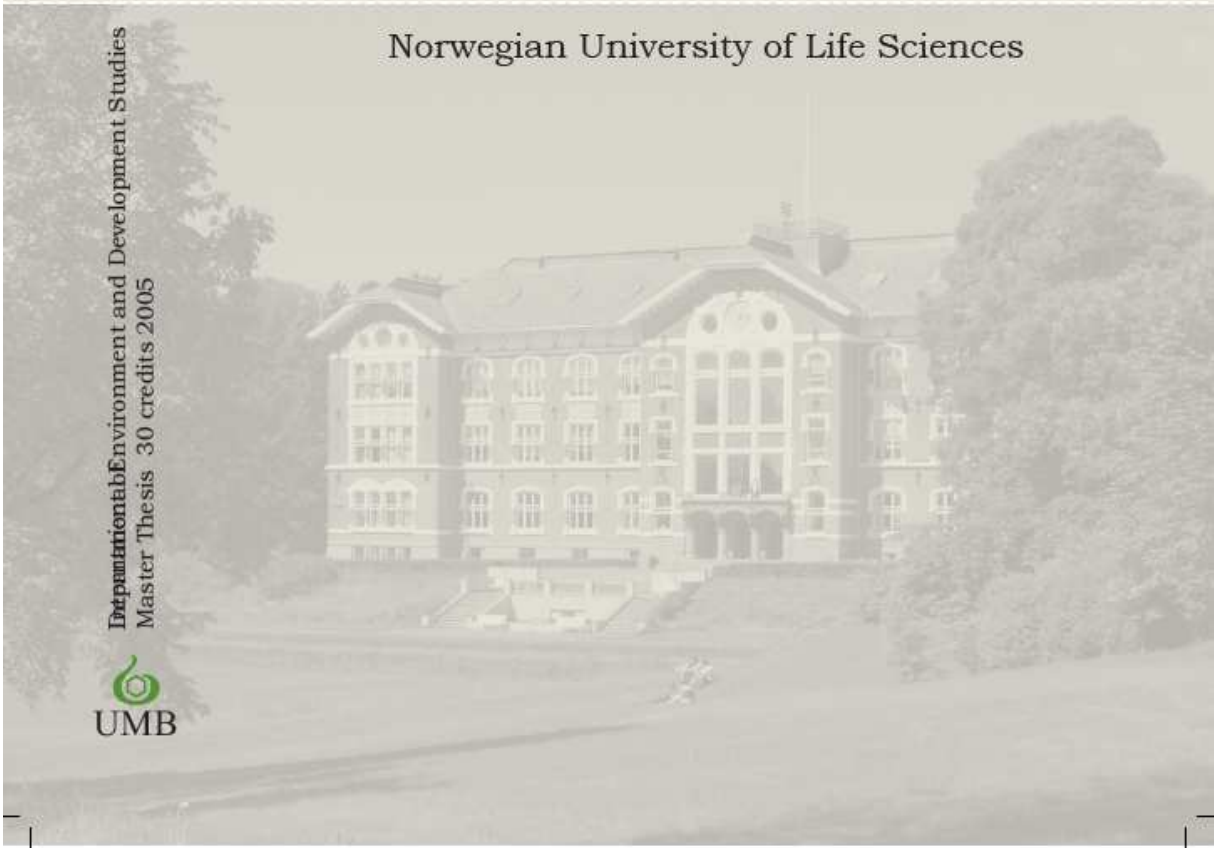
Jamila Elhag Abd Elmahmoud Hassan

Chronic Conflict and Livelihood in Heiban: Nuba Mountains of The Sudan

Norwegian University of Life Sciences



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UMB

Chronic conflict and livelihood in Heiban: Nuba Mountains of The Sudan

By:

Jamila Elhag Abd Elmahmoud Hassan

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DECLARATION

I, Jamila Elhag Abed Elmahmoud Hassan, do herby declare to the senate of the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (UMB) that this thesis is a product of my original research work, and it has not been submitted to any other university than UMB for any academic degree. Materials and information other than my own are properly acknowledged.

Signature……...

Place and date……

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my beloved father, Elhag Abed Elmahmoud Hassan (1909 – 15 January, 2005). To my father, who had dedicated his life to the formal and informal education of his children… ……

To my father, who devoted his time and energy to a highly diversified livelihood portfolio in order to offer the better life and comfortable atmosphere that facilitated the education of his children…..……

I dedicate this work to A'am[1] Elhag— as people, regardless of their kindred or age, used to call him. In his helping of people, particularly the marginalized women and children, he had been occupied all of his life.

