration routes and the capacity of associations to support extensive rural-urban linkages.

Out-migration from the riverine areas north of Khartoum has been a response to land shortages. Indeed, the distinguishing feature of the farming economy of riverine northern Sudan is the private ownership of land and the small size of land holdings. Confined to narrow strips of land adjacent to the banks of the Nile, cultivable areas have been further restricted by population growth, land division on inheritance and soil degradation caused by desertification and river bank erosion (*hadam*, literally, 'the destroyer'). In 1963 El-Dishouni recorded that 89 per cent of family land holdings in the Merowe-Dongola area were less than three *feddans* in size (1989: 50).

Indeed, these 'push-factors', combined with a well-established system of education, has meant that the former Northern Province has consistently experienced negative net-migration and has until recently supplied proportionately more migrants to the capital city than any other region. Migration of northerners to other urban centres within Sudan has also been important. In Port Sudan, for example, James has observed that northern migration has had a long history since many families moved to build or work on the railway in the early 1900s (1980: 495).¹⁰

As a result, northern groups have been well-placed in securing economic and politically important positions. Since the early 1910s *zawiya*, *khaima* and clubhouses have developed in Khartoum and other cities serving northern communities. Today, in an area just south of the centre of Khartoum on the Sahafa Avenue, one neighbourhood is the site of numerous clubhouses, football pitches and mosques, and is home to associations representing Kuri, Es Sidir and El Hau, Kanar, Gilas, El Kuld, Abri, Tebeg, Bina and El Ghaba, all from the north.

In addition to migration, collective organisation is a further significant community response to riverine geo-physical conditions. Agriculture in northern Sudan is dominated by private pump irrigated schemes which have replaced the traditional *sagia* (water wheel). Government pump schemes were first introduced to the Northern Province between 1917 and 1920, and the expansion of these schemes in the 1950s led to a rapid growth of private diesel pump initiatives. In 1955-56 the number of pump schemes in the Merowe-Dongola area was increasing at an average rate of 15 per cent per year (El-Dishouni, 1989: 46). Pump schemes are subject to various forms of economic organisation. In 1963, 62 per cent of schemes were privately owned (these were mainly less than 50 *feddans* in size), while 24 per cent were operated by co-operatives or companies (half of which were over 500 *feddans*). Privately operated schemes, however, contribute to further fragmentation of land holdings, limit the use of agricultural machinery, and incur expensive fuel and maintenance costs. The profusion of such intensive operations has led to greater investment in co-operative schemes irrigated by single pumps.

Consequently, a high proportion of migrant associations from the north are linked to agricultural co-operative initiatives, and migrants often constitute a majority of the

¹⁰ In James' analysis, the northerners who settled in *Deim Julud* in Port Sudan, including Nubians from Dongola and Shaigiya, were an exclusive and highly organised group. She observed that, 'Most of the opposition to the town authorities has been led by northerners; the only political party club in the *deim* is one of the National Unionist Party, run by a northerner; and there is a canteen run, and almost exclusively patronised, by northerners. Moreover, this community has formed a co-operative society, buying their food and other supplies jointly every month' (1980: 504).

shareholders. Government policy moves in the agricultural sector since 1990 (outlined above p.27) have provided additional incentives for co-operative activities.

NORTHERN STATE

Say hello to my relatives,
I am longing to see them,
Longing to see their green farms,
Longing to hear the *sagia*,
In Ed Debba go to the high school,
Give the students a million hellos,
Visit Tangassi and Argi,
Visit Affad, I hope to come there soon,
I send my regards with respect,
Coloured by the northern blood,
Call me to come there,
I am coming soon.

Extract from a migrant's *tambor* song

Migration and rural-urban linkages

Case studies from Northern State are taken from a group of villages which lie on the Nile between 50 and 70 kms. east of the town of Ed Debba. The population sizes and areas of cultivable land for the villages of Kuri, Mora, Rekabiya and Gilas are outlined in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Village populations and area of available agricultural land

| Village | Population | Agricultural land (feddans) |
|-------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------|
| Kuri | 1,301 | 351 |
| Mora | 639 | 580 |
| Rekabiya | 767 | 432 |
| Gilas and El Bar | 1,069 | 1,755 |

Migration from these communities is both a historical and a culturally organised process. As the seat of Islamic learning and the Khatmiya sect, this region, notably Rekabiya, provided many *khalwa* teachers who migrated to establish schools elsewhere in the country. The oldest informants, however, link the origins of out-migration to taxation policies implemented during the Turkish era. Indeed, taxes and the declining effectiveness of *sagia* production were the main forces behind the need to supplement household incomes with wage labour in the 1920s and 1930s. Jobs were often found in railway construction, and communities continue to use the term *sakaka* ('the people who left with the railways') as a term for migrants. The dominant migration pattern since the first *sakaka*, however, is captured in the phrase *nas igazat*, ('the people of the vacations') and relates to those who return during government holidays, to monitor crops after the rainy season and for the date harvest.

At present a small but growing number of women migrate to continue their studies in Khartoum, though the majority of women in the past have left to accompany their husbands. The following account, of a migrant family from Rekabiya who moved to Khartoum, highlights a general trend:

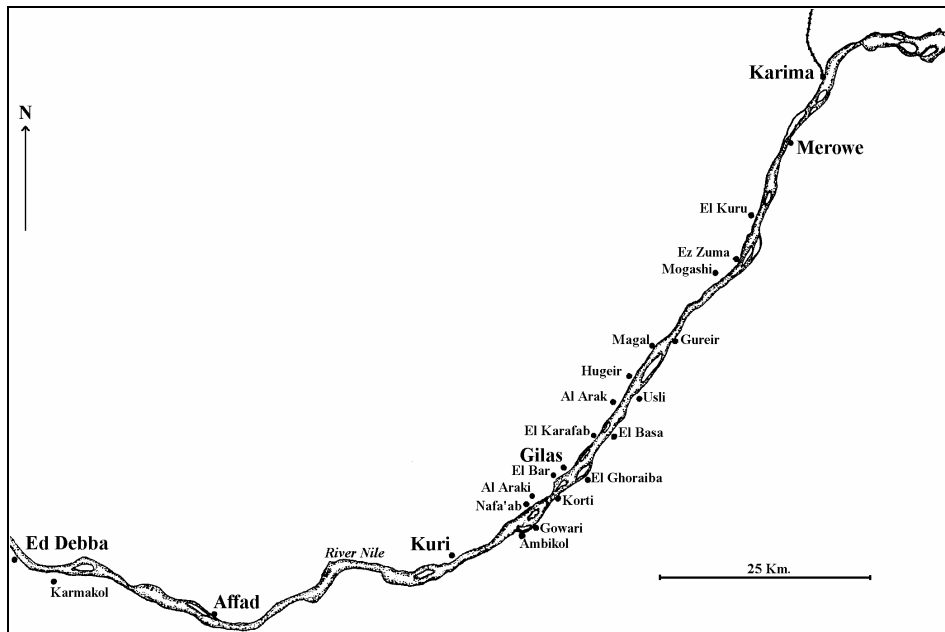
I came to Khartoum in 1950 with my late husband who was a porter with the railway lines. When we first arrived we stayed with relatives. We get people from home coming to Khartoum for work, medical treatment and trade. I go back to Rekabiya every year for the harvest of the dates. I wouldn't mind living there permanently on the revenues from my date farm. It would be a lot better than here these days.

Haja Shama (60)

Although this study was not designed to produce demographic profiles or to examine the quantitative aspects of migration, a random household survey, designed to corroborate the

reported high-levels of out-migration and rural-urban interaction, was conducted in 1995 among 91 households in 4 villages: Kuri, Rekabiya, Mora and Gilas.

Map 2.1 Detail of Northern State showing Ed Debba, Karima and Merowe



The impact of out-migration at a household level is indicated by the fact that 90 per cent of households in the survey included one or more migrants and that an average of 19 per cent of household members were migrants. In general, migration is a long-term process undertaken by young and relatively well-educated men. Migrants on average spent 11 years out of the village, (39 per cent spent between 7 and 15 years away), and the average age on departure was 24. Only 9 per cent of migrants were women. Indeed, a complementary analysis (SOS Sahel, 1993) in 3 villages, including Mora and Rekabiya, indicated that only 22 per cent of the population were males over the age of 18. Migrants are also well-educated. Of the sample of 166 migrants, only 5 per cent had received no formal schooling while 23 per cent had primary education, 48 per cent had reached the secondary level and 15 per cent had university education.

The primary destinations for migrants from Gilas, Kuri, Mora and Rekabiya are urban centres within Sudan. Khartoum was the most popular, capturing 33 per cent of all migrants, followed by Port Sudan (16 per cent) and Wad Medani (15 per cent). The relatively high level for Wad Medani is attributable to the large numbers of migrants from Kuri who work as labourers in the city, as the following testimony illustrates:

The pioneers left for Wad Medani and worked as builders and brick-layers. Later they became contractors and brought their labour force from Kuri. About 80 per cent work as builders in the State Ministry of Irrigation. Wad Medani was therefore more attractive than Khartoum for people from Kuri because the networks of relatives made it easy to find jobs. Migrants didn't buy houses or land in Medani, but instead invested all their savings at home on the date palms.

Salah Omer

Current levels of international migration are also significant and the figures indicate that Khartoum, Wad Medani and Atbara often represent 'steps' in migration to the Gulf states and to Libya. Indeed, while only 11 per cent gave these countries as their original destination, by August 1995 23 per cent of migrants were working abroad.

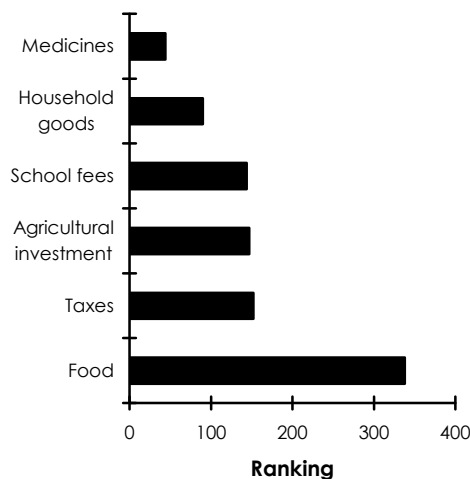
As Table 2.2 indicates, a high proportion of migrants from the four villages work as labourers, though a significant proportion are employed in private companies and in the public sector.

Table 2.2 Occupations of migrants on arrival in urban centres

| Occupation | Percentage |
|-------------------------|------------|
| Labourer | 37 |
| Private business | 18 |
| Student | 15 |
| Public sector | 14 |
| Housewife | 7 |
| Professions | 5 |
| Unemployed | 4 |

Rural-urban linkages in Northern State are dominated by return visits and remittances of goods and cash. Annual returns for the date harvest and during religious festivals (*Ramadam* and *Eid Kabir*) continue to be important, with 32 per cent of migrants returning once every year. The survey also indicated that 48 per cent of migrants send cash remittances. Many also send goods, notably soap, sorghum, coffee, tea, clothes, sugar and edible oils. In all, remittances were returned to 68 per cent of households, generally on a monthly (16 per cent) or on an annual (24 per cent) basis. Total annual cash remittances amounted to an average of Ls. 81, 522 sent per migrant which, on a household basis amounted to an average income of Ls. 109,240.

Figure 2.2 Household ranking of the uses of remittances

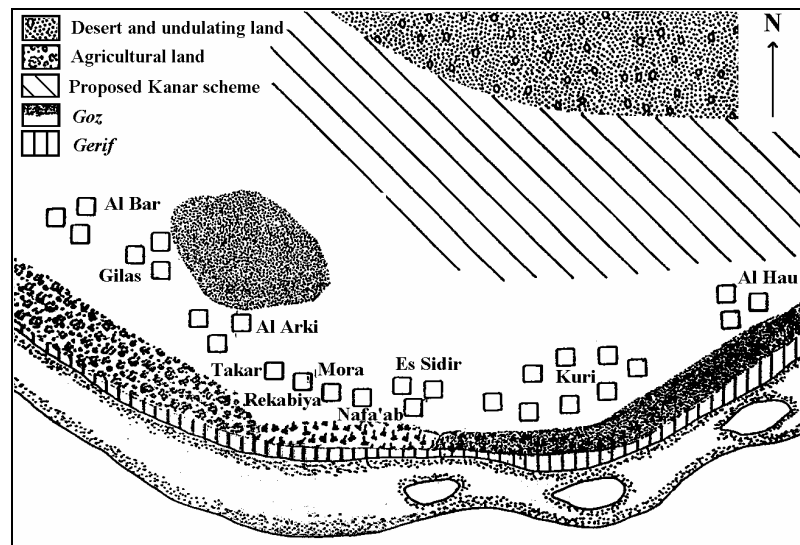


Given a wide margin of potential distortion, these remittances represent a significant source of supplementary household income. Figure 2.2 illustrates the primary uses to which these remittances were put by rural households on the basis of participatory ranking exercises. It shows a high level of dependence on migrants' remittances for basic foodstuffs as well as for taxes and investment in irrigation pump equipment.

Kuri, Rekabiya and Gilas

The social composition of communities in Rural Karima Council has been influenced by the profile of agricultural production and significant historical factors. Though a predominantly Bederiya area, Shaigiya, 'arabs (nomads) and 'abid (former slaves) are also settled on the Nile lands.

Map 2.2 Sketch map of villages in Rural Karima Council



The absence of household labour, a result of the high rates of out-migration, has given rise to labour opportunities for other groups. The 'arab nomads are made up of Hawawir, Hassaniya, Sawarab and Kababish from Kordofan. These groups traditionally spend the winter season in this area working as share-croppers on the *jerif* land (the riverine plain) cultivating broad beans and wheat between November and March and work as casual labourers harvesting dates during October. It is estimated that 37 per cent of households in the area originate from nomadic groups (SOS Sahel, 1993). Many pastoralists, particularly the Hawawir, settled in the area after the famine in Kordofan in the mid-1980s, though other groups such as the Kababish and Sawalab have been resident for considerably longer. As the following testimony indicates, however, the arrival of new groups has been met with resistance and has caused tension in certain villages, particularly after the Hawawir began to dig wells, attempted to water their livestock from the Nile, and made claims for land:

I came to this area in Nimeiri's time because the drought hit the Hawawir area very hard. I built my *rakoba* [traditional nomad's shelter] near Korti on the western side but the next year I crossed over to Rekabiya. I tried to farm and asked for land but I was refused. I have a camel and have a son with his wife and mother living in Omdurman. There are many Hawawir living now in the area especially in Es Sidir village. Some of us still go back home in the rainy season to cultivate our lands.

Mohamed Hafazalla

Within these communities the 'arabs and 'abid are considered to be of lower social status (Al-Shahi, 1972). The 'abid are descendants of families enslaved during the Shaigiya raids of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, though McLoughlin (1962) has noted that slave raids continued to take place up to the 1930s and that some forms of domestic slavery persisted as late as the 1960s. Many former slaves, however, embraced their freedom under colonial rule and migrated to seek independent livelihoods on government projects such as the Makwar Dam, the Gezira Scheme, the Nile-Red Sea Railway, the Gash and Tokar irrigation works, and the docks of Port Sudan (Sharkey, 1992: 19).

Gilas

Gilas, located 70 km from Ed Debba town with a population of around 1,070, was once the seat of both an *omodiya* and a *nazara*. The *omodiya* covered five villages, Gilas, Um Darag, El Bar, El Arki and El Barsa; the *nazara* represented the *omodiyas* of Ganatti, Kuri and Korti. The name of Gilas is said to derive from the word *aglis*, meaning 'sit down', which was used by British officers during the colonial period as a term for negotiations. The main ethnic group in Gilas is Bidereya.

The migrant community from Gilas has a long history of collective organisation in the capital. The Gilas social club in Khartoum was formed in 1949 though it had previously developed as a *zawiya* in the district of *Ad Diyoum Al-Shargiya* and from a *khaima* established in 1918. By 1967 each of the five villages of Gilas *omodiya* had joined the club to form the Gilas People's General Union. Though mainly a social and sporting club, the union also sponsored activities in Gilas itself including a primary school (1967), an intermediate school (1976), a health clinic, a post office and a dispensary.

Membership of the association is open for women, but women from Gilas observe that they have less free time than men to participate in voluntary work. A women's benevolent society in Khartoum was formed in 1970, however, by the Karimab and Alabeeb families in Gilas. It has an active membership of 30, most of whom are housewives, though the group includes school teachers and junior civil servants. The group manages a *sandoug* based on contributions of Ls. 100 per month and a rotating cutlery fund.¹¹ The money that members receive from the *sandoug* is usually spent on household utensils, furniture or contributions to family occasions.

Gilas Agricultural Co-operative and Rural-Urban Links

The central development activity sponsored by the migrant community is the agricultural co-operative. Gilas has probably the broadest area of *jerif* agricultural land in Karima Rural Council (1,755 *feddans*), which has attracted both farmers from neighbouring villages like Nafaab, El Barsa, Um Darag and settled nomads (largely from the Hassaniya group) who make up around a third of the total labourers employed on the scheme.

The agricultural scheme, growing mainly wheat, maize, sorghum and broad beans, was established as a company in 1952 and operated until 1977. The scheme was re-launched in 1992 and registered in 1994 as the Gilas and Um Darag Agricultural Co-operative. Serving up to 200 farmers, the current co-operative manages a 700 *feddan* irrigated project, though the total area of cultivation is dependent on production targets set by Karima Rural Council and in turn by the amount of diesel released by the government to run the pumps.

Shares in the co-operative are sold at Ls. 30 each, most of which are bought by migrants living outside Gilas. In 1993 there were less than 20 shareholders living in the village. The co-operative is run by a Board of Directors in Gilas and the Monitoring Committee in Khartoum. There are few distinctions between development organisations in the village, however, as the *Omda* is not only the traditional leader but also Chairman of the Popular Committee and head of the Board of Directors. The main role of the committee in Khartoum is to strike a balance between the interests of the shareholders and those of the farmers. The system of share-cropping means that *zakat* and the costs of seeds, fertilisers and irrigation are deducted from gross production. The remainder is divided equally between shareholder and farmer. The main issue of contention between rural and urban interests is therefore the fixing of an annual rate for irrigation charges, since higher water costs reduce the farmers' revenue.

As part of the rehabilitation of the scheme, the co-operative sought to excavate and repair an old wide-bore pump which had been buried in the silt deposited during the 1988 floods. This work, and the installation of new pumps, was carried out through a succession of village *nafir*. These *nafir* were organised by an informal council of village elders on 14 separate days during which the whole village, including women, participated. Two new pumps were bought with loans from the Agricultural Bank of Sudan (A.B.S.), contributions amounting to Ls. 1,300,000 from the expatriate community, and from the co-operative's shareholdings.

Despite causing widespread damage, the 1988 seasonal flood waters left layers of silt deposited on farming areas which have had a positive effect on soil fertility, yields and income in Gilas. The relative income differential between urban and rural occupations has

¹¹ Rotating cutlery funds are common to women's groups from most regions. By sharing the cost of a full set of cutlery women are able to minimise expenses incurred during social ceremonies such as weddings and burials.

shifted to the extent that some migrants living in Khartoum have returned to the village, as the chairman of the Gilas association indicates:

The recent prosperity has led many of those who used to send remittances from Khartoum including 12 educated young men who used to stay in the capital, to return to Gilas and to farm. They came to realise the economic value of agriculture when compared with waged labour. Now there are educated farmers who are thinking of cultivating cash crops and introducing new technology. More than anything they have introduced the ideas of a market economy to an area where farmers were formerly satisfied with growing just enough subsistence crops for their families.