This is to my father A'am Elhag, who was so eager to see his daughter after her long period of absence and wanted nothing more than for her to stay beside him. My father, with the compassion of a father, refused my travel to the Nuba Mountains Region to do my study proclaiming that, "*there are many schools here. Why do you want to go there*?"

I dedicate my work to A'am Elhag, who finally accepted my travel to the Nuba Mountains after he discovered that I was going to study the effects of the war on the livelihoods of marginalized people, in order to seek support for them from the North.

My father, in my continuation of your efforts in this field, this is all that I could offer you by now. I hope to be helpful to my targeted people

[1] A'am : means Uncle

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to define a livelihood and how it had been affected by a chronic conflict and political instability, to assess the local people's perceptions of wealth and poverty and to find the residential plan of the Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs). This kind of knowledge is the departure point for development efforts. The targeted community was the Nuba people of Heiban, Nuba Mountains of the Sudan. The community had suffered the civil war for fifteen years. The primary data was collected by using semi-structured interviews for households, key informants and focus groups. Sustainable livelihood framework supported by gender analysis framework was used to collect and analyze the data.

The study shows that the targeted community was agro-pastoralist that depends on natural resources, supported by human and social capitals. Natural resources were highly damaged by the war. Both human and social capitals have been destructed due to death and protracted displacement. The community during the warfare had been spilt between the two warring parties and fought each other. Mutual enmity and mistrust had encompassed religious and tribal issues. Livestock was the base of the financial capital and had been eroded due to looting by troops of both parties. The war had destructed the private (houses) and public (road, market, education, health and water facilities) physical capitals, which had been poor since before the war. The Nuba people had been using their political capital since the colonial era to improve their socioeconomic status, without any positive result.

Conflict usually seems to have only negative dimensions, but in Heiban, conflict (the civil war) has some positive dimensions. The war has allowed better education opportunity for both genders, acquirement of new skills, and emerging of new livelihoods strategies in the community. The war facilitated women empowerment and had raised the general awareness of the community and shifted their focus towards education and human capital development. The war has brought the community to attention of the international community and highlighted the inherent weaknesses within the community, which might facilitate recovery and development programs.

The community considers education as one of the criteria that distinguish the wealthy people in Heiban. Other criteria were: owing of livestock, shop, mill, having monthly salary and producing of stable crop that enough for eight months. According to these criteria the

community was categorized into three categories; better off, middle and poor. 75% of the community was categorized as poor. Women in the community have limited access to the wealth accumulation, 98% of women headed household were classified as poor.

The residential plan of the IDPs was not clear for them, and depends on availability of the basic needs in Heiban.

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This study would not have been possible without moral, academic and material support rendered from various institutions, individuals, families and friends. I wish to express my sincere thanks to all of those who directly or indirectly contributed to the completion of this study.

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Last but not least I would like to thank my husband; Mustafa Kuku, for his kind support, encouragement, advice and reading through my draft. Thanks also extend to my extended family and friends who offered me moral, technical and academic support. Special thanks to Mohamed Majzoub Fideil and Hashim Elhag for offering photographing training and technical support. Thanks are extend to my niece and nephew; Ahmed and Sara Bakkar for editing some sections of this thesis.

To conduct this study has been both a challenging and a fine experience. Many people have helped me to realize this study, which I hope had reflected the reality of my targeted community and will be useful for NGOs that would like to intervene in the community.

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Glossary

A'aradaib:	Tamarindus Indica : African tree with a very thick trunk and fruit that resembles a gourd and has an edible pulp called monkey bread
A'araqi:	local produced wine
A'ashoor:	Amount of harvest paid by Christian to their church
A'ashwayee:	Literally means 'arbitrarily' and used to represent that the area was not originally planned as a residential area
Abb-ahmed:	Local early maturing variety of sorghum
Abid:	Slave
Al-Khateeb:	Betroth
Ass-khulan:	Small billies / he goat
Baa'ashom	Fox
Baggara	Collective name for nomad, cattle-owners who move by their cattle in Darfur and Kordofan, and in dry seasons they migrate to the south following pasture and water points.
Balyla:	Traditional foods in Hieban, its ingredients are sorghum, sesame, ground nut beans and leaves of some plants
Chalallo:	Ropes braided from rags, tied into a horizontal rope, which is fixed around the heap allowing the other ropes to hang

	down. Used as dress.
Dalaib:	Borassus Aethiopuim mart or Palmyra Tall fan palm of Africa, India and Malaysia yielding a hard wood and sweet sap that is a source of palm wine and sugar; the leaves are used for thatching and weaving
Digniya:	Poll tax
Donkey	water yard
Doom:	Hyphaene thebaica or doum palm; Type of palm tree, also called "gingerbread tree", with edible oval fruit; it is originally native to the Nile valley. Its fibers are sometimes used to weave baskets
Fatwa	An authoritative ruling on a religious matter
Gudaim:	Grewia Tenax; A genus of tropical and subtropical Old World climbers, shrubs or trees
Halook	The emerging root of Dalaib and Doom after boiled to be eaten
Hilba:	wild cats
Jellaba	Merchants and government officials form northern Sudan
Jibal An-Nuba	Nuba Mountains
Jihad	Holy war
Jubraca	Round house farms, home garden, backyard garden

Karakeer	Caves
Karama	Is scarification of animal (mainly he-goat) in order to avoid the negative effect of Sibir
karkar	Traditional women's hair crème
Kashsha	Police harassment against people who practice illegal job like brewing of bear
Khalwa	Religious schools (for teaching the Koran and religious songs)
Khawarij	Rebel troops
Khumra, dilka, Bakhour	Traditional women's perfumes
Khyran	Seasonal streams
Kissrra	Traditional stable food in Sudan
Kowari:	Local large wild birds
Kulum:	Local late maturing variety of sorghum
Laloop :	Balanites aegyptiaca; Trees and shrubs, usually thorny, bearing drupaceous fruit. Has some medicinal value
Lia'aib	Dance
Maja'a	food gap
Maresa	Local weak beer

Mashish	Bores dug along the seasonal streams' course in order to draw water that has seeped in
Mulah	Traditional sauce eaten with *Kissra*
Murahaliin	Governmental militia/ Public Defense Force, soldigers that received short period training
Nabaq	Rhamnus spina-christi
Nafeer	Working party
Neem tree:	Azadirachta indica
Njango	Kind of Nuba traditional dances, practiced mainly by the young
Umda/ Mak	Paramount chiefs
Qabila	Tribe or population
Reaka	Local made baskets
Saara	Wild okra
Seweaba	Granary
Sharmoot	Dry meat , grinded to powder and used as ingredient of some mullah
Sheihks	Chief of tribe, also called Umda of the tribe
Shelukh	Cutting of the cheeks of women in different designs as

	matter of decoration
Sibir	a kind of believe that in certain circumstances there is obligation to be fulfilled otherwise specific harmful would happen
Sullucab	A long wooden handle with a metal blade end, agricultural production tool
Ta'aweed:	Means literally 'compensation' The customary law of inheriting the widow by a clansman
Tabaldy Adansonia Digitata:	Long living tropical evergreen tree with a spread crown and feathery evergreen foliage; has fragrant flowers yielding hard yellowish wood and long pods with edible chocolate-colored acidic pulp
Tabaq	Traditional food-cover weaved of the fiber of trees such as Doom
Taga:	Special clean yard used for threshing of the sorghum
The Turkiya	Turkish rule
Tibish:	Local variety of cucumber
Umnjaw:	Local vegetable looks like squash
Umrum:	Black insects found in the mountain caves
Weaka	Powder of *Saara* and other species of okra, used in traditional food in Sudan

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will introduce my study; Chronic Conflict and Livelihood in Heiban; Nuba Mountains of the Sudan. The chapter introduces the statement of the problem and the rationale to carry out the study, as well as the objective, research questions and the structure of the thesis.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND RATIONALE

The purpose of this study is to define a livelihood and how it is affected by a context of chronic conflict and political instability, to assess the local people's perceptions of wealth and poverty and to find the residential plan of the Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs). The targeted community is the Nuba people of Heiban town, Nuba Mountains of the Sudan. Since the public services are common in the locality the study extends to cover the public services in the locality that affect access of the townspeople. The study investigates the social capital of four of the five tribes that inhibit the locality, which could be, to some extended generalized in the locality.

The context of this study is composed of two parts. The historical context encompasses the origin and culture that makes the identity of the targeted group and their marginalization through the pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial periods. The marginalization of the targeted group had triggered the feeling of grievance among the current generation who has joined the troops of the Sudan People Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) in their warfare against the Government of Sudan. The initial cause of the war was a conflict over land. But as the war protracted, tribal origin, power sharing and use of religions to serve political ends are considered as causes. During the civil war, the Nuba people of Heiban town were spilt between the two warring parties and fought against each other.

The war has imposed significant costs upon the civilian population, who were enforced to flee their homes and community or to stay and suffer different kinds of violence, terror, raiding, rape, and looting by troops of both warring parties. After fifteen years of physical and

emotional trauma, a Cease-Fire Agreement (CFA) was singed to put an end to the armed conflict and a start for a situation of 'no peace; no war' in the locality.