Abbas Medani (former Minister of Interior)

Indeed, combined with increased investment in the co-operative, rural-urban interaction has intensified in recent years:

Nowadays there is a sudden awareness of the importance of land and agriculture. People are going back more frequently. They started to rehabilitate their homes and fields. More women are going back, together with men, to monitor their harvest and collect revenues. This is due to the pressing needs of present day life in the city and because the government is taking more interest in agricultural development in the Northern State. Also, the silt deposits left by the 1988 floods and the infrastructural rehabilitation following that encouraged many to go back.

Fawziya Jaffar Mohamed Osman (women's group chair)

Current prospects do not seem so bright, however. In 1993 voluntary in-kind contributions were sought to compensate for a deficit incurred by the co-operative because of high costs for fuel and spare parts. In addition, the co-operative's remaining resources were spent on repairing hand-dug irrigation canals destroyed in the 1994 floods. As a result, repayment of the A.B.S. loan has proved difficult and the co-operative had to make an application in 1995 to an embassy fund based in Khartoum for supplementary assistance.

Kuri

Kuri is located 56 km east of Ed Debba and is made up of three main groups which include *Nas El Bahr* ('riverine people'), 'arabs and 'abid. The name *Nas El Bahr* is used by the communities of Kuri and Es Sidir, who are predominantly Bederiya, to distinguish themselves from neighbouring El Hau since this village was originally settled by Hawawir nomads. Out-migration has affected the distribution of power among the leading families within Kuri. Awlad Ab Karoug are the traditional leaders of Kuri and have generally stayed in the village. Initiative and influence, however, has now shifted to Awlad El Bassass whose 'sons' migrated, and gained education and influence in urban centres.

Kuri is an *omodiya* encompassing Kuri itself, Es Sidir, Takkar, Mora, Nafa'ab, El Hau and Rekabiya. Unlike many other *omodiya* from Northern State, however, Kuri did not unite these villages into a general union in Khartoum, though such a plan is said to have existed in the 1940s. Instead, two unions were formed, one based on Kuri and the other from Mora.

The Kuri association, which represents Kuri, Es Sidir and El Hau, was formed in 1963 and has its headquarters and executive committee in Khartoum with branches in other urban centres such as Wad Medani, Kost, Atbara, Al Hasahaisa, El Obeid, and abroad in Saudi Arabia and Yemen. The Khartoum branch was formed by builders who moved from Wad Medani to Khartoum in the 1950s; a substantial community from Kuri continues to live in the *Al Mazad* quarter of Wad Medani where a clubhouse was opened in 1973.

In Khartoum membership subscriptions are set at Ls. 100 per year and project funds are generated from *ad hoc* donations. The number of people in the Khartoum club who pay regularly, however, is just 152 out of 660 members (about 23 per cent). The Kuri club in Khartoum provides lodging for 15 people. It is common for recently arrived migrants, without families in the capital, to stay in the club before moving into one of the Kuri *azabas* (hostels) in the El Deim and Sujana residential quarters. In addition to providing accommodation, the club's members also provide occasional assistance for cases of medical treatment in Egypt and Saudi Arabia and help in finding employment, as the following testimony indicates:

I was just out of intermediate school and looking for work in Khartoum. I arrived with my brother from Kuri in June 1993. We both stayed in the club. My brother took me to see Abdel Rahman, one of the leaders of the Association who is a lecturer at Africa International University. Abdel Rahman found me a job as messenger in the University the very next day.

Mohamed Nassur (17)

The membership profile in Khartoum is significant. It is predominantly male; a single woman, a medical doctor, is occasionally called to meetings to speak on women's issues. Those who visit the clubhouse for social activities, conversation and news from home are generally labourers. Those who participate in discussions on the development of the village are generally graduates, and the merchants and contractors living in Omdurman participate through donations and send family representatives to meetings.

In Wad Medani, the club is no longer playing such an effective role. The president of the women's committee reports that, 'It is reduced to a meeting place for elderly men who come and play cards and dominoes, watch television and find out about events at home.' The women's committee, formed in 1993 with 15 members, however, remains active and organises handicraft stalls to raise funds for the association.

Activities sponsored by the Kuri association in the villages and now co-ordinated by the Popular Committee, have included the construction and rehabilitation of two primary schools (1956 for boys and 1960 for girls), a mosque (1989), a dispensary, and the health centre, built in 1970 and repaired by the association after the 1988 floods. The Merowe Students' Association has also been active during August holidays when they return to the villages to organise sports activities, remedial classes and health clinics, though many of these activities are currently undertaken by *Shabab al Wattan*.

The example of the construction of the seventh classroom for Kuri's intermediate school in 1992 illustrates the way in which many of the migrant association activities are organised. The exercise was planned by the association in both Kuri and Khartoum, where money was raised for the building materials. The association raised Ls. 5,000 by holding a musical concert in the clubhouse, contacted the Department of Religious Affairs for a donation of Ls. 50,000, and received Ls. 200,000 from the Islamic African Relief Agency. Once these funds were raised, the association called for voluntary participation in a *nafir* organised in the village. Forty urban migrants returned to the village in response to the call and contributed to the construction work.

Recent developments, however, threaten not only these achievements but also the future security of the community. Kuri's agricultural land is subject to severe erosion. The goz land, the settlement and date palms are inundated with sand and, as a result of flooding in 1988 and 1994, river bank erosion has dramatically reduced the size of *sagia* plots on the *jerif* land. The community's response has been two-fold: to invest in land reclamation on the goz, and in a more extreme approach, to apply for the relocation of the village. In 1992, the migrant community in Wad Medani petitioned the government for tenancies in the Al Rahad scheme on the grounds of their contributions to its construction. The Al Rahad irrigated scheme, established in 1977, is located near east of the Blue Nile river in the recently formed Gezira State. While the petition continues to be processed, village hopes rest with the land reclamation scheme organised by another local organisation, the Kanar Union.

The Kanar Union

The General Union of Kanar has had considerable bearing over development interventions in both Gilas and Kuri since its formation in 1991. The Kanar Union represents villages which lie between Gilas and Kuri including, Nafa'ab, Mora, Rekabiya, Takkar, Al Arki and Al Barsa, villages which co-operated during the 1988 flood emergency to raise Ls. 97,000 for the transportation of supplies to the region in Rural Karima Council. The Union developed out of the Mora Sons' Association which supported an irrigation project in Mora in the early 1960s. Blockages to the main irrigation channel, caused by siltation from the annual floods, led to the scheme's collapse. Today, the Mora project has not only been revived but new plans

represent an ambitious large-scale land reclamation and development initiative which is linked directly to the practical and ideological interests of the 'return to the roots' campaign.

The new Kanar Co-operative Society is planning a scheme which would place 45,000 *feddans* under wheat cultivation and is intended to replace the 70 pumps in Mora and Takkar with just two. These ideas were influenced by the examples of government and IFAD supported agricultural co-operative initiatives such as those in neighbouring Korti, Nuri and Gureir. From the beginning, however, the design of the project and conflict over which villages would participate in the scheme have highlighted significant breakdowns in rural-urban dialogue and raise serious questions of Kanar's identity and legitimacy.

The original plans for the Kanar sponsored co-operative were met with considerable resistance in neighbouring villages who were invited to join the project. The scheme reopened long-standing friction between the villages represented by Kanar and Kuri which dated back to conflict over the formation of a general union in the 1940s and proposals for a shared clubhouse in Khartoum in 1961. The central area of conflict, however, was the fact that the land designated for the scheme affected the customary *gusad* principle of land tenure whereby owners have the right to own land anywhere within the width of their main bank *sagia*, including islands formed in the river and the *goz* stretching back from the river bank. In addition, fears were expressed about Kanar's regional pretensions. Kanar is not a place-name but advertises itself as an 'ancient sheikhdom' in direct opposition to the *omodiyas* of Kuri and Gilas. This has provoked responses such as that from a leading member of the Kuri union:

Kanar's proposals insist that all village associations will be dissolved and should merge with Kanar. This is not acceptable. Why should people lose their individual identities and organisations? Village associations have been the agents of change and development in their respective villages for a long time.

Dr. Abdel Rahman Ahmed Osman

Indeed, when the project was originally proposed, Gilas, Kuri and Al Barsa refused to join. Kuri finally agreed to back the project in May 1995 largely because the Kanar scheme and Kuri's own proposals had earmarked overlapping areas of land and separate applications to Merowe Province proved unrealistic. During the course of the dispute, however, significant internal divisions were revealed among Kuri union members since the 'urbanised' Awlad El Bassass, in opposition to the established leading village family, consistently supported the scheme.

The proposed scheme has also heightened tensions between village groups and settled nomads. Some reports suggested that the original designs for the scheme represented a response to protect the *gusad* principle of land tenure following the construction of houses and *matara* wells (hand-dug shallow wells) by certain nomadic groups on village-owned *gusad* land. Indeed, the tenancy proposals exclude a high proportion of the 'arab households. Among Kuri association members in Wad Medani, this aspect of the proposition provoked a critical response, 'The Kanar constitution says that people who do not hold titles to land should not be allotted land in the new scheme. This would deprive the multitude of nomads and ex-slaves who have been settled in the area for generations and who have contributed considerably to our agricultural production. We cannot let them down.' Many of the longer-settled groups, however, consider the scheme to be an opportunity to consolidate their position, extend their land-holdings and provide additional income-generating options.

Conflict also arose out of frustration with the lack of progress on the project. Locally, the major scheme was considered overly ambitious and farmers felt that it failed to address their needs. Indeed, the interests of rural communities were represented by a migrant faction from Port Sudan who threatened to boycott the 1993 general assembly, which was to be attended by the Vice-President, if immediate action was not taken. An alternative, 'emergency' irrigation scheme was therefore proposed to improve irrigation on 15,000 *feddans* of *jerif* land, where villagers mainly grow date palms, rather than on the *gusad* land.

This proposal was agreed, a new pump was received with state funding, and the leaders of the Port Sudan branch stayed after the assembly to oversee the preliminary work.

Annual General Meetings, such as those held by the Kanar Union in the villages are an ideal stage both to bolster support from the community and invited dignitaries and to foster a collective identity. The importance of the annual general meeting has been similarly identified by Lentz among the youth associations of northern Ghana as, 'forum for open self-representation ... towards the people in whose name the associations claim to speak' (1995 : 417).

The shift in activity from wheat to date cultivation, however, also represents a manipulation of state funding priorities and reflects local dissatisfaction with the state's focus on wheat production. Indeed, in a visit by the Minister of Agriculture to the region in 1993, the local Kanar branch presented their case and asked, 'Why are farmers allocated a quota of three gallons of diesel per *feddan* for irrigation and you insist that they cultivate wheat when people here are mainly concerned for their dates?' Moreover, the way in which the Kanar Union secured support for the emergency scheme from the Agricultural Bank of Sudan has also aroused tension. The village-based Agricultural Committee for Mora and Takkar had received provisional approval for a grant from state ministries which was superseded by Kanar's loan proposals to the A.B.S. The further disappointment this caused, and the prospect of lengthy and expensive repayments, was summarised by the deputy of the agricultural project who remarked that, 'With the Kanar constitution they will control everything, they only come once every year and we are stuck.'

Despite the fact that the main project proposal has yet to be undertaken, the plans themselves illustrate significant interaction between community initiative and national policy. At a practical level, the Kanar Agricultural Society is closely linked to the government through a steering committee which includes representatives from the ministries of irrigation, planning, finance, and agriculture, at state and central levels. More significantly, however, the union's activities demonstrate a clear correlation with the state discourse of 'return to the roots'. Indeed, this is indicated in Kanar's own proposals which state that:

The Kanar Agricultural Project represents the practical embodiment of the slogan 'return to the roots.' The General Association of the Kanar region is working towards achieving this under the guidance of the National Salvation Revolution which aims to develop the country on the basis of self-help efforts.

General Association of Kanar, Agricultural Project Proposal

Ideologically, the slogan has also been adopted and re-interpreted by Kanar. For the union, 'return to the roots' represents a return to the principles of *doshat* (co-operation) and *nafir*, which have declined because of decreasing land-holding sizes. It is also a return to an era, in the 1950s, when people remember extensive cereal crop production and when, as Yusef Dobluk, the President of the El Obeid branch, recalled, 'wheat shone like a million mirrors'. However, faced with ever more marginal urban employment opportunities and a chronic shortage of agricultural land and rural labour, the Kanar Union also views this aspect of the national self-sufficiency campaign as an opportunity to encourage urban-rural return migration, since, as the union's president suggests:

The slogan 'return to the roots' we are advocating is literally meant to incite people to physically go back and develop the area and preserve rural values and heritage, it is a matter of preserving identity in a changing world.

Hassan Hamad

NUBIAN ASSOCIATIONS

Nubians and Arabs together form the dominant core-culture of the central riverine region, though a distinct language and endogamy make the Nubians a discrete group. The Nubians are generally acknowledged as being among the pioneers of self-help development in Sudan. In 1893, Sudan's first intermediary school was built in Wadi Halfa, and the area received the first rural electrification scheme in 1910. Wadi Halfa lies to the extreme north of Sudan, on the border with Egypt. Wadi Halfa is made up of the districts of Halfa, Sakout and Mahas, all of which are predominantly Nubian areas.

Nubians are a well-entrenched urbanised group. The 1955-56 census showed that although Nubians composed only 2-3 per cent of the national population, they made up 16-18 per cent of the population of Greater Khartoum. As former clients of the Turks, Egyptians and the British, and with a well-established education system, Sudanese Nubians were in an advantageous situation to secure those urban white-collar occupations which propelled them into a position as one of the dominant élites in the national bourgeoisie. As a result it is claimed, and to an extent documented in Hale's (1988) survey conducted in the early 1970s, that many economic sectors are 'monopolised' by Nubians including transport and communications, catering, and certain university departments and civil service ministries.

The most significant factor in Nubian migration patterns, and an important issue in Nubian class status, is the massive displacement of Sudanese Nubians during the period between 1959 and 1970. As a result of the signing by the Sudanese and Egyptian governments of the Nile Waters Agreement in 1959, and the consequent building of the High Dam on the Nile at Aswan, which was completed in 1970, some 53,000 Sudanese Nubians were relocated to the New Halfa (formerly Khashm el-Girba) agricultural scheme. Relocation after the flooding of Nuba Lake consolidated the exclusivity of Nubian identity and reaffirmed class positions, most notably among the Halfawi, as occupational ranks closed tighter, and the Wadi Halfa Sons' Club split from the older Nubian Club which was formed in 1936.

Despite a ban on ethnically-based associations introduced in 1969, the Wadi Halfa Sons Club received government patronage, and Hale has noted that during the 1960s the club was associated with both pro-government views supporting the relocation to Khashm el-Girba, as well as acting as a potential channel for anti-government protests (1988: 285-86). The decision to form a separate club for the Halfawi Nubians was subject to suggestions that it represented an attempt to encourage support for the relocation amongst the large numbers of middle-class Nubians living around the site of the new club. These suspicions were further aroused when it was revealed that the first president and patron of the Wadi Halfa Sons' Club, who had contributed both the land and the building for the Halfawi, had been involved in an investment of over one million Sudanese pounds in government contracts for the construction of the Khashm el-Girba scheme.

During the seventies, as today, many urban associations were Nubian-based while few were from western or southern Sudan. In Kameir's comparative analysis of factory and building-site labourers in Khartoum North, conducted in 1976 and 1977, only 6.3 per cent of workers were members of migrant associations, though the majority who did participate were Nubians from Dongola and Mahas (1988: 34). As Hale has illustrated, the dominance of Nubian associations highlights both their leading position in the urban context and their heightened ethnicity since relocation. Their self-help organisations have assumed the functions of political pressure groups and, '... serve as one of the mechanisms Nubians use to articulate their identity in the public domain' (Hale, 1979: 382, quoted in Miller and Abu Manga, 1992: 122).

In addition to ethno-political functions, Nubian associations also play a significant contemporary role in resource mobilisation for their rural communities. This is illustrated in an account of the Nubian response to funding requests in 1993 for the Omdurman-Dongola road. Expatriates from the northern regions based in Jeddah agreed to divide the required funding for spare parts, amounting to 150,000 Saudi Arabian Ryals, between three communities, Wadi Halfa, Dongola and from Merowe, Ed Debba and Karima. While the

contributions from other groups took two months to collect, the Nubian expatriates from Dongola and Halfa paid their contribution on the very same day.

During the course of the research three Nubian associations were studied from Wadi Halfa, Sakout and Saadaik in Al Mahas. Outlines of their current roles and activities are included here to illustrate their importance, not only as significant agents of resource mobilisation, but also as models for other Sudanese groups.

National Commission for the Development and Rehabilitation of Wadi Halfa and Nuba Lake

The National Commission for the Development and Rehabilitation of Wadi Halfa and Nuba Lake established in 1983 is the most recent formation of the Wadi Halfa Sons Club. At a conference held in New Halfa in 1988, the president of the commission, Omda Ahmed Sherief, outlined the factors which led to its development:

The treaty signed in 1959 between the Sudan government and the Egyptian government for the erection of the high dam and in consequence the flooding of the area behind it, including Wadi Halfa, was done without any form of consultation with us, or any heed to our views or objections

The Halfa National Committee was formulated to speak on behalf of Wadi Halfa people, and as their representative to express their views. This was dissolved in 1962 and was followed by the formation of the Wadi Halfa National resistance movement which was recognised after the 1964 revolution. Because of many difficulties it did not function for long and faded away.

The people of Wadi Halfa left their motherland in grief and despair, because this was forced upon them without any other choice. Despite the glamorous promises and high expectations of compensations for their losses, very little was achieved. Concrete proof of this is the fact that there are still many compensations which have not yet been settled up until now, 25 years after the emigration.

Standards of health and social services have deteriorated and agricultural productivity has been lowered to a third. Despite all this a huge influx of people came to New Halfa, which strained an already pressured environment and lowered standards still further. The challenge was met with a will and resolution from all the people of the area, emigrants and old settlers of the area, all working hand in hand to solve their problems and find a way out. They were able to do a lot, but there is still a lot to be accomplished and this is why we are now meeting here.

Halfa integration and development committee was able to accomplish many schemes and projects in the area, such as the New Halfa-Sabaat road with the help of the Kuwait Government, the introduction of electricity in all villages of the emigrants with the aid of the Finnish government, and the rehabilitation of the New Halfa hospital with aid from Lower Saxony (Sherief, 1988).

The National Commission is open to all citizens of Halfa. There are no compulsory subscriptions to join the union. The headquarters of the commission are in Khartoum but there are branches in Jeddah and Riyadh in Saudi Arabia, Cairo, Nijmegen and Bremen as well as Kassala, Port Sudan, Wadi Halfa and New Halfa. The Commission also oversees sub-committees dealing with compensation, return migration and resettlement, agriculture and industry, commercial studies and information.