The contemporary context is a context of 'no peace, no war' where the people are living in a physically and socially shuttered livelihood, suffering the consequences of absence of both law and public services. People living in this context are trying to restore their destroyed assets[2] and revive their livelihoods. Access to assets mediated by the context, the transforming structure and process[3], define the livelihood strategies that are pursued by households to generate means of living, and to reduce vulnerability, poverty, food insecurity, and other negative outcomes (Ellis 2000).

Revival of assets that were stripped during the war and mitigation of poverty, in a State that have been in violent conflict with itself for about half a century, need external intervention. Many international and national civil society organizations are ready to intervene after the comprehensive peace accord is signed and the interim period is started. An expected obstacle for the civil society organizations and policy makers is insufficient knowledge about people's ordinary livelihoods. On the one hand, provision of knowledge about the pre-war livelihood and how it is affected by the war, is the point of departure for the development efforts. In addition, knowledge about the community perception of wealth and poverty, assessment of the wealth status of the community is important in order to be able to mitigate poverty in the community. On the other hand knowledge about the residential plan of the Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs) helps in assessing the expected human capital in the community. Households headed by females are expected to increase as virtue cost of the war. This fact emphasizes the necessity to consider gender analysis in each research question.

OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The objective of my research is to provide knowledge about the change in people's livelihoods as a consequence of the war. I would like to assess the community perception of wealth and poverty, and the wealth status of the community. In addition I would like to investigate the residential plan of the outgoing internally displaced persons[4] as part of the

[2] Assets are stocks of different types of 'capital' that can be used directly or indirectly to generate livelihoods (Ashley, 1999 ;DFID, 1994;Ellis, 2000)
[3] Transforming structures are hardware and includes public and private sectors, While processes are software and includes policies, Legislation, Institutions, culture and power relations (DFID, 1994)
[4] outgoing internal displaced people are those who have fled from Heiban town to other locations

human capital, and how the IDPs have been affected by the war. The research questions addressed in this study are:

1- **To assess the change in the livelihoods as consequence of the war**;

- How is the contemporary context status; infrastructure, security, social life?
- What kind of natural, physical, financial, human, and social capitals were people used to use in order to generate a livelihood before the war?
- How has the capitals defined in the above question been affected by the war?
- How was each of the above mentioned capitals accessed / controlled by each gender before the war?
- Is there any change in access to / control over the capitals with regard to gender?
- Which civil society organizations are working in the community? How is their presence mediating the access to the capitals?
- What is the 'process' that has mediated access to capitals?
- How has the 'process' found in the above question been affected by the war?
- What types of livelihoods strategies were practiced by each gender before the war?
- How have the livelihood strategies found in the above question been affected by the war?
- What are the new livelihoods strategies practiced today?
- How are the livelihood outcomes affected by the war?

2- **To assess community perception of wealth and poverty, and the wealth status of the community according to their perception.**

- What are the criteria of a wealthy person in Heiban according to perception of each gender?
- To how many categories the community is classified according to the wealth and poverty criteria the community has defined?
- How many households are assigned to each category?
- How many households are headed by each gender?
- How many of female headed households are assigned to each category?
- How many of the male headed households are assigned to each category?

3- **To assess the residential plan of the outgoing internal displaced persons as part of the human capital and how they have been affected by the war?**

- What type of assets do the outgoing internal displaced people have access to or control over in their displacement locations?
- What type of assets do the outgoing internal displaced people have access to or control over in their original location?
- What type of livelihood strategies do the outgoing internal displaced people perform in their displacement locations?

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is comprised of six chapters. **The first chapter** is the 'INTRODUCTION'.

The second chapter is the 'LITERATURE REVIEW' where the main concepts of conflict and poverty that are used in this study are defined. The casual / consequence relationship between the two concepts is discussed. Poverty assessment approaches, indicators and analysis tools are reviewed. Two analytical tools; wealth ranking and social mapping; and sustainable livelihood approach, which are used in this study, are reviewed in more details, including definition of gender and gender analysis.

The third chapter is the 'METHODOLOGY' where I tell the story of the fieldwork I have done, and the analysis plan. The chapter is composed of three sections; the first one deals with the preparations for the field work, where selection of the topic, the study area, and institution affiliation are introduced. The second part of the chapter deals with the field work; secondary data collection, primary data collection in both Heiban and Khartoum, research guides and ethic, note and data recording, limitation of the study, and the end of the fieldwork. The third section is the data analysis where a livelihood framework that suits the context is constructed and explained. The concept of the household in the community under study is also defined.

The fourth chapter is the 'HISTORICAL CONTEXT', where the study area and population are introduced. The main focus of the chapter is on the historical background of the armed conflict; its onset, rooted and recent causes, and the effort done for the conflict resolution.

The fifth chapter is the 'FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION' where the data collected from the fieldwork is analyzed according to the framework explained in chapter three and the findings are presented. The chapter consists of five sections, each section deals with a different aspect of the livelihood framework; section one is 'the contemporary context' where the current situation is briefly described; the location of the town, its inhabitants and their social live. The section is a complement to the livelihood's context, which was introduced in the previous chapter 'the historical context'. In order to bridge the historical context with the current one, a brief description of the livelihoods during the wartime is given. Section two is 'livelihoods' platform' where the six capital assets that are possessed or accessed by the Nuba people of Heiban town are defined and its importance in the livelihoods of the households and how each one has been affected by the war is discussed. Section three is the 'Transforming structure and process**'** where the transforming structure; the civil society organizations that work in Heiban, and the transforming process; the intuitions or customary laws are introduced and their contribution to the livelihoods in the community is discussed. Section four is 'livelihood strategies' where the activities that generate means of living in the community are classified into two categories; agricultural activities and diversification activities. Activities, of both categories, that are practiced in Heiban; and their contributions to people's livelihoods are disused. Section five is 'livelihoods outcomes' where the achievements of the livelihood strategies and its contribution to food and income security; as well as to wealth and poverty of the households are discussed. Wealth status of the community is assessed according to two different tools; livelihoods approach and wealth ranking and social mapping. The relation between the two tools is explained in addition to gender and wealth analysis.

The last chapter is 'THE CONCLUSION' where the finding and the results of the study are summed up.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Since this study is about the consequences of a conflict on livelihood of a particular community, it is important to highlight some concepts that are related to conflict and livelihoods. In this chapter I will briefly review some literature in relation to conflict, and poverty as expected consequence or cause of the armed confect. The tool used to research the effect of the armed conflict on the livelihood of the community; sustainable livelihood approach, and related aspects, such as power and gender are reviewed as well.

CONFLICT AND POVERTY:

With the end of the Cold War, poverty and conflict have become the biggest challenges to development. Poverty is continuously cited as one of the principal factors responsible for instability in many parts of Africa. For instance, West Africa contains eleven of the world's twenty five poorest countries and is currently one of the most unstable regions of the world. In 2002, of the 63 low-income countries, 38 are located in sub-Saharan Africa and associated with conflict (Draman May 2003).

Concept of Conflict:

Conflict is generally defined as: "an interaction between interdependent people who perceive **incompatible goals** and who expect interference from the other party if they attempt to achieve their goals (Draman May 2003). The same definition is stated more precisely by Goodhand (2001): "Conflict is a struggle, between individuals or groups, over **values** or claims to **status**, **power** and scarce **resources**, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to assert their values or claims over others" (Goodhand 2001). Goodhand's definition is clearer than Draman's; he broke down the 'incompatible goals' of Draman into material; resources and non-material; values, status, and power goals.

Conflict is classified into violent and non-violent ones (Goodhand 2001). Violent conflict in turn is classified into inter – and intra-state conflicts. Inter-states conflicts are those where one state invades and occupies another, or where two or more states are at war. Intra-state wars,

such as civil wars where one, often marginalized, group seek autonomy or transformation of the state. Intra state conflict can also be conflicts caused by the fragmentation of the State (Byrne Dec. 1995). Conflict usually seems to have only negative dimension, but it is recognized that conflict may also have has positive dimensions and is an essential part of the process of social change (Goodhand 2001).

Chronic Conflict and *Political* Instability

The terminology 'chronic conflict and political instability' has surfaced recently with 'chronic' as indicative of the persistent nature of these situations. There is no agreed typology to classify situations of chronic conflict and political instability, but their main characteristics are fairly uncontroversial. Situations of chronic conflict and political instability are considered to exist where one or several – but not necessarily all - of the following aspects occur: non-existent public institutions, state legitimacy contested, strong informal or illegal economy, high degree of violence, forced displacement, politically marginalized sections of the population, existence of serious poverty and livelihoods are highly vulnerable to external shocks. These situations may exist in localized geographical areas within states that might otherwise be considered as stable (Schafer 2002).

Concepts of Poverty:

Explicitly or implicitly, the fight against poverty is the driving force of development cooperation. The first of the eight Millennium Development Goals agreed by all 191 United Nations member states – halving global extreme poverty by 2015 – underscores the importance of poverty reduction in contemporary development discourse that entailed understanding the concept of poverty (Draman May 2003).

Definition and interpretation of poverty by researchers and policy advisors varied due to disciplinary biases and ideological values, and they have varied over time and space due to differences in the political, economical, cultural and ecological conditions of the contexts in question. These contexts are neither static nor closed to the outside world (Sen 1984; Sen 1985; Townsend 1985)[5] .