The Commission has attracted significant international donor interest in its activities. Despite the fact that many collaborations have fallen through because of political misgivings, the list of the achievements and plans of the Wadi Halfa Commission is extensive. In Wadi Halfa the projects include: a sanitation project (with technical advice from the Lower Saxony government); small food production projects; clean drinking water supply projects; electrification schemes; the rehabilitation of local hospitals; a centre for old women and handicapped children (financed by Lower Saxony and the Norwegian government); food for work schemes run by the World Food Programme; the rehabilitation of a fish factory; the development of Wadi Halfa river port; a vocational training centre (for carpenters, electricians, builders and engineers); town planning for Wadi Halfa (by the members of union at the University of Khartoum); and the construction of a boarding house in Khartoum for 50 women from Halfa at the university.

In New Halfa projects supported by the association have included: the construction of a 100 km road to connect new Halfa with Port Sudan; internal connector roads; the rehabilitation of the telephone system; a water pump station, and the rehabilitation of the New Halfa hospital with a health visitors' network which covers much of the former Eastern Region.

Sakout General Union

The Sakout area lies south of Wadi Halfa and north of Al Mahas. In the 1960s and 1970s a single union represented the Sakout and Mahas regions, and though it split in 1972 the separate bodies continue to co-ordinate certain projects such as an all-weather road to Wadi Halfa built between 1983 and 1985. Sakout is composed of 27 villages including Abri, the main market town. There are around 110 families living in Khartoum from Sakout. The Khartoum-based union also serves as a link between the communities and migrants working in Saudi Arabia where there is a branch in Riyadh. In Khartoum the union provides little support for migrants as personal difficulties are generally dealt with at a family level, though it is common for association members to collect money for the closest Khartoum relative to cover burial expenses.

Rural-based activities, however, include mobilising support for a local candidate in the 1986 general elections, relief efforts during the 1988 floods and a broad range of co-operative ventures. During the floods of 1988 the Wadi Halfa, Sakout and Al Mahas unions collaborated and jointly funded the costs of renting three planes from the army to send food, medicines and specialist personnel to their respective areas.

The co-operative union of Sakout, initiated by students in 1972, and now affiliated to the Sakout General Union, is based in Abri. It works with the government to provide consumer goods, such as tea and coffee, to each village co-operative shop. The co-operative society also operates its own transport fleet of tankers which ensure a regular fuel supply from Wadi Halfa, Port Sudan and Atbara. During 1993, the Sakout General Union also registered a private company through which they hope to expand the export of dates, and are further planning an agricultural project of 25,000 *feddans* to be run by this development company and financed by the sale of shares to union members.

Saadaik Benevolent Society

The Benevolent Society represents the Saadaik *sheikhdom*, a group of 7 villages in the Al Mahas area of Northern State. Membership of the association, open to all Saadaik citizens, stands at 56 active members in Khartoum, and 50 members in the Gulf states, Libya and Egypt. The migrants from Saadaik who worked in Kuwait returned to their villages after the Gulf War and funded the installation of 10 irrigation pumps. The association functions with an annual financial capacity of Ls. 3-4 million which is raised through monthly membership subscriptions of Ls. 30 and from additional donations. The society has also formed a specific delegation to lobby for government support. In Khartoum the society provides temporary accommodation for up to 20 newly arrived migrants and students. The society also rents a house in the Al Mougran area of Khartoum for 5 female students in collaboration with other Mahas groups.

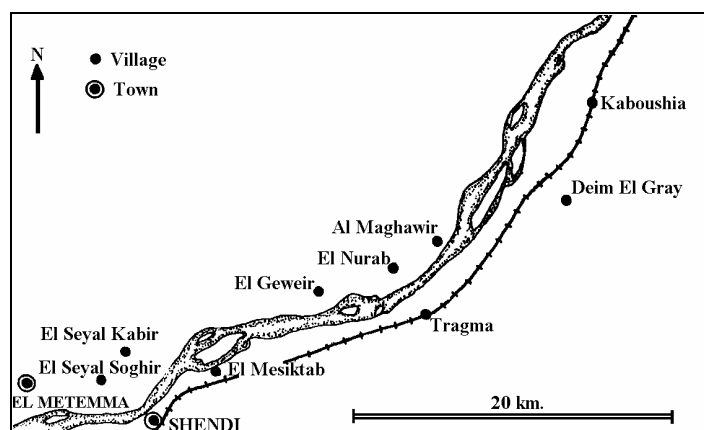
Project identification and implementation is co-ordinated at the village level through Popular Committees. In Saadaik the society has funded the construction of numerous social infrastructural projects including, a health centre (which serves the 7 villages), two schools, a *khalwa* and two mosques. The association regularly supplies Saadaik with seedlings, medicines and relief supplies and is also responsible for installing electricity and water supplies to three villages, and for launching an income-generating scheme for women in which sewing machines were purchased from the *zakat* fund.

RIVER NILE STATE

The communities from River Nile State involved in the study, Kaboushia, Al Maghawir, and Seyal Soghira, form the rural hinterland of the town of Shendi. Historically, these communities supplied Shendi, the focus of political, bureaucratic, religious and military activities, with subsistence as well as craft and trade goods (Ahmed and Rahman 1979: 259). Shendi was an important trade centre linking Africa to the Mediterranean from north to south as well as lying on the east-west pilgrimage route to Mecca.¹²

Although Shendi is still an important market for rural produce, the significant rural-urban axis in terms of development support is to Khartoum and cities in the Gulf states. The case studies of rural-urban linkages in River Nile State illustrate a similar overall picture to that found among communities from elsewhere in the north. Most importantly they highlight the significant co-financing role played by urban and rural communities alike in the provision of state services, and a complex interaction with state policy frameworks dating back to the 1930s.

Map 2.3 Shendi and surrounding villages



The case studies demonstrate diverse patterns of rural-urban dialogue. Migrants are called upon to act as passive financiers of rural initiatives in some cases, but in others are permanently engaged with rural issues through annual conferences and regular exchanges. However, they also illustrate the limited role of formal associations in supporting urban adaptation, a role played largely by an extensive community and kinship-based network. The testimony of a migrant from Al Maghawir highlights the role of the social network in urban adaptation and integration among these communities:

I left the village 45 years ago for Western Sudan. I was based in Er Rahad. When I was a young man in Maghawir I ran a shop. The same year of my marriage I left the village. I had no financial problems but I just wanted to enjoy my life and have fun and entertainment elsewhere. Migrants who came back to the village had told us about their adventures and the better life they enjoyed in the cities. So I just left my shop to my brother who stayed behind caring for the family and the business. There were other migrants from Maghawir in Er Rahad and when I arrived I received a warm reception and they opened a small shop for me. I had a little capital but they matched it and searched for a suitable site and introduced

¹² Burkhardt's account of his visit to Shendi in 1814 provides a vivid description of Shendi as a thriving market, 'It was a fabulous market for so small a place. .. a thousand miles away from any part of the world that one could call civilised, you could buy such things as spices and sandalwood from India, antimony to blacken the eyelids, medicines, German swords and razors, saddles and leather goods from Kordofan, writing paper and beads from Genoa and Venice, cloth, pottery and basketware of every kind, soap from Egypt, cotton, salt, and Ethiopian gold. There was a lively sale of monkeys that were trained to do tricks, and Shendy's wooden dishes, battered and blackened by being held over a fire, were famous. The market was also renowned for its sale of Dongola horses and for camels and other beasts to carry these goods across the desert' (quoted in Moorehead, 1963: 165).

me to suppliers. I left my sons and my wife behind in the village for two full years before I came back to take them with me.

My business and my sons are still in Er Rahad, I left all my possessions there to my family. I have come back to Maghawir to retire. My sons return frequently and try to make me change my mind but I feel quite happy here. When I got back my brother said, 'OK, now there is someone to care for everything here it is my turn to go on migration.' It is a dream for everyone to practice migration. He is now based in Wad Medani. He left everything for me, including the shop. I sell spare parts and oil for the irrigation pumps used on the *sajia* lands.

Balla (65)

Al Maghawir

Al Maghawir village is primarily a Ja'aliyin community, though settled nomadic groups occupy the Ben Jadid quarter. Private irrigation schemes provide the main source of income for households in the village (often on a share-cropping basis), along with tenancies (*hawasha*) on the government operated Seyal Agricultural Scheme which opened in 1975. Productivity on the scheme, however, is declining because of irrigation problems caused by fuel shortages and blocked irrigation channels.

A random survey of 30 households conducted in 1993 found that the average household size in Al Maghawir was 8 persons, and that of these 1.86 household members had migrated. In total only 9 of the 30 households recorded no members who had migrated, and overall 23 per cent of the population had changed residence since birth.

Within the village, the Popular Committee is the most significant formal body. It acts as the local branch of the migrant association and is responsible for running the various projects and services within the community. It does this through a range of groups including the health centre committee, water committee, the co-operative society, three mosque committees, schools committees and a cultural club. The Popular Committee raises money for services through family ration cards. A quarter of each household sugar quota is withheld by the Committee every two weeks and sold to cover implementation and running costs for village projects. Also active in the village are a branch of the Farmers' Union, the Working Women's Association, the Women's Union, and *Shabab El Wattan* (the youth organisation). At the neighbourhood level there are nine benevolent societies who support social occasions and sporting activities within the village.

These village groups are linked to student and development organisations based in Khartoum through meetings held during the *Eid Kabir* festival when migrants return to the village to discuss needs and problems. Al Maghawir People's Association was formed in 1960. Currently it does not have a clubhouse in Khartoum or elsewhere and is unable to provide services for urban members. One of the branches of the organisation, however, is the Al Maghawir University and Higher Institutes Students' Association formed in 1977 among 70 students at the University of Khartoum. The association organises reception parties, manages a fund for poor students and contributes to members' funeral and wedding expenses. In the village, the students' association is active during the summer vacations, holding cultural exhibitions and organising bazaars for the sale of consumers goods. The students also run literacy classes which are taught by volunteers, though as the association president indicates, this is an inadequate system, '... you cannot sustain such a project by volunteers. After all, education is the responsibility of the state, which is lagging behind, so we had to do something.'

Self-help development activities in Al Maghawir have primarily channelled investment into education services. There are four schools in the village, two elementary (boys founded in 1949, girls in 1956) and two intermediary (boys established in 1967 and girls in 1969). Donations and village-based *nafir* have been called to construct new classrooms at successive intervals corresponding with reforms to the national 'education ladder'. These schools, however, were preceded by the construction of a *khalwa* in 1936 which was destroyed by the floods in 1946. The *khalwa* was re-established in 1948 and upgraded in 1949 as the first elementary school in the area under British policies to promote secular education which began in 1934. The girls'

intermediate school was constructed as a result of lobbying by a 'son' of Al Maghawir, Abdel El Hakam Taifour, a former member of parliament.

Al Maghawir Association has also been active in negotiating to secure health services in the village. Al Maghawir was the site of an immunisation point until 1960 when a health unit was established which was later upgraded to a dispensary in 1970. In 1993, however, the current health centre was completed, though it is housed temporarily in a prominent member's rural home. In support of the project migrants in Saudi Arabia sent 30,000 Saudi Arabian *Ryals* to provide chemicals and laboratory equipment, the local community raised Ls. 90,000 towards a generator and the Board of Directors in Khartoum struggle daily to arrange medical supplies. Given the general shortage of trained medical personnel in provincial Sudan, the association leaders drew on all their clientelistic links to secure the release of a young doctor from Khartoum. To encourage him to stay, the association supplements his monthly salary by Ls. 10,000, and an incentive of Ls. 5,000 per month is paid to a nurse. In addition, the doctor is permitted to use the health centre premises as a private clinic for evening surgeries and shares the profits with the health committee.

Other activities include a drinking water network and an electrification scheme. Work on a drinking water project has continued since 1968 when a donation was first made by Abdel El Hakam Taifur. A well was dug in 1974 and a water tank installed in 1980, but the network does not provide adequate supplies. In total, the migrant and village community raised over Ls. 9 million for the project and received Ls. 2.5 million from the state. Furthermore, the electricity project, initiated in 1983, also remains incomplete despite contributions of Ls. 200,000 from the regional planning office and a further Ls. 200,000 from *Zakat* Chamber.

A significant feature of the self-help activity in the village, however, is the extent to which it is dependent on individual endowments from wealthy urban-based entrepreneurs rather than on broad-based collective funding. The most important implication of this process is seen in the distribution of social infrastructure within the village which creates tension between the quarters and families. The schools, the grinding mill, the bakery and the health centre are all located in Al Kamleen quarter as a result of the terms upon which individuals were prepared to donate. Informants remembered the hostility felt towards Abdel El Hakam Taifour, for example, who attempted to name the girl's intermediary school after himself in 1969. Furthermore, the location of the health centre in Al Maghawir is a product of inter-village competition and raises particular questions regarding the geographical distribution of development initiatives and the duplication of local services. Though the Al Maghawir health centre is constantly busy, a hospital is located only 2 km away in Nourab. Other communities therefore see the clinic as an unnecessary drain on their medical supplies from the local council and, for example, the Nourab hospital refused to release staff to the centre in Al Maghawir.

Seyal Soghir

Seyal Soghir is located south of Al Maghawir and lies on the west bank of the Nile opposite Shendi. The main occupation of the predominantly Ja'aliyin community is agricultural production. The majority of families hold 5 *feddan* tenancies on the neighbouring Seyal Scheme, growing wheat, beans and lentils. Many families, however, are closely linked in trading relationships with Shendi. Thirty merchants cross the Nile to Shendi from Seyal Soghir every morning where they have permanent shops. Others provide Shendi and Metemma with onions and other crops, and between 10 and 15 from the community are textile factory workers.

There is no formal association which represents Seyal Soghir in urban centres. Rather, individual project committees are formed among the migrant community when funds are sought for new initiatives. Two recent projects, electrification and water supply, illustrate how development interventions are organised between migrants and the local community.

Once electricity had been supplied to neighbouring Metemma it became possible to connect the village to the local grid system. In 1982, committees were formed in Khartoum and in the village to supervise fund-raising and implementation. The total project cost was Ls.

47,000. Around 75 per cent of this sum was raised by the migrant committee of which a substantial majority was donated by a single Khartoum-based merchant. The money was spent on materials for the electricity network and on paying the fees of government technicians who were accommodated during the work by the villagers.

The water supply project began in 1984 with fund-raising efforts based on household contributions. Male-headed households donated Ls. 1,000 while female-headed households were required to pay Ls. 100. In total, Ls. 200,000 was raised for the project. In 1986, a prominent migrant in Khartoum was delegated with seeking approval for the project from the Rural Water Corporation. A committee was also formed in Khartoum by 10 merchants. The well was dug for the project in 1989, a water tank was transported to the village by the committee in Khartoum, and the committees paid the Rural Water Corporation in Ed Damer to construct the network. Running costs for the project are deducted at a rate of Ls. 25 per month from the household ration card system managed by the Popular Committee.

Kaboushia

The town of Kaboushia is located on the eastern bank of the river Nile, 68 km north of Shendi. The area is also predominantly Ja'aliyin and its population of 36,250 is divided between 24 basic conferences. Urban centres in Sudan are required to generate their own finances through taxation. Since most tax revenue from the area was directed to the markets of Shendi, however, Kaboushia sought re-classification under the government's decentralisation programme and Kaboushia Rural Council was formed in 1992. However, limited state assistance for the new council has significantly increased local dependency on voluntary organisations. During the early 1950s associations were formed in Khartoum for migrants from Kaboushia and Hamadab, and a club called El Bajari represented El Kigek, El Begrawia, El Daragab and later also Hamadab village. The most recent formation of the Kaboushia Union was established in 1985 and represents 26 neighbouring villages.

The most recent activities of the Kaboushia Union include the construction of a vocational school equipped by UNESCO, the rehabilitation of a hospital (including paediatric and x-ray units), the construction of a secondary school for girls costing Ls. 15 million in 1992, a central pharmacy, and a drinking water supply project which cost Ls. 4 million and for which the government contributed Ls. 800,000. The union is also involved in the formation of an investment company called El Tarabt which it is hoped will generate the funds necessary to rehabilitate and manage a local textile factory. In addition, to prepare for the floods of 1994, the Kaboushia and Hamadab club requested that unemployed migrants in Khartoum return to the area and assist in efforts to protect the settlement by building *durab* (embankments). Around 15 migrants from Hamadab responded to the call.

Of the villages represented by the Kaboushia Union, several run their own associations in Khartoum including Al Galaa, Al Hamadab and El Begrawia:

Al Galaa Association

One of the most recent interventions of the Al Galaa Association is an attempt to supply electricity to the village. The association contracted labour from the Electricity Board in Khartoum for the installation of the network and a generator was supplied by the expatriated membership working in the United Arab Emirates. Despite government support in the form of tax exemption, an allowance of three barrels of diesel per month, and ongoing financial support from the migrant association in Khartoum, the electricity project has not proved sustainable as a result of escalating fuel and running costs.

Al Hamadab

Al Hamadab is one of the leading village associations within the Kaboushia Union. Indeed, the Hamadab association shares a clubhouse in Khartoum with Kaboushia which provides temporary accommodation for up to 8 newcomers. Established in 1959 the union was formed with the following objectives :

1. To offer counselling, assistance and guidance for newcomers, particularly poor students and labourers, to keep them from mixing with undesirable company;
2. To offer premises free of charge for family occasions such as funerals and marriages;
3. To get people together to conserve group identity and to consolidate efforts which serve village interests.

The Hamadab association has been active in rural development interventions since the 1950s when it first sponsored the construction of a *khalwa*. During the 1960s the union was a powerful voice lobbying for the creation of the Kaboushia Agricultural Scheme. More recently the association has supported literacy classes for women and provided extensive support for the Kaboushia-wide water supply project.

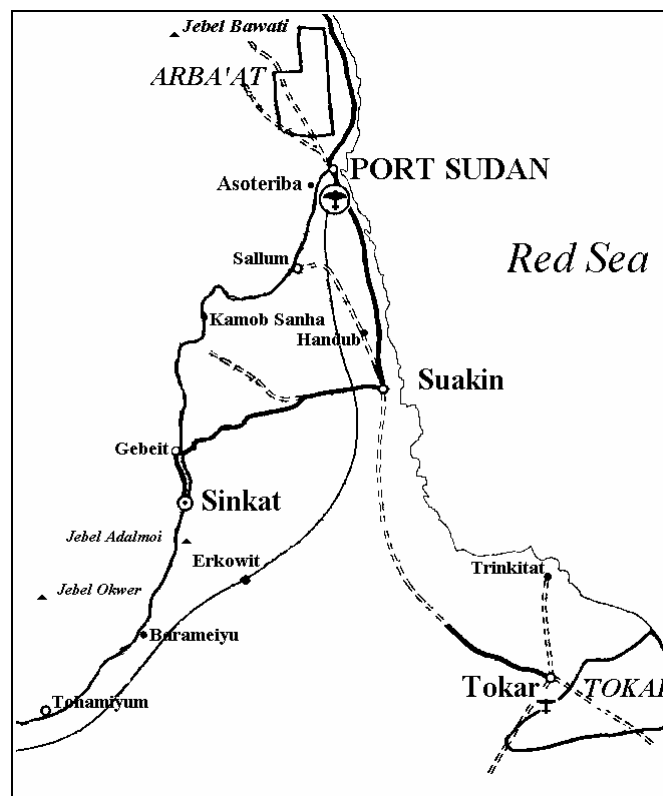
El Begrawia

El Begrawia lies on the eastern bank of the River Nile, 70 km north of Shendi. It is made up of three small villages, El-Kigek, El Begrawia and El-Danagab and falls within Kaboushia Rural Council. Agricultural land in El Begrawia is fragmented and is economically organised into 66 small pump schemes on which the primary crops are onions, wheat and sorghum. Since the relative costs of production are higher on intensive small plots, the farmers' union has proposed the formation of an agricultural co-operative society to unite the small schemes into one project. El Begrawia union was formed in Khartoum in 1965 representing the three villages, though today the El Begrawia Students' Association, which was founded by university and high school students in Khartoum, is the most dynamic organisation outside the village. The activities of the Students' Association include the provision of seedlings for tree planting among women's groups, revision courses for intermediate school students, and, together with villagers' participation and contributions from prominent migrants, the reconstruction of the intermediary school which was damaged during the 1988 floods.