[5] Cited in Shanmugaratnam, N. (August 2002).

There is consensus on that; poverty has fundamentally to do with deprivation (Chambers 1995) and lack of well-being (Dasgupta, 1993)[6]. A positive state of well-being may be thought of as an expression of human **capabilities** of doing and being, where doing involves agency, choice and freedom, and being involves welfare and happiness (Sen 1984) Sen1988, (Sen 1992; Sen 1999)[7]. Sen (1993:31) defines the capability as follow: The capability of a person reflects the alternative combinations of functionings – the different things s/he mange to do or be in leading to life – the person can achieve and from which s/he can choose one collection. Most of the characteristics that determine 'functionings' are impeded in the concepts of **endowment** and **entitlement sets. Endowment** refer to all tangible (house, production tools etc) and intangible; knowledge, social capital and own labor; resources a person has legal right to own. **Entitlement** "set consists of all the possible combinations of goods that a person can acquire in legitimate ways by using the resources of the endowment set and wherever applicable, the public financial assistance received, and the goods provided by the state". People strive to convert endowment into entitlements. The conversion process is not a straightforward one; it is mediated by different factors such as public policy and institutions; market; and community norms and traditions (Shanmugaratnam August 2002).

The current debate on poverty is about distributional problems and social justice, and about people who are unable to cope with stress and shocks impacting on them because of their social location and individual vulnerabilities. Stress and shocks may originate in the institutional structures in which they find themselves and the ecosystems to which they are linked through the same structures (Shanmugaratnam August 2002).

In my view, relating "poverty" to the concept of "capability", social location, social justice and vulnerability allows policy makers, researchers, and development agents to focus on issues that affect access to the available resources and hence, to tackle poverty from different angle than creating new resources. For example, identifying the constrains _ such as a customary law or personal characters of individuals or a group _ that affect access to the available resources in a particular community could be effective in eliminating poverty by removing such constrains.

[6] Cited in (Ellis, 2000)
[7] Cited in Shanmugaratnam, N. (August 2002).

Is Poverty A Consequence Or A Cause Of Conflict?

Although there is an extensive literature on poverty written from a developmental perspective, the links between conflict and poverty have only begun to be examined recently. Goodhand (2001) has reviewed literature on conflict and poverty and presents three different views in this concern: conflict causes poverty; poverty causes conflict; and resource wealth causes conflict (Goodhand 2001). The last hypothesis is beyond the scope of this study. Each of the other two hypotheses will be briefly examined in the following paragraphs:

Does Conflict causes Poverty

There is some consensus on the hypothesis that conflict causes poverty. However analytical work done in the 1980s and 1990s has contributed to increase the understanding of how conflict impacts upon politics, economies and societies. This work includes work that focused on the macro level – such as Stewart and FitzGerald (2000), Duffield (2000), and (Collier 2000). On micro level the focus is on entitlements, vulnerability and coping strategies – such as work of Richards (1996), de Waal (1997), and Keen (1998). These researches concluded that the impacts of violent conflicts vary according to the nature, duration and phase of the conflict on the one hand, and the economical and social background of the setting on the other hand. The impact of conflict also depends on the level of compensatory action by national governments or the international community. However, chronic internal wars are likely to produce chronic poverty. The process of impoverished communities at both macro and micro level is explained and different examples are cited. Examples cited at both macro and micro levels have recalled images of destruction, destitution and human suffering. Violent conflict has led to high number of death and displaced people, material destruction and even state collapse. It destroys years of investment and development efforts (Goodhand 2001).

Does Poverty Cause Conflict?

While there is some agreement in the literature that conflict causes poverty, there is more contentious on the hypothesis that poverty causes conflict. Goodhand (2001) has cited a number of empirical researches that examined the role of poverty, among other factors, on causing violent conflict. Those researchers argued for a deterministic link between poverty and conflict and that poverty may lead to conflict when other factors are present in certain contexts. They explained their argument by that the uneven development processes lead to inequality, exclusion and poverty. Poverty in turn contributes to growing grievances. These

underlying grievances may explode into open conflict when triggered by external shocks (Goodhand 2001).

Whatever the direction of the causality relationship between the two concepts; there is consensus that chronic conflict leads to poverty at macro and micro levels. To assess the poverty in a community, measurement approaches, indicators and tools (methods) are needed. Below are some measurement approaches, indicators and tools used to assess poverty at the micro levels.

Poverty assessment approaches:

Material poverty, money-metric measurement approaches of poverty:
Material and physiological approaches view poverty as a lack of income, expenditure or consumption (Draman, May 2003, Hulme, November 2001).

Absolute and relative poverty:

Absolute poverty:
Absolute poverty occurs when human beings live in a state of deprivation due to insufficient income or lack of access to basic human needs (food, safe water, sanitation, health, shelter, education, and information) (Draman May 2003; Hulme, Moore & Shepherd November 2001).

Relative poverty:
Relative poverty defines poverty from a comparative point of view. The relatively poor are those whose income or consumption level is below a particular fraction of the national average (Draman May 2003).

Objective and Subjective Poverty Assessments

Poverty can be approached from objective or subjective perspectives. The **objective** perspective (sometimes referred to as the welfare approach) involves normative judgments as; what constitutes poverty and what is required to move people out of their impoverished state. In this approach meanings and definitions imposed from above. Chambers (1994) considered this approach as one that disempowering poor people and removing their right to create an own knowledge. Gradually, work on participatory rural appraisal, has emerged and developed into participatory poverty assessments. The '**subjective**' approach argues that poverty must

be defined by 'the poor' or by communities with significant numbers of poor people (Hulme, Moore & Shepherd November 2001). Therefore, poverty has no unique definition and should be defined by the community itself.

Poverty indicators:

Income Indicator

Poverty measurement has been dominated by the so-called income approach. Income indicators are based on expenditure or consumption data. Regardless of how this set of indicators is derived, it is expressed in money-metric terms. This approach assumes that individuals and households are poor if their income or consumption falls below a certain threshold, usually defined as a minimum, socially acceptable level of well being by a population group. The emphasis is placed on material well being, and income (Draman May 2003; Hulme, November 2001).

Basic Needs

The basic needs approach to poverty measurement is a development of the income approach. It attempts to address some of the limitations of the income indicator by distinguishing between private income, publicly provided services and different forms of non monetary income. The approach includes access to the basic needs that prevent individuals and households to fall in poverty (Hulme, Moore & Shepherd November 2001).

There is general agreement that money income (or consumption) on its own is an imperfect measure of poverty or welfare. There are different views, however, about the relative importance of non-monetary variables, like self-esteem, freedom and about the weight that should be given to the views expressed by poor people themselves (Maxwell 1999). Conceptual debate was carried over to measurement. Different models of poverty with different indicators were discussed. Advocates of the participatory paradigm, in particular, were worried of quantification and standardization. Chambers (1995), among others, criticized the quantitative indicators for poverty. He advocated for the use of a more multi — dimensional measurement approach that encompass other non-quantifiable indicators such as access to education and health facilities, employment opportunity and security of consumption levels from extreme shocks. This multi — dimensional measurement approach entails new definition of poverty. Chamber also criticized the idea of a universal approach

designed by the economist to be applied both to the industrial North and the agrarian South. He advocated for the participatory methods of appraisal which enable poor people to analyze and express what they know, experience, need and want. He supported his advocate with some participatory rural appraisal (PRA) experience where the poor defined their priorities, and then developed by experience to participate in poverty assessment. According to these indicators a poverty definition should be stated.

Chambers defines poverty as: '…refers to lack of physical necessities, assets and income' (Chambers 1995). I will use this definition because it encompasses assets and necessities which are more measurable than income. Furthermore, it is suitable for the subjective approach I will use to define poverty in the setting under study.

Tools for Poverty Analysis:

Goodhand (2001) has cited some tools for poverty analysis; **Poor people's perceptions** and **Livelihoods approach** are among them:

Poor People's Perceptions:

Poor people's perception achieved by participatory methods such as: ranking and mapping, scoring; mapping; and diagramming (Goodhand 2001; Mikkelsen 1995). In this study I deal with wealth ranking and social mapping techniques.

Wealth Ranking and Social Mapping:

Wealth ranking and social mapping is a subjective, materialistic visual method that focuses on assets and well- being. In this technique, a map of the community is drawn by a group from the community itself, to identify each household. A group discussion follows to find what constitute wealth and well being in the community. Then, each household is assessed by these criteria and symbols are placed on the map. First they identify the poorest of the poor, the poor and non poor, and explain the reason for this ranking (Mikkelsen 1995).

Sustainable Livelihoods approach:

Sustainable Livelihoods approach is an actor- oriented approach that attempts to provide a holistic and people-centered framework in relation to access to resources. The sources of the livelihood approach are the critique of the use of quantitative indicators of absolute poverty,

the narrow focus of the policy responses to poverty so defined, and the advocacy of a more multi-dimensional approach (Chambers 1995). Sustainable Livelihoods approach has replaced the traditional income based definitions of poverty with a much more broad, inclusive and context specific examination of livelihoods. The division of household assets into five capitals provided a useful framework for 'analyzing the impact of conflict on livelihoods (Ashley & Carney 1999; Goodhand 2001), or 'capturing how poor people live, their realistic priorities, and what can help them' (Chambers 1995).