3. EASTERN SUDAN

In contrast to the case studies from northern Sudan, a very different model of rural-urban interaction is highlighted among Beja groups in the north-east and their movement and connections between the Red Sea Hills and Port Sudan, the country's second largest city. Among communities from Arba'at, 35 km north of Port Sudan, linkages with the urban environment are based on intensive commercial exchanges and seasonal wage labour. Indeed, in many respects Port Sudan represents, '... a congestion of rural populations in an urban location' (Abu Sin, 1991: 11). While these processes are organised through the cultural frameworks of lineage and family, however, socio-economic support and political bargaining are also provided by ethnically overarching Beja associations based in Port Sudan.

Map 3.1 North-eastern Sudan



ARBA'AT AND PORT SUDAN

The Red Sea Hills region of north-eastern Sudan is predominantly composed of the Beja, a term used to denote five distinct groups: the Ababda, the Bisharin, the Amara, the Hadendowa, and the Beni 'Amer. All are Muslim communities primarily engaged in a pastoral economy based on transhumance, and who share the *To Bedawie* language.¹³ The representation of the Beja is as nomads, mobile pastoralists of goats and cattle in the south, and of camels in the north. The places of transhumance and the itineraries of their movements within the hills constantly shift according to the availability of pasture and water.

¹³ In addition to *To Bedawie*, there is a strong incidence of pluri-lingualism among the Bisharin, Amara and Hadendowa men who speak Arabic, and sections of the Beni 'Amer who speak Tigré.

Agriculture in the Red Sea Hills is confined to seasonally inundated *khor* areas (seasonal water courses) and flood deltas which are cultivated through basin irrigation. Earth bunds are constructed across the *khor* beds to retain and redistribute the seasonal floods. Beyond these few areas, in Arba'at near Port Sudan, Tokar and the Gash Delta, farming is not possible. The land is mountainous and the vegetation is mainly thorny shrubs. The highly localised ecological conditions of the deltas have therefore given rise to specialisation in sedentary agriculture. Millet is cultivated in *Gurub* (coastal areas) and a local variety of sorghum (*hamashion*) is grown on the *Olaib* (the hinterland).

Fruit and vegetables are also inter-cropped with these staples and have, since the decline in cotton cultivation which was popular during the late 1940s and early 1950s, represented an important source of cash income. Indeed, provision of vegetables and subsistence crops to the urban market of Port Sudan is particularly important among the Atmaan sub-group of the Amarar who exploit the ranges between Port Sudan on the coast and Atbara on the Nile, and who are settled in Arba'at. The testimony below, which relates to the 1993-94 season in Arba'at, illustrates the scope of transactions with the city:¹⁴

I grow an area of 4 *feddans* and I have 7 *feddans* in Tahaiwa. These are close to the *khor* so that the water will irrigate the land. In July I planted water melons, tomatoes and cucumber but the market is limited and the profits are slim. Transport to Port Sudan costs Ls. 6,000, the auctioneer takes 10 per cent, and labourers up to Ls. 1,000. What is left from a full car load of produce for me is usually less than Ls. 5,000. I have two wives and five children. One wife lives in Arba'at and the older one in Port Sudan. I sometimes work in government departments at the port and get a monthly salary of Ls. 7,600.

Hussein Bedri (40)

Land tenure and the rights to cultivate within a *khor* are held by the *diwab* (the lineage group or clan). Under land settlement agreements drawn up between 1925 and 1963, each group was given official rights to cultivate specific territories in the delta regions. The land in Arba'at delta legally belongs to five main Beja Atmaan groups: Abdel Rahmanab, Kimilab, Nurab, Siab and El Foyab. There are very few group settlements in the Arba'at delta, however, as farmers tend to settle as individual households on *on-gab* land (raised, non-flooding areas) near their fields. The largest settlement, established by the Abdel Rahmanab, is found at Eeshnak. The permanently settled population of the delta, which is administered by two Popular Committees, is currently estimated to be about 1,400 families, though this figure fluctuates significantly according to the season. Relations of production are determined by lineage-controlled territorial boundaries and gender:

In Arba'at we have several tribes including the Nurab and Abdel Rahmanab. Every tribe has its own territory. Our men do not allow us to visit the other tribes to see their men or even their women. They allow us to work on our farms because we are among relatives. An Abdel Rahmanab is a foreigner to us even though they are a branch of Amarar and they are Beja. We hate these traditions because they restrict us and they stop us from joining the school because there are male teachers.

Madina Mohammed (19)

All the revenue from the agricultural activities goes to my husband with the exception of small amounts which I use for daily expenses. My husband works in Port Sudan. Among the women here we usually have a *sandoug* but it is difficult to do this now because there is not enough surplus money to let us save.

Hawa Ali Abu Musa (25)

¹⁴ A survey, conducted over fifteen days during November 1994, indicated that an average of 20 vehicles travelled between *Khör* Arba'at and Port Sudan every day. They carried produce, mainly cucumber, okra, sweet melon and water melons, for about 10 farmers on each trip, a total average of 192 farmers per day. Camels were used by a small proportion of farmers whose land was generally located in more remote areas. Transport and marketing costs have a significant detrimental effect on farmers' earnings. Vehicle rental, taxes, and auctioneers' fees reduce income by an average of 39 per cent (SOS Sahel, 1995). An additional analysis of livestock and *dura* markets in the Red Sea Hills is found in Karim, 1991.

Livestock transhumance and sedentary agriculture, however, are practised in parallel with seasonal migration to Port Sudan for wage labour. Port Sudan was founded in 1905, when it replaced Suakin as Sudan's major port. Urban population in the region has continued to rise sharply and between 1973 and 1990 grew by 138 per cent while during the same period rural populations showed a corresponding decrease of 18 per cent (Abu Sin, 1991: 12). Port Sudan is therefore the primary urban centre within eastern Sudan. Inland towns, with the exception of Tokar in the south and Halaib in the north, are little more than stations on the railway line. Other urban centres, which were originally trading posts along the caravan routes to Suakin, such as Sinkat, Tahamyam, Durdeib, Mosmar and Haya, also expanded as a result of the railway and road construction.

From the 1920s onwards, pastoral economic activities have been supplemented by income from seasonal occupations in Port Sudan and varying degrees of incorporation into the cash economy. The Beja had little involvement with the city until 1931 when they were recruited to replace Yemeni stevedores in the docks. Further migration was induced in the 1950s by the growth of the building industry, and after the sale of livestock and productive assets, migration to the city was a key adaptive strategy during the 1984-85 famine. These periods of urban population expansion, however, reflect as much an intensification of rural-urban interaction as widespread displacement.

Indeed, an integrated approach to the analysis of rural and urban economic spheres facilitates an understanding of, '... the continuous political and economic contacts or bonds between the migrants and their families at home as an expression of social strategies and not as a result of ... 'attachments to traditions'' (Palmisano, 1991: 85). Links to the urban economy are mediated by the *diwab*, the family confederation based on shared descent and territorial affiliation (Hjort and Dahl, 1991: 62). Urban residence and harbour work in the *kalla* (stevedore groups) is organised on the principle of *diwab*. Consequently, the Amaraar constitute a large proportion of the dock labour force and settle in *Deim El Arab* (Lewis, 1980). The scope of interaction with the urban environment, however, is determined by the agricultural seasons. The number of Amaraar in Port Sudan increases after the rains from July to September and reaches a peak between May and June. The *shinkina hunkul*, the warrior class age group, make up the majority of seasonal workers in Port Sudan, and a typical pattern of household labour circulation is outlined in the following account:

My brothers work in agriculture. In the dry season they leave to Port Sudan. My father and mother live in Arba'at. We have relatives in Port Sudan in Salalab and my father and brothers spend the dry season with them as they help our boys to find jobs in Port Sudan. In the rainy season my relatives come to Arba'at and build their hut from *birish* [straw mat] here.

Madina Mohammed (19)

On the basis of the integration of family, territory and age relationships, it is evident that urbanisation strategies have consolidated Beja social networks (Palmisano, 1991: 86). Moreover, the capital derived from the *diwab*'s earnings through wage labour further facilitates the transport of camels, goats, and cattle between the Red Sea and the Nile. Indeed, the investment of salaries in livestock represents a redistribution of resources within Beja society from urban to rural environments, and from the market to the pastoral economy:

I have 8 *feddans* and grow tomatoes, cucumbers water melons and fruit trees. In July, the main agricultural season, I cultivated with my three cousins because their land was not inundated by the *chor*. I have a shop in Arba'at but we depend on farming. Sometimes when I am ill I go to the Tagadum hospital. I had 10 goats but now only 4 remain; I sold six to get goods for the shop, and for medical treatment and expenses during the slack season. But when we find money we will buy animals.

Jaafar Hassan Mohammed Ahmed (28)

BEJA ASSOCIATIONS IN PORT SUDAN

The organisations formed in Port Sudan by groups from the Red Sea Hills highlight community responses to political and economic marginalisation nationally, and to competition for urban employment and land within the city. These contests are frequently expressed along ethnic lines. In the struggle for local and national resources, self-help unions have therefore

presented a unified Beja ethnic identity to both central government and the range of other ethnic groups who occupy the city. Indeed, the 1973 census reported that 44 per cent of the population of Port Sudan was born outside the former Eastern Province.

Associations representing all of the Beja sub-groups developed in the early 1950s during the height of the nationalist struggle for independence. The Beja Dock Labourer's Union was formed in 1952, for example, to promote the rights of the *kalla* work gangs in the port. The Union's committee at that time was predominantly Amara. The Beja Club was also formed during this period. Mohammed Bedri Abu Hadiya, a former member of the People's National Assembly during the 'May Regime' of President Nimeiri, provides a unique insight into the formation of the Beja Club and the development of migrant associations among other ethnic groups during the 1940s in Khartoum:

I lived in Abu Hashish in Khartoum with the Rubatab. I stayed with one of my colleagues in the civil service who was from the Rubatab. I joined the Rubatab *zawiya* and paid them 3 *piastres* every month as a subscription. Those from Tangassi had a union, and the Halfawi founded the Nuba Club in Abu Hashish. The Dongola also had a *zawiya*. Social events were held at the *zawiya*. We continued there until 1950. In 1951 we began to think about how this type of group could be useful for the Beja. We held a four day meeting and discussed how to create something that could bring people together. We started literacy classes and tried to create a union. The Beja Club was founded during this early period. We rented a *sandaqa* [a house constructed from timber] and obtained a permit from the municipality. All the *kallas* gave us a shilling each to meet some of the costs of the clubhouse.

Mohammed Bedri Abu Hadiya (63)

In addition to the Club and the Union, the first conference of the Beja Congress, a political party representing the Beja, was held in October 1958 in Port Sudan. The development of the Beja Congress in the 1950s was closely linked to affiliations with the Khatmiya sect. Islam is a unifying factor among the Beja groups, but the Sufi brotherhoods are influential in urban areas, and from the beginnings of the Mahdiya movement the Amara supported the Khatmiya and the Democratic Unionist Party. Support for unionist candidates began in 1953.

Among the founders of the Congress were prominent personalities within the administration including Mohammed Bedri Abu Hadiya who is now a member of the Transitional People's Assembly, and Abu Musa Ali, the Chairman of Port Sudan Municipal Council. After Independence, the Beja Congress fought elections in its own right. Beja candidates were defeated by the People's Democratic Party in 1957, but the Beja Congress returned 10 MPs in the 1965 elections and secured 3 seats in 1968. As a result of the 1969 coup, political parties, including the Beja Congress, were banned and subsequently supplanted by the Sudan Socialist Union. The Congress re-emerged in 1985, however, when it continued to secure Beja representation and forced concessions from the central government over the appointment of a Beja as Governor of the Eastern Region.¹⁵

In periods during which democratic political activity has been suppressed, however, pan-Beja associations have been active in lobbying for state assistance through alternative channels. In 1970, for example, a delegation representing the Association of the Beja Tribes effectively petitioned Nimeiri to visit the region and release relief supplies during the drought. The most significant alternative channel, however, and a central theme in the Beja's political activities, has been support for the education of graduates for whom places are sought within the civil service. The objectives behind this programme are outlined by Mohammed Hassan Taha Shingrai, General Manager of the Sharaf-Taiga Union, who stated that, 'We believe that if we are working for the re-division of wealth and of political power we must

¹⁵ The most recent reports suggest that the Congress has re-emerged once more, this time to assume an overtly oppositional stance towards the Khartoum regime. It was noted in Sudan Update (22 February 1996), for example, that, 'The Beja Congress, the community's most prominent political grouping, accuses the government of creating conditions of misery by appropriating Beja possessions and land from relatively poor farmers and selling it or giving it to favoured outsiders'.

have a weapon and this weapon is education.'¹⁶ Indeed, additional testimonies suggest that providing assistance in the education sector has been a long-standing priority for Beja associations:

In the field of education, the Beja Fund was founded in 1937 and financed from Gash Delta cotton. The Fund had a branch in Sinkat to help poor Bejawi students with food, fees and dress. In 1940 the Fund of the Beja Friends was established in Port Sudan. This group started an elementary school in Al Ahlia in 1941 which became an intermediate school four years later.

Mohammed Geilani Mohammed (62)¹⁷

We concentrated our efforts on education and on the eradication of illiteracy. Also, when registration for schools begins we hold public meetings to tell the Beja to register their sons and demand that the government exempt them from official documents such as birth certificates as they do not have them.

Mohammed Adam Musa (60)

Contemporary observations from a daily meeting held in the Beja Club, in February 1995, indicate the current orientation of the association and the important combination of political and education strategies. The two issues discussed at the meeting were elections for the State and National Assemblies which were contested and won by Beja candidates linked to the organisation, and the sponsorship and accommodation of a student who needed Ls. 9,000 for the Sudan School Certificate.

In addition to supporting primary and secondary level education in Port Sudan, the Beja Club has also been active in securing university places. In 1992, the Minister of Education in Kassala was persuaded that without Beja places on the 'Languages Interdependence Program', a university sponsorship scheme designed for non-Arabic speaking groups, Beja graduates would not be able to participate in *Dawa* (Islamic missionary work) in the east of the country. As a result, 15 students received scholarships to the Holy Koran and Islamic Universities in 1992, followed by a further 20 in 1993. In addition, the Beja Area Students' Association, founded in 1989 and affiliated since 1990 to the government sponsored General Union of Sudanese Students, has been active in the provision of housing for students attending universities in the capital. In 1993, for example, the association raised Ls.1,350,000 for the annual rent of four hostels for male and female Beja students in the Abbasiya quarter of Omdurman.

The Beja Club is also active in lobbying for positions for these graduates in the public sector. As the club's current President, Hashim Mohammed Mustafa, asserted, 'The club has always been at the forefront in demanding the appointment of Beja graduates to government posts.' In October 1994 a delegation was sent by the Beja Club to President Omar Al Bashir in Khartoum which presented demands for Beja representation in the central government and for their educated 'sons' and 'daughters' to be appointed to administrative posts. In January 1995 the Beja Club had 34 university graduates and secured interviews for them with the Ministry of Labour in Khartoum. As a result 15 graduates from Port Sudan, and 12 from Kassala were appointed as administrative officers (including 4 women).

Today the Beja Club also serves as an umbrella for various students' associations, a women's association founded in 1965, the Dabaywa Sports Club formed in 1952, the port workers' union, and a development centre. The Tagadum Centre (meaning 'progress') was founded in 1977 and houses a 60-bed hospital, two schools (one for boys and the other for girls), a women's training centre, a *khalwa*, and a theatre. The schools and the hospital are now run by the municipal council. From 1985 onwards, with support from UNICEF, the Tagadum

¹⁶ The Sharaf-Taiga Union was re-established in 1993 and represents the Ashraf and Artega Beja sub-groups. The Union held a conference in January 1995 attended by the Governor of Red Sea State. It has several branches and 60 members in Khartoum. Members pay monthly subscription of Ls. 1,000 in town and Ls. 1,00 in the rural areas.

¹⁷ The Beja 'friends' included Dardiri Mohammed Osman who became a member of the Governor-General's Council (1953-1956), and Mohammed Salih Shingeiti who was Assistant Legal Secretary and member of the Advisory Council and Legislative Assembly.

Centre also ran a mobile theatre company which employed local actors from the Red Sea Hills to explain the importance of vaccinations. As indicated above, gender relations among the Beja are strictly conservative. In Hay Salalab and Hay-Al-Whihda districts, however, women's centres, established by the Beja Club and which provide training and credit in soap manufacture, for example, have sought to adapt to the prevailing cultural frameworks:

We are Beja and our traditions and customs can not be changed even if we leave the rural areas to the towns. Although men do not allow us to work outside the house or to trade they allow us to go to the Centre. This is because the staff at the centre are women.

Mariam Hamad

As a result of these activities the centre has attracted funds from international agencies including Foster Parent (Plan Sudan), Band Aid, the Dutch Consulate, UNICEF, Acord, Oxfam UK, and a number of Islamic NGOs.

4. WESTERN SUDAN

The case studies from western Sudan focus on four villages from Northern Kordofan State and on communities from the Nuba Mountains settled in Port Sudan. Examples from both areas reflect the extent to which rural-urban linkages, in terms of remittances, returns and associations, are severely tested by distance and poor infrastructure. Furthermore, they show that in contrast to northern groups, communities from western Sudan do not have access to social networks, platforms of power or leverage with the state which would enable them to serve as effective conduits for resource mobilisation. Rather, these cases demonstrate how migration serves not to supplement incomes but to sustain rural livelihoods, and how associations, however informally organised, are capable of responding to rural priorities. The Association of the Nuba Mountains, moreover, illustrates the key role of migrant community groups in providing urban services for the displaced in their adaptation to the urban environment.

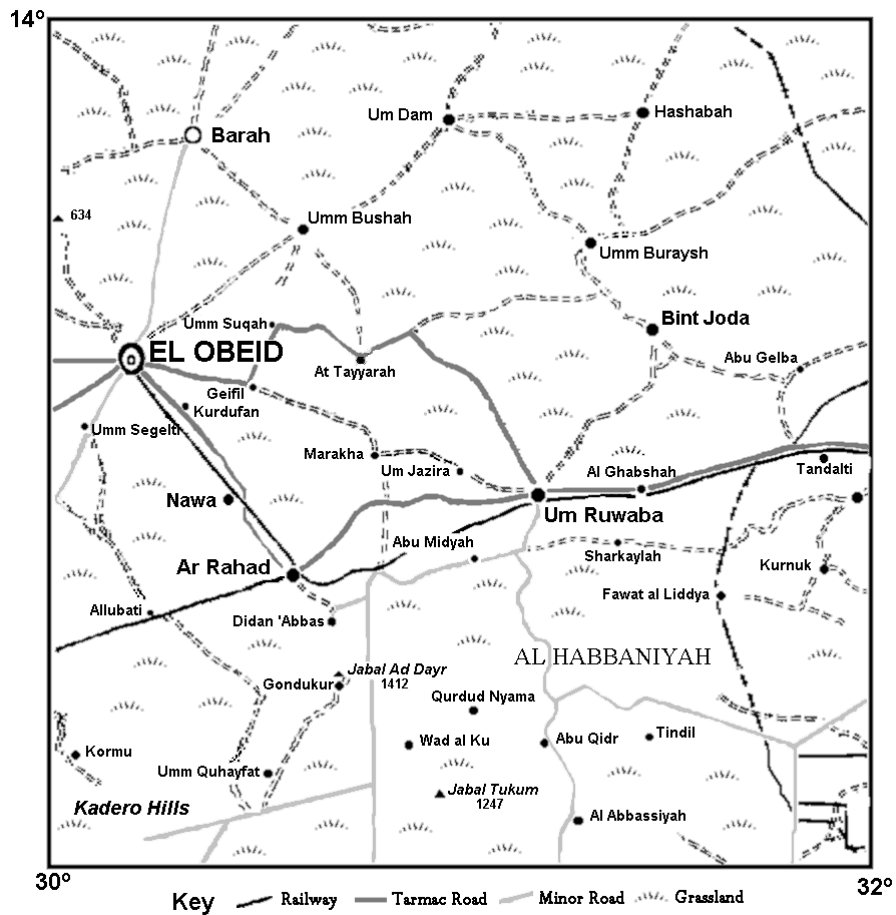
NORTHERN KORDOFAN STATE

Until the 1960s, the semi-arid summer-rain savannah belt of Kordofan was not only self-sufficient in Gum Arabic, cotton, groundnuts, sesame and livestock, but also produced substantial surpluses. Agricultural production systems have been devastated in recent decades by successive droughts and subsequent famine. Migration processes among the wide variety of ethnic groups in Kordofan have reflected these reverses. Indeed, migration patterns have switched from labour in-flows in the early part of the century to out-flows since the 1940s. In the 1910s labour shortages, which precipitated a sharp price rise in Gum Arabic, led the government to implement a policy in 1917 to encourage Hausa to settle in railway towns such as El Obeid, where the line was completed in 1912.

Since the creation of the government-sponsored agricultural schemes, however, the Jawaama area of central Kordofan has been a prime recruiting centre for seasonal labour. The irrigated areas proved particularly attractive destinations as the peak demand for labour in cotton cultivation occurs between January and March. The lack of water for irrigation in the dry season (December to June) therefore generates a natural pressure to seek work in other regions. Indeed, water shortages, caused by long-term rainfall decline, dominate several of the case studies from Northern Kordofan State.¹⁸ Migration strategies and urban transfers have been organised at household and community levels in response to these shortages.

¹⁸ Many areas of north Kordofan fall within the 400-500mm isohyets, but the mean rainfall for 1982-86 was just 260mm, and estimates suggest that the average annual rainfall has decreased by as much as 30 per cent over the last 20 years (SOS Sahel and FNC, 1989).

Map 4.1 El Obeid and surrounding districts



While seasonal labour migration remains a significant source of household income, increasing environmental vulnerability has contributed to additional patterns of forced out-migration which were manifest in the 1984-85 emergency. This form of out-migration represents the release of food consumers from the household budget, the effects of which, in contrast to remittances which may be unreliable and take several months to start, are felt immediately. Displacement to the urban environment, however, is subject to its own insecurities for migrants from Northern Kordofan, including marginal occupations, poor housing and the widespread enforcement of *Kasha*, the detention and expulsion of people without identification cards (Africa Watch, 1992: 3-4).

The following case studies from the villages of Nawa, Micho, Bint Joda and Dwaikhil, illustrate the various ways in which communities in Kordofan interact with the broad seasonal patterns of migration and the increasing incidence of long-term urban migration.

Nawa and Micho¹⁹

Nawa and Micho are villages in Er Rahad Rural Council located near El Ain forest. El Ain village lies 26 km east of Kordofan's capital, El Obeid. As relatively recent settlements, the ethnic composition of the villages, in common with Kordofan as a whole, is extremely mixed.

¹⁹ As an indication of the marginalised and disparate nature of western migrants to Khartoum it proved impossible to trace the communities from Nawa and Micho who work in the capital. For this reason the information for Nawa and Micho is based solely on interviews conducted in the El Ain area itself and therefore deals mainly with local development committees and the home branch of the migrant association in Nawa.

The village of Nawa was established with the railway development and lies on the route of the line between El Obeid and Er Rahad. Dajo are the most numerous group among Nawa's 150 households, hence it is commonly known as Nawa Dajo, but the village is also composed of Jellaba, Howara, Jawaama and Sharafa. Micho, with 80 households, is pre-dominantly Jawaama. The villages also witness the seasonal passage of Baggara (cattle-owning) and Hamar (camel-owning) groups during the rainy season, and share-cropping, based on the customary *Tugundi* formula, is common between villagers and the Hawazma, Kawahla, Bederiya and Misserya nomadic groups.²⁰

Migration

A relatively recent strategy in Nawa and Micho, migration is viewed as a necessary evil, as the following local proverb illustrates, '*Wattani wala ma li Battni*' - 'It is better to stay at home, even with an empty stomach, than to go away' (Myers and Hamid 1992: 15). The watershed for out-migration from Nawa and Micho is identified locally as the Second World War, during which, in 1941, many village men joined the army. In the early 1960s, however, with increased access to education, rising living expenses and desertification, which seriously undermined production of the main cash crop, Gum Arabic, families were forced to consider alternative income sources. In 1967, for example, during a period of food shortage, out-migration from the area took different forms including family migration to Hasahisa, Gezira and other agricultural schemes. From that point onwards, Nawa villagers took the opportunity to work on the schemes whenever they received transport from the tenants. Jawaama migrants living in Sheikh Abu Zeid area, west of Omdurman, who left Kordofan in the 1970s, identified early marriages, and the associated cash required to fulfil wedding obligations, as a significant additional factor in their search for casual labour jobs.

Indeed, more recent patterns of rural-urban migration involve the movement of young men to unauthorised settlements such as Um Badda, near Omdurman, where they work as manual labourers. The following reflection from a Micho resident illustrates contemporary developments:

Nowadays men have to go out of the village to get money for their families. There is no livestock, no Gum Arabic and there is not enough millet and sorghum to last the summer months. The village men go to Khartoum, El Obeid, Er Rahad and to Libya.

Fathima Bet El Surag (David, 1995: 147)

A profile of out-migration from the El Obeid area, based on a survey of 60 households, indicates that on average 13 per cent of household members are migrants living in urban areas or abroad (Abdelgadir, 1989: 61). Of this group, 85 per cent of migrants were male, 47 per cent were aged between 20 and 29, and on average migrants' level of education was significantly higher (8 years of schooling) than that of rural residents (2.6 years) (Abdelgadir, 1989: 61-62). Specific data relating to the migration profile of household heads in Nawa and Micho is outlined in Table 4.1, which shows a large proportion of seasonal migrants in Micho and a relatively high distribution of long-term migrants, absent for over one year, in Nawa.

²⁰ According to the *Tugundi* formula each *mukhama* is rented by land owners to share-croppers at Ls. 100 plus one-tenth of the harvested produce.

Table 4.1 Incidence of migration by married men and the ratio of seasonal to long-term married migrants (percentage).

| | Micho | Nawa |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| Percentage of households headed by a migrant | 25 | 21 |
| Seasonal Migrant Heads | 85 | 53 |
| Long-term Migrant Heads | 15 | 47 |

(Adapted from David, 1995: 148)

A recent survey of out-migration from eleven villages, including Nawa and Micho, in the El Ain area, found that on average married migrants, both seasonal and long-term, remitted Ls. 700 per month during 1992-93 (David, 1995: 148). Remittance rates in Nawa and Micho were found to be higher than this figure, however, which is linked to the relatively large livestock holdings and the higher proportions of long-term migrants.

Self-help in Micho

There is no formal migrant association representing Micho in Sudan's cities. Rather, migrants participate in village development activities through limited financial contributions and seasonal labour. Khartoum-based migrants, for example, returned to the village in 1993 to take part in brick-making *nafir* for the mosque project. Indeed, *nafir* continues to be an important means of organising labour in these villages and, for example, is called to assist elderly or ill villagers in sorghum harvesting. Micho village has a small health unit, temporarily housed in a building which is exposed to sand encroachment and which was damaged as a result in 1987. A village committee, formed in 1989, wrote to the migrant community who contributed Ls. 4,000 towards the repairs. Migrants have also contributed with cash and labour to the maintenance of the boys' school, which was opened in 1953 and the girls' primary school, established in 1970.

Nawa association

An association of Nawa migrants living in Khartoum was formed in 1983 and registered in August 1985. In the city the association assigned a fund of Ls. 750, based on regular contributions, to help members' families meet personal expenses, particularly the costs of burial arrangements. Financial resources were also used to send subsidised and locally unavailable medical supplies to the village. The group in Khartoum, whose membership had dispersed and whose rural activities had waned by the early 1990s, attempted to re-register as a formal association in 1993 in response to the flood crisis in the village.

In mid-July 1993, Nawa witnessed the most severe flooding in living memory. Heavy rains caused seasonal water courses, which surround the village, to burst their banks. Within only half an hour, two metres of flood water had destroyed most of the mud-brick houses in the village and many villagers were left either stranded on the tops of demolished huts or had escaped to higher ground. Underground sorghum stores (*matmoras*) were also flooded. In response, state authorities, together with individual donors, allocated a sum of Ls. 1,025,000 to the area for rehabilitation efforts. The Popular Committee, which co-ordinated the relief operation, spent Ls. 100,000 purchasing tents and distributed Ls. 2,000 to each of the 48 families who were worst affected. The balance was spent on the distribution of essential food items such as sugar, oil and sorghum flour and on medicines. The emergency saw the Nawa association in Khartoum re-organise temporarily and contribute Ls. 67,000. The Popular Committee later decided that the relief response was sufficient and the migrant's money was re-assigned to the rehabilitation of the mosque. As a result of the floods the State Government suggested that the village relocate to higher land, further to the north, but this proposal was rejected by the village community.

Bint Joda

Bint Joda is located 75 km north east of Um Ruwaba in North Kordofan State and falls within Um Ruwaba Rural Council. The village, with an estimated population of 3,000, is divided in two - Bint Joda El-Jawaama and Bint Joda El-Souk (the market). The village is made up primarily of the Jawaama ethnic group. For decades Bint Joda has been a meeting point for many nomadic groups (including the Shanabla, Kababish, Bam Garar, Arakeen and Bazaa) where water, grazing land and markets have been readily available. Bint Joda's regional importance was recognised by the British who established a public court (1942) and livestock market (1945) in the village.

The recent history of Bint Joda, however, is dominated by water shortages. Underground water levels have fallen, hand dug wells have dried up, and attempts by the National Water Corporation to drill for water in 1970, 1971 and 1991 all failed.

Migration as a coping strategy for community survival

One significant consequence of the water shortages, and the associated decreases in agricultural production, was that pastoralist groups shifted their migratory routes away from Bint Joda, causing a serious decline in the local economy. As a result, during the 1970s, Bint Joda witnessed unprecedented levels of seasonal out-migration with up to 200 families leaving the village. This migration was facilitated by the Gezira and Al Rahad Agricultural Scheme Boards and the Farmers' Union who provided free transport. The situation was further exacerbated by drought and food insecurity in 1984, when many family groups moved permanently to the schemes. There they found that previous policies to support seasonal labourers, including subsidies on farm inputs and food, loans and transport, had ceased. Though some families returned to Bint Joda following the good rains in 1985, increasing local water costs meant that household members continued to migrate to find alternative sources of income. High levels of out-migration, especially among young boys aged between 10 and 15, devastated local education and enrolment in the village primary school is reported to have almost halved since the 1960s. The President of the Parents' Council highlights the dilemma:

Every day water is purchased from parents' donations (Ls. 300 monthly). We have been doing this for decades. The main reason for school drop-outs is the lack of water. Families take their children with them when they migrate, and they leave the school to help in fetching water from neighbouring villages. A boarding house was established to reduce the drop-outs, but it became too expensive to run.

Mohammed Eltom (55)

Out-migration represents the most significant response to these changes. Indeed, as a result of households pursuing a range of migratory strategies, the Bint Joda community is widely dispersed and can be divided into four distinct groups, those who have remained in Bint Joda, and those who have migrated to regional urban centres, the agricultural schemes and the capital, Khartoum.

Water is sold in Bint Joda at Ls. 100 per jerrican (4 gallons) during *Seif*, the dry season. The minimum cost of water for a household stands at around Ls. 4,300 per month. Incomes are sought from local cash crop production, *hashab* forestry (the production of Gum Arabic from the *acacia senegal* tree), remittances, and dry season labour on mechanised schemes in southern Kordofan (Abasia, Tartar and Megemis). The daily wage on these schemes is just Ls. 300, which is equivalent to three jerricans of water or one sack of charcoal. The high levels of out-migration have also contributed to decreasing farm productivity and households have been forced to destroy *hashab* forest in order to extend the cultivable area. Farmers also complain that their situation has been compounded by the introduction of the 'Salam' formula for credit from the Agricultural Bank of Sudan.²¹ Declines in household wealth are

²¹ Banks in Sudan cannot lend money to clients on the basis of interest repayment. Rather, based on Islamic teachings, the ABS operates the *Salam* formula, which involves recovering loans in kind from the harvest of borrowing farmers. The Bank calculates the monetary value of the production without

most dramatically illustrated in livestock ownership rates. Based on group discussions, Table 4.2 outlines a profile of household livestock ownership since the 1960s.

Table 4.2 A historical profile of livestock ownership in Bint Joda

| Type of animal | 1960-70 | 1971-80 | 1983 | 1994 |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|----------|
| Cow | 60 | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| Camel | 15 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| Goat | 15 | 15 | 1 | 4 |
| Donkey | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 |

The following testimonies further record the effects of water shortages on traditional rural livelihoods in Bint Joda:

Bint Joda has been an attractive area since the Mahdiya era because it had plenty of drinking water which attracted tribes from the north. In the 1970s the water supply retreated. The Government provided a tanker but we invested a lot of money in its maintenance and on fuel. By the mid-1980s, after the famine and drought, the village was displaced and it took two days with donkeys to fetch water from Sabiel. Today our water is brought in by commercial tankers which is very expensive.

Mohammed Mustafa Osman

When I was 7 years old there was no water problem. In the 1970s a jerrican of water cost only one pound but now it costs Ls. 120-150. Our slogan for official visitors is '*Bint Joda at shana, bidnour almi*' (Bint Joda is thirsty, we want water). People from Um Ruwaba laugh at us. I told them that we pay your council a lot of money but we do not benefit from it; the last *souk* (market) turned over Ls. 7-8 million, but nothing was returned to the village. The officials just collect the money and we do not know where it goes. We just wait for God's support. We talk to the officials, but they only tell us to contact the NGOs.

Ali Jibriel Ali (35)

Regional towns such as Um Ruwaba and Wad Ashana were primary destinations for village merchants and professionals. These family members have found themselves under increasing pressure to support relatives at home and to find jobs for young village migrants as the following account illustrates:

I settled with my family in Wad Ashana together with 10 families, including two women-headed households, after the 1984-85 drought. The daily wage is Ls. 300 but all of the returns from our sesame production here are spent by our relatives in Bint Joda on purchasing water - 'Our children at home cry for the lack of water.'

Ahmed Abdel El Kareim

There are 119 families settled on the Al Rahad and Gedaref schemes where they supplement daily wages as casual labourers by making local drinks and collecting firewood. The settlers from Bint Joda were not granted tenancies and therefore live in temporary shelters known as *kambos* (a derivation from 'camp'):

I settled in Fao, the capital of the Rahad scheme, in 1984. My family and I live in a *kambo* and we find work harvesting *dura* and picking cotton. Among the Bint Joda families in Fao we live as if we were still in the village with the same social ties. People are always coming from the village and we always get news. The first thing we ask is the price of a jerrican of water.

Hussein (50)

Living in marginal areas of the capital and working as fruit sellers or in the cafeteria of the University of Khartoum, migrants send home between Ls. 20,000 and 30,000 per month to

taking inflation into account which means that in times of high inflation repayments often exceed their actual monetary value. In recent agricultural seasons repayment rates of A.B.S. loans were as low as 50 per cent in Kordofan and 30 per cent in Darfur in 1993-94. Many farmers are therefore inclined to revert to self-financing or the traditional *Sheil* system. *Sheil*, which means 'carrying over', is a system of credit whereby farmers sell their future crops for fixed prices to local merchants.

cover family water costs. The case of a vegetable seller in Omdurman reflects the increasing insecurities of urban life:

I send home Ls. 20,000 per month to my family. The vegetable trade was lucrative when I arrived in 1980. Now it is starting to decline because of higher taxes, the costs of living, and *Kasha*, the campaigns organised by local authorities to 'clean' the streets and markets of people working in marginal jobs.

Abdel Gadir

'This is our wound and we will bear it' - the migrants' response

Since 1988, an association of migrants from Bint Joda, established in the 1970s and based in Khartoum, has been raising money and liaising with the village to alleviate the chronic water shortage and to facilitate the re-integration of the community. The association has 140 members, and was re-registered under the new administration in 1994.

Previous attempts to dig boreholes in the village, including those secured through personal connections, have failed.²² The association therefore contacted the National Water Corporation and commissioned a geo-physical survey of the area at a cost of Ls. 200,000. While some migrants were able to donate Ls. 10,000 each for the survey, most had marginal jobs and contributed Ls. 5,000. The total amount collected was Ls. 164,000 and the difference was made up by a migrant working in Saudi Arabia. The corporation surveyed 10 sites in the first quarter of 1994 and recommended two for drilling. The projected cost of borehole digging in 1994 was estimated at Ls. 6 million.

This amount has yet to be raised in full, though the village community has made a significant contribution based on donations from their sugar quota. Ration cards were introduced in Sudan in 1990 controlling the prices of wheat flour, oil, tea, sugar, rice, lentils and soap. Even though most government subsidies are now lifted, sugar remains a rationed commodity. The quota is sold by a merchant and active association member in Um Ruwaba, and the profits are deposited in a bank account in the association's name. To date, the community has raised Ls. 2 million in this way. The association in Khartoum also contacted the Social Solidarity fund which approved a grant for half of the funds required (Ls. 3 million) in January 1994 but these funds were never released despite frequent petitions from the organisation.

El Dwaikhil

The village of El Dwaikhil is situated 40 km south-west of Um Ruwaba town, lying in Shirkella Rural Council in Northern Kordofan State. The population is small, 70 households in El Dwaikhil village (750 inhabitants). The community as a whole, however, is widely dispersed: 30 households live in the Dar El Salam settlement near Khartoum, 15 households in Omdurman, 25 households in Gezira village number 11 (Serifia), 7 in Nyala and 25 in Um Ruwaba. The village has little social infrastructure of its own and the nearest basic health and educational facilities, as well as the market place, are located in the village of Mikahyia, 4 kilometres from El Dwaikhil.

Agriculture in El Dwaikhil is based on rainfed subsistence cultivation and livestock rearing. In the past, El Dwaikhil was the collection point for ground water run-off and households cultivated sorghum as a staple food, and produced *karkadeh* (from the *hibiscus* plant), groundnuts and Gum Arabic for cash on rich alluvial soils. Following the severe droughts of the 1970s and 1980s, however, water resources, and consequently harvests of food and cash crops, have become gradually less reliable. With wells drying up, water is brought in from Um Ruwaba by commercial tankers. In 1994 a jerrican of water cost Ls. 30, while in 1995 the price rose to Ls. 50. This environmental stress has triggered a pattern of social coping mechanisms that have led villagers to leave El Dwaikhil for the greater part of the year. Those who stay behind in the village are the elderly and livestock owners, who are heavily dependent on

²² The previous Sheikh of Bint Joda, Ali Abu Shanab, a respected religious leader and poet, had many followers including the former Governor of Kordofan who arranged for a team of water engineers from El Obeid to work in the village in 1991.

remittances. Those who cannot afford the commercial water prices take their donkeys to drinking water points, a trip which takes twelve hours for just two jerricans of water.

Family groups migrate to Um Ruwaba, where they work as manual labourers in brick-laying and in other casual jobs. Migrants also travel to the White Nile area where they work as wage labourers on the agricultural schemes, while many young men migrate to the capital where they take manual jobs or are self-employed in marginal occupations such as car washing or selling drinking water in public parks and market areas. Most migrants return to participate in labour intensive agricultural tasks during *Kharief* (the rainy season).

An association for survival

Concerned by the effects of chronic water shortages in the village, Khartoum-based migrants formed the El Dwaikhil Benevolent Society in 1993. The association, with 72 members each paying Ls. 450 per month in subscriptions, was registered with the Department of Social Welfare, Khartoum Province. The group's link with the village is through El Dwaikhil Popular Committee.

Previous failed attempts to dig wells in neighbouring villages cast doubt on the availability of ground water. Research in 1986, however, confirmed that water was trapped under a basement complex which would have required expensive drilling machinery to excavate. Rather than choosing this option, however, the community decided to dig a *hafir* (reservoir) in order to harvest seasonal rain water. Contacts were made with local authorities to obtain the required authorisations and an engineering firm was contacted to design the *hafir* and provide cost estimates.

Public fund-raising in the capital proved difficult for the migrant association as such activities are subject to strict controls, but the group was successful in securing grants from two international agencies, Canada Fund and SOS Sahel. Contributions from villagers were significant, however, as they sold their sugar allocation to merchants and contributed cash and food to pay the Ls. 120,000 required to hire a government bulldozer which dug the first phase of the *hafir*. The total area of the proposed basin is 60 by 50 metres, to be dug at a depth of three metres. Further excavation was undertaken through a community labour campaign for which migrants from Khartoum returned during *Ramadam*. Families worked on the project using hand tools provided by Save the Children Fund (USA) and were paid in food. The *hafir* was completed by October 1993, before the dry season. Access to the *hafir* and the payment of water fees is managed by a village committee. Each family is rationed to 34 jerricans of water per month for which they pay Ls. 5 each. Receipts amount to around Ls. 400 per day which the committee intends to invest to extend the *hafir's* capacity. The water is restricted for drinking only and arrangements have been made for pastoralists to have access to the *hafir*.

THE NUBA MOUNTAINS

The central location of the Nuba Mountains within Sudan marks, '... a position of the greatest ambiguity' (Baumann, 1987: 7). Administratively and through trade, the mountains are linked to the north, yet northern communities perceive the region as part of the periphery of the Arab-Sudanese heartland and locate the Nuba Mountains in the west along with Darfur. Nuba is a geographical label, recently constructed and used by the Anglo-Egyptian rulers to refer to the mountain peoples of Kordofan. The collective term Nuba therefore refers to a variety of groups who sought refuge in the mountains from the rise of the Funj and Fur Kingdoms in the sixteenth century to expansions of the Baggara horsemen and Egyptian-Turco slavery expeditions in the nineteenth.

The Nuba groups can be broadly divided into two main ethno-linguistic categories, those which share linguistic affinity with originally non-Arabic speaking Sudanese and those who trace no ethnic, linguistic or cultural affinity with northern Sudanese communities. Northern Nuba such as the Dilling and Nyimang, who claim linguistic links to the Nubian-speaking peoples of northern Sudan, and the Daju Nuba, who trace their origin to the former rulers of Darfur, fall into the first category. The Nuba/Mesakin-speaking Talodi, Mesakin, Toucho and Eliri peoples; the Koalib/Moro-speaking Koalib, Moro, Heiban, Otoro, Tira, Kau and Fungor peoples; and the Kadugli/Korongo-speaking Korongo, Kadugli, Miri, Keiga, Kamdang, Tulushi and Tumtum peoples constitute the second group (Verney et al, 1995: 32).

In spite of the fact that each of these communities constitutes a separate ethnic group, they appear as a united entity vis-à-vis the Baggara, Jellaba and *Fellata* groups who have also settled in the mountains. Indeed, it is only with increased external contacts and competition for local resources that a sense of common Nuba ethnicity has developed. The Mahdiyya (1881-98) marked a transition in the isolation of the Nuba Mountains and the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium saw greater, though no less uneasy, interaction with the influences of Arabism and Islam through merchants and administrators. Indeed, Baumann has highlighted the fact that, 'The heritage of the slave trade, Turco-Egyptian and Mahdist raids, and Arab-Sudanese hegemony forestalled any spontaneous concord of Northern settlers and Nuba villagers' (1987: 11).

Competition among groups occupying the mountain region is illustrated in Baggara and Jellaba resistance to colonial attempts in 1910 to form a Nuba Mountains Province. During the Anglo-Egyptian colonial administration, moreover, the Nuba were administratively integrated into Kordofan, but kept separate by the Closed District Ordinance of 1922 whose ostensible aims were to reduce the influence of Islam and the practice of slavery, but which served further to isolate the mountain communities from the emerging economy.

Once the Closed District Ordinance was lifted in 1937, increased penetration of capitalist social relations and greater integration with the north was effected through education, conscription and seasonal wage labour. Government schools were established at Talodi, Dilling and Kadugli but these did not admit pupils from rural Nuba areas until after 1940. Following the Second World War and the widespread recruitment of Nuba soldiers, labour migration, to cotton and staple schemes established on land appropriated by the Jellaba, increased dramatically. Indeed, in 1968 the Mechanized Farming Corporation began to implement large-scale schemes which were placed in the private ownership of wealthy Jellaba. These schemes were initially restricted to the Habila area during the 1970s, numbered over 600 in the early 1980s and extended over most of the clay plains in the Nuba Mountains by 1984.

Kursany recorded the penetration of wage labour relations in a 1979 survey which showed that 83 per cent of households had been engaged in seasonal employment, though on average this was for no more than two months each year (1983: 39). Baumann suggests that wage labour on large-scale schemes and remittances from labour migration have combined to introduce cash transactions into even the remoter parts of the Nuba Mountains (1987: 18). Indeed, in 1986, an analysis of returning migrants to Miri Bara village showed that 25

per cent returned with money but that over 70 per cent returned with clothes, a key cultural symbol of the migration process (El-Fihail, 1988: 194).

The current conflict in the Nuba Mountains, which is well documented elsewhere (Sudan Update, 1993; Verney et al, 1995; Amnesty International, 1995), has given rise to widespread urban displacement. Between 1991 and 1993 up to 30,000 were displaced from the Nuba Mountains to 'Peace Camps' around Um Ruwaba and Bara in Northern Kordofan State (Verney et al, 1995: 34). The most significant destination, however, has been Khartoum. In 1986, for example, 79 per cent of Miri migrants had moved to the capital (El-Fihail, 1988: 130). Miri, along with many other Nuba groups settle in many of the 'illegal' quarters including El-Gamair, Um Badda, El Thawra and El-Fitaihhab. Migration to Port Sudan represented just a small proportion of El-Fihail's survey among the Miri, but James' (1980) analysis indicates that Nuba groups in 1965 comprised a significant minority in the city, particularly in Deim Julud, Deim El Shareif and Deim El Nour. Today concentrations of Nuba households are found in Deim Philip and Deim Korea.

Displacement to local urban centres and major cities like Khartoum and Port Sudan has had a significant effect in consolidating Nuba identity. Studies show that in the urban context most identify themselves first as Nuba, giving then the name of their specific ethnic group such as Nuba-Miri or Nuba-Ghulfan (Miller and Abu Manga, 1992: 44). El-Fihail's study of rural-urban linkages among the Miri, however, suggest that generational factors are also important and that new arrivals hesitate to call themselves Nuba though this identity is more readily adopted by second and third generation migrants (1988: 227). This distinctive identity has also been expressed politically in the formation of the Nuba Mountains General Union and the Sudanese National Party which were particularly active in the 1986 elections and won seats from the Umma Party. Indeed, an analysis of these regional political organisations suggest that they represent, '... an extra-linkage between the migrants and their villages. The political consequences of migration make the village more than the place where they can seek refuge when they are ill, old or unemployed; it is a source of political support in their competition with other ethnic groups for the scarce urban jobs and housing' (Mohamed-Salih, 1988: 89).

Similarly important in maintaining group identity, however, are the self-help associations which link urban and rural communities. Several ethnic groups, including the Miri, Salara, Moro and Kadugli, formed associations in order to accelerate the spread of education in their areas (Fihail, 1988: 129; Mohammed-Salih, 1988: 85). One such organisation is the Association of Miri Barra which was formed by migrants in Khartoum in the late 1960s. The association contributed towards the construction of a dispensary and a hospital ward. In terms of ethnic competition within the Nuba Mountains it is also significant that the association supported a co-operative flour mill in direct competition with an Arabic-speaking Jellabi merchant from Kadugli who had to close his own mill because of popular support for the association's venture (El-Fihail, 1988: 196).

Associations representing Nuba communities based in Khartoum were not involved in this study though comparative insights are drawn from the role of the Association of the Nuba Mountains in Port Sudan.

The Association of the Nuba Mountains

The case of the Nuba in Port Sudan illustrates the role of associations in organising rural referents in the adaptation of a displaced group characterised by minority status, mixed religion and composite ethnic formation, to a dominantly Muslim, Arab and urban environment. Established in 1980 and registered in 1985, the Chairman of the Association of the Nuba Mountains suggests that it attempts to provide a haven for displaced Nuba:

Having scattered in different towns and regions, the Nuba have found themselves like refugees. They could not cope with urban life due to their lack of qualifications and their different experience. Therefore they are reluctantly obliged to adopt minor works and illegal activities which threaten the security of the society. That is, they are rejected and there are many disputes in the shanty areas' (quoted in El-Radi, 1989: 36-37).

The association in Port Sudan constitutes the main headquarters of the organisation since branches in Damazin, Wad Medani and Khartoum have all failed to become established. From 1989 onwards, members in Port Sudan have paid monthly subscriptions to the club of Ls. 5 in addition to an annual membership fee which was Ls. 70. The Association of the Nuba Mountains, however, serves as an umbrella for the various ethnic groups. In Port Sudan these groups, who number over 50, are referred to as 'clans' or 'families' and form a second tier of sub-committees within the overarching Nuba Association. El Radi's survey of associations in Port Sudan (1989) highlights the capacity and activities of certain 'family' groups affiliated to the Nuba Mountains' Association. These include the Al Kwaleeb Association registered in 1980 with 75 members, the Kofa Citizens' Association registered in 1987 when it had 192 members, and the Leema Area Association established in 1984 with 80 members. The Leema Area Association, for instance, organised an orphans' welfare programme in 1986 and assisted displaced groups in 1988.

The Nuba Mountains' Association has been instrumental in uniting these groups (first on residential lines and then, more effectively on a 'family' basis), and in facilitating support for the displaced as a result of the collapse of security in southern Kordofan. On their arrival, the association places displaced individuals with their relevant 'family' and applies to the Ministry of Social Welfare and *Zakat* Chamber for assistance. The association has also organised several relief campaigns to the mountains such as a convoy to Kadaro in 1993, and the distribution of medicine, sorghum and salt to Kadugli, Dilling and the Eastern Mountains in June 1994.

The Nuba-wide organisation, however, also plays a significant role in trying to integrate the Nuba into an urban, Muslim, Sudanese society in the slum districts of Deim Philip and Deim Korea. Following the construction of a development centre, built by *nafir* in 1987, the association has provided training in iron work and carpentry. The women's secretariat of the association has also offered training to discourage women from illegally brewing and selling alcohol. The centre attempts to provide alternative income opportunities for women with sewing and cloth printing classes and by lobbying for unlicensed women traders to receive kiosks in the market. Like the Beja Club, the Nuba Association also contributes to the education migrant 'sons', as in 1988, for example, when the association contributed and collected money to send a student to study medicine in Canada.

The Association of the Nuba Mountains dissociates itself with the political implications of the conflict in the region. Outside Sudan, however, campaigns have been launched by expatriate Nuba in an attempt to break the isolation of the Nuba Mountains through organisations such as the Nuba Relief Rehabilitation Development Society and the Nuba Mountains Solidarity Abroad. Together they launched a newsletter in 1995, published in Nairobi and London, called 'NAFIR', standing for Nuba Action for an International Rescue, to highlight internationally the continuing struggle faced by communities in the mountains.²³

²³ One of the first editions of the newsletter contains an article highlighting potential plans among the *Fellata* to relocate from Damazin on the Blue Nile and to appropriate further Nuba land in the mountains. This serves to underline the way in which competition for land among different ethnic groups is an enduring feature of social interaction and a contributing factor in the definition of Nuba identity. The title of the publication, 'NAFIR' is also important as reports suggest that the government has attempted to restrict the practice of *nafir* because local beer is used to reciprocate labourers.

5. CONCLUSION

The formation and contemporary role of migrant associations are set against complex patterns of migration routes and motives, various regional models of rural-urban interaction and a dynamic interchange between civil society and the state. This study, however, has attempted to highlight the capacity of migrant communities and associations to undertake participatory and locally managed development activities. The case studies from Sudan illustrate that in processes of incorporation, of linking rural communities to the urban environment and the national economy, migrant associations perform a multitude of roles and serve a range of interests.

Indeed, the position of migrant networks and associations is characterised by a central dualism; at the same time they represent links to traditional forms of social organisation and agents of modernisation. While reflecting frameworks of family, lineage, community and ethnic group, the formation of development unions and committees also suggests a shift in the basis of social relations to association, contract, and class. Similarly, while migrant associations defend community identities and boundaries, they also endorse achievements and social recognition according to contemporary value systems. This dualism serves to illustrate Hannerz's assertion that, 'Contests may repeatedly be defined in ethnic terms; but the prizes are defined in terms of the new world system-oriented national culture and the social structure predicated on it' (1987: 553). It is this dualistic character which generates a number of contradictions in terms of the legitimacy and accountability of migrant association-sponsored interventions. These contradictions are reflected in the contrasting image of elderly men playing dominoes in clubhouses in Khartoum and the same groups transporting food and medicines as part of spontaneous community-level relief operations.

The review of regional case studies outlines processes through which migrants, and the local institutions they support, draw rural households and communities into national political and economic arenas. Colonial and post-colonial government policies, the commercialisation of relations of production, changing patterns of domestic agricultural production, and environmental and physical insecurity are cumulative and reinforcing factors which have shaped household coping mechanisms. The impact of these factors has led to a range of out-migration strategies, seasonal and permanent, and on rural and urban routes, which have consequently led to differential degrees of incorporation into the national economy. While northern groups have enjoyed a well-established urban position close to the centres of power, western and eastern groups have experienced more transitory engagements with capitalism and the capital.

An overarching feature which the various communities share, however, is rural-urban interdependence. In economic terms, the case studies illustrate how the traditional irrigated agricultural sector of northern Sudan is supported by investments from remittances sent by migrants in the construction industry and the civil service in Khartoum. Similarly, material from Beja groups in Khor Arba'at shows how livestock trade and cash crop marketing are facilitated among pastoralist groups by connections to the seasonal labour market in Port Sudan. And finally, evidence from savannah communities in the west demonstrates how the costs of family water supplies are covered by recruits to the agricultural schemes and by marginalised migrant groups in unplanned settlements around Omdurman.

Household level analysis, however, reveals that migration is a socially as well as an economically defined process. Kinship relations and social responsibilities are geographically managed as a result of migration strategies. Cases from the three regions under review illustrate this point. In River Nile State, for example, the position of *agab* and ownership of family businesses are rotated between rural brothers and urban sons. Among the Beja, husbands circulate between the city and the hills and between urban and rural co-wives, and from western Sudan ethnic groups are re-defined as Nuba 'families' to shelter displaced relatives from civil conflict. Indeed, for many Sudanese communities migration is a survival strategy, while for others, especially from the north, it is a cultural process, a rite of passage

for young men in which the contemporary symbols of migrant status are the tailored suit, the plane ticket and the briefcase.

Migrant associations represent a focal point in these economic and cultural linkages between rural and urban, local and national spheres. In facilitating migrants' adaptation to the urban environment, in interpreting and implementing changing policy agendas, and in brokering local claims on the national stage, migrant associations act as social welfare systems, agents of rural development and interlocutors between households and the national and international development community.

Adaptation to urban life is facilitated by the ability to utilise networks of friends and family. In securing occupations, accommodation and financial support, these urban solidarity networks have proved central to the process of urban arrival for all Sudanese migrants. Well-established social networks, for instance, have been crucial to the successful integration of communities from the north into public and commercial circles in the capital, *diwab* lineage networks serve to define settlement and labour patterns in Port Sudan, and family networks provide credit and job opportunities for migrants from Northern Kordofan.

Social networks and migrant associations also act as agents of cultural defence in urban environments. Ethnic and religious identities are important factors in the political cleavages which divide Sudanese society. Community boundaries are most sharply defined in the city, however, and migrant associations help both to preserve rural traditions and to reconstruct ethnic identities. Indeed, it has often been argued that ethnicity itself is constructed by competition for resources in the urban political environment. Furthermore, in Sudan it is suggested that, 'Ethnic identities and ethnic groups are seen to be fluid, to appear, undergo transformation, and disappear in response to changing distributions of resources and other conditions' (O'Brien, 1986: 898-899). As the case studies illustrate, *zawiya*, *khaima* and clubhouses formed by migrants in urban centres represent attempts to consolidate the language and customs of rural communities, and have played a central role in retaining the exclusivity and hegemony of northern riverine communities, notably the Nubian groups. The importance of migrant associations in reinforcing and re-configuring migrant identities, however, is most pertinent in the context of minority ethnic groups such as the Beja, the Nuba and the Shilluk. The various pan-Beja clubs and the Association of the Nuba Mountains, for example, encapsulate semi-fictitious ethnic entities for the purpose of retaining cultural integrity and enhancing national bargaining power.

Migrant associations therefore re-define individual identities and symbolically reconstruct the home community in the process of urban adaptation. This study also shows, however, that the dichotomy often drawn between culture and development planning, because it is predicated upon the assumption that culture is inimical to change, is false and misleading (Robertson, 1984). The case studies illustrate that these cultural organisations are also agents of continuity and change. Migrant associations generate and channel home significant resources for development initiatives and translate national and international development agendas into local terms.

From the construction of the first primary schools in Al Maghawir and the Red Sea Hills in the 1930s and 1940s, and the petitions by the Wadi Halfa Sons' Club for compensation from the High Aswan Dam project in the 1960s, migrant associations have demonstrated a significant capacity to represent their rural constituencies, to generate funds and to lobby for resources. Their developmental role has been defined by the ability to self-finance activities and to secure government support through petitions and patronage. Socio-economic status in urban centres, the formation of social networks and clientelism have determined the various strategies and capacities of engagement with the state.

From the case studies, the most striking contrast is drawn between communities from the north, at the centre of the political and economic stage, and those from the west and east at the periphery. This contrast is revealed in most sectors of development intervention. In the education sector, for example, strategies vary between consistently high levels of investment in primary school classes among communities from the north such as Kuri, and a politicised advocacy role supporting student places and graduate jobs highlighted by the Beja

associations. Similarly, the *hafir* project sponsored by El Dwaikhil Benevolent Society from Northern Kordofan and the co-operative scheme planned by the Kanar Union in Northern State illustrate the contrast between independent and self-funded activities in the west and projects in the north which are traditionally dependent on access to state sponsorship.

However, although migrant associations, particularly those representing riverine northern communities, effect a degree of accountability on investment decisions at rural council, state and national levels, the impact is limited. Despite the restrictions placed upon associational life in Sudan since 1989 migrant organisations have retained their immunity, not least because they serve to promote national self-sufficiency goals. Nevertheless, they do not represent bulwarks against state hegemony. Instead, since they are geographically dispersed, lack federated structures and enjoy differential access to state offices and officers, Sudanese migrant associations' demands on the state are irregular, isolated and uncoordinated. The schedule and approach of their interventions is therefore highly contingent on the arenas of negotiation with the state to which communities can secure entry. Rather than defining priorities, migrant associations have engaged in a discourse with the state in which both the associations and the government are able to attribute their own meanings to the development process. Indeed, the example of the 'return to the roots' programme indicates that 'development' itself is an idiom which provides, 'an opportunity to perform joint acts in which each party can pursue its own initiatives' (Lithman, 1984: 263).

Migrant association sponsored initiatives are increasingly supplementing and substituting for the state in many aspects of public service delivery. For decades, migrant communities have been instrumental in the provision of social infrastructure and have supported the construction of 'self-help schools', health clinics, water supply systems and investment in agricultural co-operatives. Their role in responding to rural emergencies, to the famine of 1984-85 and the floods of 1988, has also been particularly important. Contemporary indications further suggest that associations are capable of responding to declines in state budgets by devising alternative mechanisms to sustain local facilities and by accessing new sources of funding. The provision of supplementary salaries to medical staff in Al Maghawir, for example, and the supply of subsidised medicines in other cases are approaches which reflect revised expectations of state support. Examples from El Dwaikhil and Gilas, for instance, illustrate how migrant groups are attempting to engage with non-governmental agencies, and several migrant associations, including those from Sakout and Kaboushia, are supporting the privatisation of public services, and a shift away from voluntary initiatives, in their registration of investment companies.²⁴

Nevertheless, since 1989, migrant associations have been drawn into a complementary relationship with the state and its policy agenda of decentralisation and crop-switching termed as 'return to the roots'. This new relationship has witnessed the formation of organisations which respond to state rather than community priorities. For example, organisations representing Metemma Province and River Nile State have funded the construction of provincial headquarters, and the Kordofan Development Association has contributed to the regionalisation programme for higher education. Equally significant, however, is the fact that up to ten of the associations representing communities in northern Sudan are promoting land reclamation and development schemes as a result of recent government policy moves to support extensive wheat cultivation in the north. The Kanar Union's scheme, in which activities are co-ordinated in association with government ministries, represents the most explicit convergence of national rhetoric and policy, with local meaning and priority.

In terms of membership and representation, however, the case studies reveal further contradictions which have a particular relevance for national and international agencies

²⁴ The formation of private investment companies by migrant associations has also been observed in western Nigeria (Trager, forthcoming).

engaged in local institutional support in Sudan.²⁵ This type of community-based organisation retains specific features seemingly incompatible with democratic and gender balanced development. Many of these organisations are informal and 'invisible' making them difficult to negotiate with; they dissolve and reform frequently, often re-emerging as a response to rural emergencies. Moreover, these groups are not democratic in a Western sense; internal democracy is maintained through consensus rather than elections, leaders are often drawn from traditional hierarchies, and in some cases the views of rural and urban constituencies are poorly articulated because of the distances or personalities involved. Record keeping and accounting are also limited, but most significant is the fact that Sudanese migrant associations are neither gender neutral nor gender balanced. Urban and rural women's labour and fund-raising contributions for association-sponsored activities fail to compensate for their serious under-representation in membership and decision-making. Numerous projects have been designed for women, but the case studies highlight the fact that initiatives proposed by women, in the fields of employment and income-generation, are rarely tackled.

Indeed, apart from investment in agricultural co-operatives in the north, migrant associations rarely support productive activities. Elsewhere in Africa, migrant associations are similarly criticised for supporting infrastructural projects with correspondingly little investment made in rural employment generation. A comparison with similar associations in Nigeria is illuminating. Home-town improvement unions, for example, are also accused of failing to consider the sustainability of their investments, of concentrating resources in the home community to the exclusion of wider regional considerations, and of burdening rural populations by demanding labour or cash, sometimes under duress (Adejunmobi, 1990: 230).

With the notable exception of the Kanar Union, the Sudanese evidence illustrates that rural and urban participation in planning, financing and implementation enhances the legitimacy of migrant association-supported interventions. Nevertheless, material from Al Maghawir concerning the location of social facilities, both within the village quarters and relative to neighbouring communities, demonstrates that project initiatives can be fuelled by inter-village competition and by the demands of individual patrons. Major operational shortcomings can derive from 'extreme individualism' which, in Nigerian cases, has led to a situation whereby, '... intractable leadership tussles have chilled communal cooperative spirits, thereby making the unions ineffective vehicles of grassroots mobilization and development' (Enemu and Oyediran, 1990 : 17 quoted in Vaughan, 1995: 517).

In contrast to the dynamic interplay of tradition and modernity, ethnicity and class in Sudanese associations, it is suggested that other African organisations manipulate an ideology of kinship and ethnicity as a cloak for the interests of their educated élite leadership. In this light, Nigerian home-town unions are seen to neglect poor newly arrived migrants and serve as platforms for rival urban businessmen who propose inappropriate agendas of prestige projects and geo-political intrigue (Trager, 1994). In comparison, various 'checks and balances' facilitate a highly inclusive membership composition in Sudanese associations. Consequently, associations place few financial barriers on recruiting migrants, who are often poorly educated and in low-paid jobs. For these migrants, social solidarity and welfare are central to their urban arrival. Indeed, the majority of the associations they join

²⁵ A national participatory workshop, organised by SOS Sahel and Al Fanar, was held in Shendi, River Nile State, between 8-9 July 1995 at which representatives from the following communities and associations took part: Atmour, Kuri, Al Maghawir, Seyal Soghir, Kaboushia, Shendi, Hamadab, Begrawia, Fashoda, Sharaf-Taiga, El Dwaikhil, Bint Joda and the High Corporation for the Development of Nile State. The workshop acknowledged the importance of self-financing, but emphasised the need to access new sources of finance. The discussants also highlighted the need to simplify regulations which govern the registration of voluntary organisations. Association representatives also recognised the need to provide women with a greater roles in decision making. In addition, participants noted the need for specific training which should be targeted to enable groups to satisfy proposal and report writing demands from the NGO community. Associations also identified the need to establish networks at regional, state or at national levels to co-ordinate their activities and enhance their bargaining power.

combine urban support with rural transfers, link poor and élite, and incorporate social differentiation with social security (Pratten and Baldo, 1995: 123). The position of Sudanese migrant associations at the nexus of a range of local institutions, including governmental bodies, further enhances their broad-based local legitimacy.

Indeed, it is the combination of functions, preserving traditions and promoting modernity, that has led some observers to note that, 'With such a goal, calculated to foster nation building, economic development, productivity, education and modernization, as well as helping fellow ethnics to compete more effectively in the ever more bitter battle for employment, ethnic organisation seems to have become virtuous despite separatist dangers' (Southall, 1975: 268fn). By mediating the oppositions and complexities thrown up by urban migrations and the responsibilities retained by communities in their rural birthplace, associations perform a multitude of roles and contain broad contradictions. It is because of these various roles, however, that associations are able to retain their legitimacy and dynamism, since they function as social, funeral and savings clubs and can in addition become job-finders, urban homes, substitute families, forums for discussion, springboards for political careers, and vanguards of rural development. Indeed, as Lentz has argued, '... it is precisely this multiplicity of official and unofficial roles that makes their continuation possible, despite all the contradictions...' (1995: 422).

Highlighting the role of social coping strategies may risk underestimating the extent to which social reform and public intervention remain urgent priorities. The current climate of state retrenchment in Sudan, as elsewhere in Africa, however, has focused attention on the development roles of alternative, non-governmental forms of social organisation. Participatory approaches to development in needs assessment, decision making, implementation, monitoring and cost-effectiveness suggest that, '... there is enormous potential in applying the mobilization capacity of ... traditional, informal, soft, sometimes amorphous, but still working organizations, to the task of purposively pursued development ... Many can be strengthened and connected to development programmes' (Cernea, 1987: 13). It is the complexity of functions and interests which migrant associations undertake, however, which challenges the international development community to rethink its criteria for institutional capacity building. And it is precisely because of the contradictions which migrant associations contain that, 'Engaging with traditional CBOs is probably the most difficult but potentially important institutional development issue' (Fowler, 1992: 40).

REFERENCES

Newspapers and periodicals

El Inghaz

Sudan News and Views

Sudan Update

SUNA Daily Bulletin

Secondary sources

- Abdelgadir, Usama Osman (1990) 'The Impact of Education, Migration and Remittances on Rural Agricultural Households in the El-Obeid Area, Sudan', PhD Thesis: University of Missouri.
- Abdelkarim, A. (1985) 'The Segmented Agricultural Labour Market in Sudan', *Review of African Political Economy* (34), pp.46-53.
- (1987) 'Some Aspects of Commoditisation and Transformation in Rural Sudan', In T. Barnett and A. Abdelkarim (eds.) *Sudan, State, Capital and Transformation*, London: Croom Helm, pp.141-160.
- Abu Sin, M.E.H. (1991) 'Urban Process and Environmental Change in the Red Sea Province', RESAP Technical Papers No.6, Khartoum: University of Khartoum.
- Adam, M. and M.A. Abdul-Jalil (1988) 'Some Political Aspects of Zaghawa Migration and Resettlement', In F.N. Ibrahim and H. Ruppert (eds.) *Rural-Urban Migration and Identity Change: Case Studies from the Sudan*, Bayreuth: University of Bayreuth, pp.13-37.
- Adejunmobi, A. (1990) 'Rural-Urban Socio-economic Links: the example of migrants in Southwest Nigeria', *Community Development Journal* 25 (3), pp.225-235.
- Africa Watch (1992) 'Sudan: Refugees in their own country - the forced relocation of squatters and displaced people from Khartoum', *New from Africa Watch* 4 (10).
- African Rights (1995) 'Facing Genocide: the Nuba of Sudan', African Rights.
- Ahmed, A.G.M. (1979) 'Tribal' Elites: A Base for Social Stratification in the Sudan', In S. Diamond (ed.) *Towards a Marxist Anthropology*, The Hague: Mouton, pp.321-335.
- Ahmed, A.G.M. and Mustafa Abdel Rahman (1979) 'Small Urban Centres: Vanguards of Exploitation: Two Cases from Sudan', *Africa* 49 (3), pp.258-271.
- Al Fanar Centre for Development Services (1992) *The Local Non-Governmental Sector in Sudan: A Critical Survey*, Khartoum.
- Al Shahi, Ahmed S. (1972) 'Proverbs and social values in a northern Sudanese village', In I. Cunnison and W.R. James (eds.) *Essays in Sudan Ethnography*, London: Hurst and Co, pp.87-104.
- (1991) 'The Nile gives with one hand and takes with the other': the repercussions of recent flooding in the Shaigiya region of Northern Sudan', Conference Proceedings, Durham: Sudan Studies Society, pp.315-333.
- Al-Teraifi, Al-Agab Ahmed (1991) 'Financing regional and local government in Sudan', *Environment and Urbanisation* 3 (2), pp.136-144.
- Amnesty International (1995) *The Tears of Orphans': No future without human rights*, London: Amnesty International.
- Barkan, J.D., M.L. McNulty and M.A.O. Ayeni (1991) 'Hometown' Voluntary Associations, Local Development, and the Emergence of Civil Society in Western Nigeria', *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 29 (3), pp.457-480.
- Barnes, Sandra T. (1975) 'Voluntary Associations in a Metropolis: The Case of Lagos,' *African Studies Review* 18 (2), pp. 75-87.
- Baumann, Gerd (1987) *National Integration and Local Integrity: The Miri of the Nuba Mountains in the Sudan*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Bratton, Michael (1988) 'Beyond the State: Civil Society and Associational Life in Africa,' *World Politics* 41 (3), pp.407-430.
- Cerneia, M.M. (1987) 'Farmer Organisations and Institution Building for Sustainable Development', *Regional Development Dialogue* 8 (2), pp.1-19.

- Choucri, N. (1985) *A Study of Sudanese National Working Abroad*, Vols 1 and 2, Massachusetts: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Cruise O'Brien, Donal B. (1986) 'Wails and whispers: the people's voice in West African Muslim politics', In Patrick Chabal (ed.) *Political Power in Africa: Reflections on the Limits of Power*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.71-83.
- David, Rosalind (1995) *Changing Places? Women, Resource Management and Migration in the Sahel*, London: SOS Sahel International UK.
- Davies, H.R.J. (1991) 'Population Change in the Capital Region', In M.E. Abu Sin and H.R.J. Davies (eds.) *The Future of Sudan's Capital Region: a Study in Development and Change*, Khartoum: Khartoum University Press, pp.132-141.
- Deng, Francis M. (1995) *War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan*, Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute.
- Duffield, Mark (1979) 'Fulani Mahdism and Revisionism in Sudan: 'hijra' or compromise with colonialism', In Yusuf Fadl Hasan and Paul Doornbos (eds.) *The Central Bilad Al Sudan: Tradition and Adaptation*, Khartoum: El Tamaddon Press, pp.283-305.
- (1981) *Maiurno: Capitalism and Rural Life in Sudan*, London: Ithaca.
- Economist Intelligence Unit (1993) *Sudan*, EIU Country Profile 1993-4.
- Edwards, Michael and David Hulme (eds.) (1995) *Non-Governmental Organisations - Performance and Accountability: Beyond the Magic Bullet*, London: Earthscan.
- El Battanhani, Atta El Hassan (1991) 'State Bureaucracy and Disaster Management in the National Capital Commission: the case of the 1988 Rain and Flood Disaster', In M.E.H. Abu Sin (ed.) *Disaster Prevention and Management in Sudan*, Khartoum: University of Khartoum, pp.197-213.
- El-Dishouni, Sharif (1989) *Tradition and Modernisation in Sudanese Irrigated Agriculture: Lessons from Experience*, Khartoum: University of Khartoum.
- El-Fihail, Ismail Ali (1988) *The Impact of Rural-Urban Migration on the Process of Identification on the Miri Ethnic Group*, Bayreuth, University of Bayreuth.
- El-Kheir, Osman Mohamed (1991) 'Unauthorized Settlements in Greater Khartoum', In M.E. Abu Sin and H.R.J. Davies (eds.) *The Future of Sudan's Capital Region: A Study in Development and Change*, Khartoum: Khartoum University Press, pp.156-166.
- El Radi, Gadalla Adam (1989) 'Feasibility Study: Indigenous Organisations in Port Sudan', Khartoum: Community Aid Abroad.
- El-Shazali, Ibrahim Salah El-Din (1988a) 'Emergence and Expansion of the Urban Wage-Labour Market in Colonial Khartoum', In T. Barnett and A. Abdelkarim (eds.) *State, Capital and Transformation in the Sudan*, London: Croom Helm, pp.181-202.
- (1988b) 'The structure and operation of urban wage-labour markets and the trade unions', In N. O'Neill and J.J. O'Brien (eds.) *Economy and Class in Sudan*, Aldershot: Avebury, pp.239-276.
- (1992) 'Patterns of Internal Wage Migration in the Horn of Africa: the Case of Sudan', In P. Doornbos, Lionel Cliffe, A.G.M. Ahmed and J. Markakis (eds.) *Beyond the Conflict in the Horn: the Prospects for Peace, Recovery and Development in Ethiopia, Somalia, Eritrea and Sudan*, The Hague: The Institute of Social Studies, pp.118-126.
- El-Tayeb, Galal El-Din and Omer Egiemi (1991) 'Service Provision: a challenge to the future management of the capital', In M.E. Abu Sin and H.R.J. Davies (eds.) *The Future of Sudan's Capital Region: A Study in Development and Change*, Khartoum: University of Khartoum, pp.188-198.
- Enemuo, F.C. and Oyeleye Oyediran (1990) 'Community Development Associations as Agents of Rural Transformation: A case study of Town Unions in Anambra State', Paper presented at the National Seminar in Integrated Rural Development Policy in Nigeria, Abuja.
- Fallon, P. (1994) 'Labour Markets in the Sudan', In S.E. Omer, and W.J. House (eds.) *Population and Human Resources Development in the Sudan*, Ames: Iowa State University Press, pp.207-227.
- Fecadu Gadamu (1970) 'Social and cultural foundation of the Gurage associations', In Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Ethiopian Studies 1966, Volume 3, Institute of Ethiopian Studies, pp.203-214.

- Fowler, Alan (with Piers Campbell and Brian Pratt) (1992) *Institutional Development & NGOs in Africa: policy perspectives for European development agencies*, Intrac and Novib.
- Galal Al-Din, M. El-Awad (1980) 'The Nature and Causes of Labour Migration to Khartoum Conurbation', In Valdo Pons (ed.) *Urbanization and Urban Life in Sudan*, Khartoum: University of Khartoum and University of Hull, pp.425-449.
- (1988) 'Sudanese Migration to the Oil-Producing Arab Countries', In N. O'Neil and J.J. O'Brien (eds.) *Economy and Class in Sudan*, Aldershot: Avebury, pp.291-307.
- Hale, Sondra (1979) 'The Changing Ethnic Identity of Nubians in an Urban Milieu: Khartoum, Sudan', PhD Dissertation, Los Angeles: University of California.
- (1988) 'Elite Nubians of Greater Khartoum: a study of changing ethnic alignments', In N. O'Neill and J.J. O'Brien (eds.) *Economy and Class in Sudan*, Aldershot: Avebury, pp.277-290.
- Hamad, Abdelhadi al Zubeir (1993) 'Dismantling Civil Society: Suppression of Freedom of Association in Sudan', *Censorship News* (27), London: Article 19.
- Hannerz, Ulf (1987) 'The World in Creolisation', *Africa* 57 (4), pp.546-559.
- Hassan, Abdalla Eltom (1994) 'Migration in the Sudan', In O.S. Ertur and W.J. House (eds.) *Population and Human Resources Development in the Sudan*, Ames: Iowa State University Press, pp.126-140.
- Hjort, A and G. Dahl (1991) *Responsible Man: the Atmaan Beja of North-Eastern Sudan*, Uppsala: Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology and Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Jamal, Vali & John Weeks (1988) 'The Vanishing Rural-Urban Gap in Sub-Saharan Africa', *International Labour Review* 127 (3), pp.271-292.
- James, Wendy (1980) 'The Shanty Towns of Port Sudan', In Valdo Pons (ed.) *Urbanization and Urban Life in Sudan*, Khartoum and Hull: University of Khartoum and University of Hull, pp.486-513.
- Jules-Rosette, B. (ed.) (1979) *The New Religions of Africa*, Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.
- Kameir, El Wathig Mohamed (1988) *The Political Economy of Labour Migration in the Sudan: A comparative case study of migrant workers in the Sudan*, Hamburg: Institut für Afrika-Kunde.
- Karim, Hassan Ali Gad (1991) 'Trade, Tradelinks and Market Behaviour in the Red Sea Province', *RESAP Technical Papers* (2) University of Khartoum.
- Kursany, I. (1983) 'Peasants of the Nuba Mountains Region', *Review of African Political Economy* (26) pp.35-44.
- Lee-Smith, D. and R. Stren (1991) 'New Perspectives on African Urban Management', *Environment and Urbanization* 3 (1) pp.23-36.
- Lentz, Carola (1995) 'Youth associations in northern Ghana - unity for development,' *Africa* 65 (3), pp.395-429.
- Lewis, B.A. (1980) 'Deim El Arab and the Beja Stevedores of Port Sudan', In Valdo Pons (ed.) *Urbanization and Urban Life in Sudan*, Khartoum and Hull: University of Khartoum and University of Hull, pp.540-589.
- Lithman, Yngve Georg (1984) 'When Tomorrow is Today: Development as the Idiom of Routine,' *Ethnos* 3-4, pp.250-265.
- Little, Kenneth (1965) *West African Urbanisation: A Study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lobban, Richard A. (1982) 'Sudanese Class Formation and the Demography of Urban Migrants', In H.I. Safa (ed.) *Towards a Political Economy of Urbanisation in Third World Countries*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp.67-83.
- Lonsdale, John (1986) 'Political accountability in African History,' In Patrick Chabal (ed.) *Political Domination in Africa: Reflections on the Limits of Power*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.126-157.
- McLoughlin, Peter, F.M. (1962) 'Economic Development and the Heritage of Slavery in the Sudan Republic', *Africa* 32 (4).
- Meillassoux, Claude (1968) *Urbanisation of an African Community: Voluntary Associations in Bamako*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.
- Miller, Catherine and Al-Amin Abu Manga (1992) *Language Change and National Integration: Rural Migrants in Khartoum*, Khartoum: Khartoum University Press.

- Mohammed-Salih, Mohammed A. (1988) 'The Socio-Economic Effects of Migrants and Returnee Migrants in the Nuba Mountains', In F.N. Ibrahim and H. Ruppert (eds.) *Rural-Urban Migration and Identity Change: Case Studies from the Sudan*, Bayreuth: University of Bayreuth, pp.79-94.
- Moorehead, Allan (1963) *The Blue Nile*, New York: Dell Publishing Co.
- Musa Adam and Abdul-Jalil, M.A. (1988) 'Some Political Aspects of Zaghawa Migration and Resettlement', In F.N. Ibrahim and H. Ruppert (eds.) *Rural-Urban Migration and Identity Change: Case Studies from the Sudan*, Bayreuth: University of Bayreuth, pp.13-37.
- Myers, Mary and Amani Awad Hamid (1992) 'The Effects of Male Out-Migration on Women's Management of the Natural Resource Base in the Sahel - Summary Report, El Ain Area, Sudan', London: SOS Sahel International UK.
- Nuijten, Monique (1992) 'Local Organization as Organizing Practices: Rethinking Rural Institutions', In Norman Long and Ann Long (eds.) *Battlefields of Knowledge: the interlocking of theory and practice in social research and development*, London: Routledge pp.189-207.
- O'Brien, J.J. (1986) 'Towards a Reconstitution of Ethnicity: Capitalist Expansion and Cultural Dynamics in Sudan', *American Anthropologist* 88 (4), pp.898-907.
- (1988) 'The Formation and Transformation of the Agricultural Labour Force in Sudan', In N. O'Neill and J.J. O'Brien (eds.) *Economy and Class in Sudan*, Aldershot: Avebury, pp.137-156.
- Omda Ahmed Sherief (1988) 'Introductory speech by the President of the Halfa Integration and Development Committee at the Conference in New Halfa in March 1988', (Reprinted in *Arab Medical Bulletin* (10) 3-4, pp. 11-12).
- Owen, Roger (1985) *Migrant Workers in the Gulf*, London: Minority Rights Group.
- Palmisano, Antonio L. (1991) *Ethnicity: The Beja as Representation*, *Ethnizität und Gesellschaft: Occasional Papers No. 29*, Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin.
- Parkin, David (1966) 'Voluntary Associations as an Adaptive Institution', *Man* 1 (1), pp.90-95.
- Pratten, David and Suliman Ali Baldo (1995) "'Return to the Roots": Processes of Legitimacy in Sudanese Migrant Associations', In Michael Edwards and David Hulme (eds.) *Non-Governmental Organisations - Performance and Accountability: Beyond the Magic Bullet*, London: Earthscan, pp.119-129.
- Pyle, Alison S. and Omer Abdel Gabbar (1989) 'Household Vulnerability to Famine: Survival and recovery strategies among Zaghawa and Berti migrants in Northern Darfur, Sudan, 1982-1989', University of Arkansas.
- Quiminal, Catherine (1991) 'Du voyage à l'association', In C. Daum (ed.) *Du Foyer au Village: Associations Immigrées et Transformations dans la Vallée du Fleuve Sénégal*, Paris: GRDR, pp.14-15.
- Rehfishch, F. (1980) 'Rotating Credit Associations in the Three Towns', In Valdo Pons (ed.) *Urbanization and Urban Life in Sudan*, University of Khartoum and University of Hull, pp.689-706.
- Ricca, S. (1989) *International Migration in Africa: Legal and Administrative Aspects*, Geneva: ILO.
- Robertson, A.F. (1984) *People and the State: An Anthropology of Planned Development*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ruppert, H. (1988b) 'The Migration of the Zaghawa to the Khartoum/Omdurman Conurbation', In F.N. Ibrahim and H. Ruppert (eds.) *Rural-Urban Migration and Identity Change: Case Studies from the Sudan*, Bayreuth: University of Bayreuth, pp.63-79.
- SOS Sahel International UK (1993) *Community Forestry Project, Ed Debba: Phase Two Household Survey, Project Document*.
- (1995) *Marketing Survey of Arba'at Products: a Baseline Survey Paper*, Port Sudan.
- SOS Sahel International UK and Forest National Corporation (1989) *Proposals for a Natural Forest Management Project in El Ain, Kordofan, Project Document*.
- Sudan Update (1993) 'Sudan Update Chronology - Conflict in the Nuba Mountains' *Sudan Update* 4 (11).
- Southall, Aidan (1975a) 'From Segmentary Lineage to Ethnic Association - Luo, Luhya, Ibo and Others', In Maxwell Owusu (ed.) *Colonialism and Change: Essays presented to Lucy Mair*, The Hague and Paris: Mouton, pp.203-229.

- (1975b) 'Forms of Ethnic Linkage Between Town and Country', In David Parkin (ed.) *Town and Country in Central and Eastern Africa*, London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute pp. 265-275.
- Stalker, Peter (1994) *The Work of Strangers: A survey of international labour migration*, Geneva: ILO.
- The Republic of Sudan (1989) *Population and Housing Census of the Sudan 1983*, Khartoum: Population Census Office, Department of Statistics..
- Trager, L. (1994) 'Rural-Urban Linkages and Local Development in Nigeria: Whose Agenda? What Impact?', Paper presented at the African Studies Association Meeting, Toronto, Canada, November 1994.
- (forthcoming) 'Structural Adjustment, Hometowns and Local Development in Nigeria' In *Economic Analysis Beyond the Local System*, Society for Economic Anthropology Monograph, University Press of America.
- Uphoff, N. (1986) *Local Institutional Development: An analytical sourcebook with cases*, West Hartfield: Kumarian Press.
- Vaughan, Olufemi (1995) 'Assessing Grassroots Politics and Community Development in Nigeria', *African Affairs* 94, pp.501-518.
- Verney, Peter (et. al.) (1995) *Sudan: Conflict and Minorities*, London: Minority Rights Group.
- Zahir, Fahima (1972) 'Khartoum North Squatters Settlements. Urbanization, migration and adjustment to the urban setting', In S. Bushra (ed.) *Urbanization in the Sudan*, Khartoum: Philological Society of Khartoum, pp.222-243.
- Ziche, Joachim and M.A.M. Salih (1984) 'Traditional Communal Labour and Rural Development: Examples from Africa South of the Sahara', *DSRC Seminar* (49), University of Khartoum.

ANNEX 1

PROFILES OF ADDITIONAL MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS IN SUDAN

A preliminary survey of migrant groups was conducted in Khartoum in August 1993. Information on these associations was supplemented during the course of the study and is included here for comparative purposes. In order to correspond with the main case studies the profiles are divided by region of origin.

Northern Sudan

El Arak People's Union

El Arak Sheikhdum in Rural Karima Council is made up of a group of 16 small villages. The union was founded in 1954. Membership in 1993 was 336 in Khartoum and included 14 government ministers and a number of senior civil servants. The union is responsible for the construction of two secondary schools (one for boys, the other for girls), two intermediate schools and one mixed preliminary school in El Arak. The union has also constructed a health centre which it supplies with medicines and equipment.

Atmor Development Association

Atmor, with a population of around 4,000, is located in Northern State on the west bank of the Nile opposite Abu Dis which is 60 km south of Abu Hamad. The Atmor area is made up of 4 villages, Atmor, Kokgos, Obedab and Amaki. The first self-help activity in Atmor was the construction of a boys' primary school in 1948 which serves the two villages of Atmor and Amaki. During the 1960s and 1970s, other projects, all built with funds from migrants, notably those working in the Gulf states, included a high school for girls, a rural hospital shared by all the villages, and 4 intermediary schools in outlying villages. The girls' school, for example, was built in 1984 at a cost of Ls. 350,000, Ls. 70,000 of which came from Saudi Arabia. The association has been most recently involved in a project to secure clean drinking-water. Since the 1970s, silt deposits have blocked sections of the Nile's flow, and water is therefore drawn from the dangerously fast flowing main river course. A water committee, established in 1991, received support from the Sudanese Development Agency (SDA) and Oxfam (USA), and is monitoring the construction of a water tower, sedimentation basins, and a network of pipes covering 4,200 metres.

El Goled Association

El Goled lies 75 km north east of Ed Debba. The area is made up of 23 villages each of which is represented in Khartoum and which together make up the Development Projects Committee of El Goled Association. El Goled association has a social club in the Amarat area of Khartoum with a clubhouse built in 1976, and has affiliate branches in Wad Medani and Kosti. The main current activity of El Goled Association is the construction of a hospital with 120 beds in 4 wards - the largest in Northern State. The project is entirely self-financed, but by 1993 was only partly completed because of the effects of soaring inflation on costs. Desertification, and irrigation problems caused by the shifting course of the Nile, have led to serious declines in productivity on local co-operative schemes including West Kankala, Bakri and three private pump schemes initiated in 1948 and funded by migrants living in Egypt. As a result, El Goled Association has also commissioned pre-investment feasibility studies, conducted by the Ministry of Irrigation, into alternative irrigation measures and land reclamation schemes. In response to the 1988 flood emergency El Goled Association sent food and tents to the area by truck.

Al Farahseen and Um Sidrah Social and Cultural Club

Al Farahseen and Um Sidrah are Ja'aliyin communities in El Metemma province. Membership of the association is approximately 3,000 in Khartoum, 1,000 in the villages and over 100 in the Gulf states. The club in Khartoum, representing the two villages, was formed in 1953 and provides free temporary accommodation to newly arrived migrants. In the villages the association supports a range of social activities, including free summer school courses for primary and secondary school pupils, repairs to school buildings, and subsidised medical supplies to the health centre costing around Ls. 70,000 annually. Through its affiliated student body, the association supports medical 'caravans' to the villages in the August holidays and also funds the women's union in the village which runs literacy classes. For the rehabilitation of a dispensary, a school and a mosque in 1993, the club supplemented local membership subscriptions (Ls. 1,500 each) with Ls. 100,000 from expatriate members and raised Ls. 80,000 from the government.

Committee for Relief and Rehabilitation of El Metemma Province and The High Corporation for the Development of Nile State

The Committee for Relief and Rehabilitation of El Metemma Province (CRRMP) is a non-governmental body launched in 1992 to specialise in technical facilitation projects within the province and is closely linked to the High Corporation for the Development of Nile State (HCDNST) founded in 1990. Both CRRMP and HCDNST act as intermediaries between state and community with the aim of co-ordinating all development projects in the province and state respectively. Indeed, the success of CRRMP in undertaking public service tasks led the Governor to encourage its expansion to the whole of River Nile State. The organisations do not operate subscription systems, instead, funding is sought from prominent figures from the community (mainly in Khartoum) who in fact make up the majority of members. There are no formal branches of the organisations as they hope instead to generate links with existing village committees. CRRMP and HCDNST are generating funds for projects in both the governmental and non-governmental sectors. Current initiatives include sponsorship of the 200 km road from Omdurman to Shendi costing Ls. 10 billion, and support for the construction of provincial headquarters in El Metemma with a budget of Ls. 300 million. Future projects include the construction of a bridge across the Nile between Shendi and Metemma, and proposals to intensify cash-crop production on an agricultural scheme in Al Nugh, 10 km from El Metemma, which would complement the government schemes at Kuli and Sayel.

Sagadi Development Association

Located 20 km south of Kitayeb (north of Shendi), Sagadi is composed of 7 villages. Migration from Sagadi is locally identified as having begun after 1910 when many of the early migrants opened shops in the corn markets of the Sigan area of Khartoum. The Sagadi association does not have a clubhouse, but its members continue to congregate in these grain marketing shops. The association has been registered as a development union in Khartoum since the early 1960s and has branches in Jeddah, Khartoum and Sagadi itself with an estimated active membership of 200. There are no individual monthly subscriptions to the union; members contribute varying amounts as and when they can.

The Sagadi Development Association has funded and built two intermediate and two secondary schools for the area, catering for the separate education of boys and girls at each level. The first school was built in 1964. The association has also contributed to the cost of two boreholes and diesel engine pumps to ensure clean water supplies for the area. During the 1988 flood disaster the association was active in hiring vehicles in Khartoum to transport medicines and food. Most recently, the association has been active in the construction of a 24-bed rural hospital. The original cost of this project was estimated at Ls. 15 million, but with inflation it will cost an estimated Ls. 25 million to complete. Crops, land, fuel and brick manufacture have been donated by the local people of Sagadi. The government provided Ls. 1 million in 1991 following the submission of the proposal in 1988. To date, the association has not participated in any projects designed by or for women.

Western Sudan

Kordofan Development Association

The Kordofan Development Association was established in 1989 though it remains unregistered. It has 30 members, the majority of whom are well-educated professionals. The association represents the three states of former Kordofan Region and is based in Port Sudan, though it has no branch or membership in Kordofan itself. The group does not have a clubhouse but is lobbying for land to build a centre which will serve as a refuge to accommodate new arrivals to the city. The association's first project was to provide financial support for El Obeid secondary school, and it was subsequently active in the famine relief efforts in 1989. Committees were formed to organise dance parties and fund-raising events in Port Sudan. Having received Ls. 50,000 in tax-free concessions from government departments and Ls. 1 million from a bank loan to purchase goods, women from the association ran a charity bazaar which raised a net sum of Ls. 4.5 million. Without a local branch to manage the distribution, the association presented the fund to the Governor of Kordofan in 1990 and which was invested in the construction of 35 wells and pumps.

In 1992 the association was involved in the construction of a clinic for the village of Alahalabas, 40 km west of El Obeid for which it raised Ls. 150,000, and co-ordinated the donation of 30 hospital beds from migrants working in Saudi Arabia to El Obeid hospital. In 1993 the association was approached to contribute to the construction of the new Kordofan University in El Obeid as part of the government's policy to decentralise higher education facilities.

Southern Sudan

Fashoda Benevolent, Cultural and Social Association

Fashoda is located 200 km south of Kosti in Upper Nile State. It has a population of about 200,000, mainly from the Shilluk (Collo) ethnic group, speakers of the Lwo language. The upheavals prompted by the current war in southern Sudan and consequent displacement have led to fears that the history and practices of the group will be lost. In 1986 the Fashoda Benevolent, Cultural and Social Association (FBSCA) was formed, '... to preserve aspects of our cultural heritage which are still thriving, revive what is lost and develop the culture so that it may survive in a changing world' (Tito, FBSCA Executive Committee member).

The association was registered in 1990, and has an executive committee representing 350 members each of whom contributes Ls. 100 per month. The association is based in Khartoum and has active branches in Wad Dakona, Kosti and Kenana where many displaced from the Shilluk community have sought refuge. FBSCA was active in securing and distributing relief supplies from NGOs following the 1988 floods and the Jabalian incident of 1989. It has also provided volunteers to teach at a primary school in Kenana and runs adult literacy classes for members in Khartoum North. The association is, however, widely considered as a cultural organisation and in 1993 received a video camera from its members working in the Gulf to film the coronation of the *Ruth* (traditional ruler) of Shilluk. Indeed, the association now has a research and documentation unit which attempts to record burial, marriage, child upbringing and other customary practices of the various Shilluk clans.

ANNEX 2

SOS SAHEL PROJECT SITES

The main case studies for the research were conducted in and around four SOS Sahel project sites:

The **Village Extension Scheme**, Shendi, River Nile State, began in 1985, and is supporting the expansion of community forestry activities which, to date, have helped over 32 riverine villages to shield their homes and farmland against encroaching desert sands.

The **Community Forestry Project**, Ed Debba, Northern State started in 1988 and is primarily concerned with supporting and encouraging the cultivation of shelterbelts, windbreaks and nurseries to protect homes and farmland from moving sands and dunes.

The **Natural Forest Management Project** (NFMP), El Ain, North Kordofan State, established in 1989, is working to design a management plan for El Ain forest to be implemented jointly by the local community and the local forestry department.

Initiated in 1994, the **Khor Arba'at Rehabilitation Project**, in Red Sea Hills State is working with Beja farming communities to improve water harvesting techniques and utilise seasonal floods to improve agricultural production. One of the main funders of this project is a former 'son' of Port Sudan now resident in Canada, Ali al Ashi.