Recently there is an argument that governments in the developing countries must protect the poor against the wind of globalization by ensuring that "citizens have the **minimum asset base** and market access required to save, accumulate and succeed in a market economy" (Williamson 2003)[8]. This argument focuses on the assets and makes more emphasis on the use of the sustainable livelihoods approach to define the set of the assets that used to generate living in a particular community.

What is sustainable livelihoods approach?

The most known definition of a sustainable livelihood comes from Chambers and Conway (1992) and a modified version of this definition has been generally adopted, with minor differences between authors and organizations for example:

"A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while not undermining the natural resource base" (Scoones 1998). Or

"A livelihood comprise the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital) the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household" (Ellis 2000).

Ellis (2000) in his definition of livelihood has placed more emphasis on the access to assets and activities that is influenced by social relations (gender, class, kin, and belief system) and institutions. He has excluded any reference to capabilities or sustainability. Therefore, Ellis's

[8] Cited in Carter, M. R. & Barrett, C. B. (January 2005).

definition is more suitable to be used to develop knowledge about livelihoods of a community in order to be used as baseline for development intervention.

Principles and Concepts of Sustainable Livelihood approach:

Sustainable livelihoods approach is a way of thinking about the objectives, range and priorities for development, in order to enhance progress in poverty reduction. It is a pro-poor approach aiming to help poor people achieve enduring improvement against the indicators of poverty that they define. The proposition is that the effectiveness of development activities can be improved through systematic analysis of poverty and its causes; taking wider and better information of the opportunities for development activities, their likely impact and fit with livelihood priorities; and placing people and their priorities at the centre of the analysis (Ashley & Carney 1999).

The Sustainable Livelihood Framework:

The livelihood framework is an analytical device for better understanding of livelihoods and poverty. It is structured mainly for coming to grips with the complexity of livelihoods, understanding influences on poverty and identifying where interventions can best be made to help poor people to get rid of their poverty. The framework in Figure (1) is a simple one that includes the essential elements of the livelihoods frameworks.

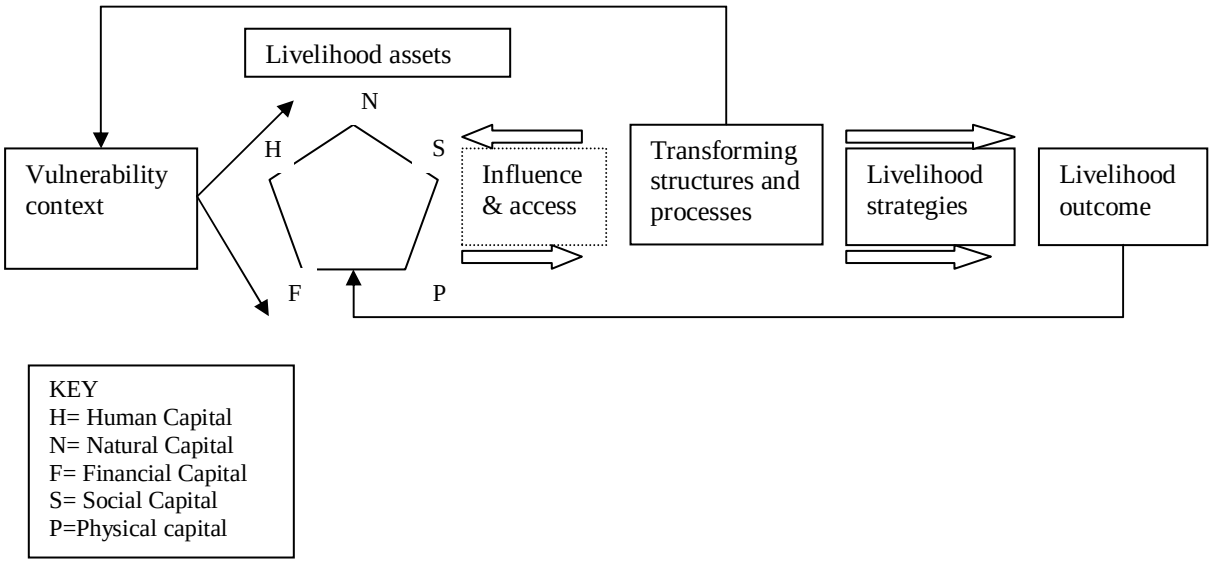


Figure 1: *Source*: DFID sustainable livelihood guidance sheets.

How the Framework Works?

The assumption is that people pursue a range of livelihood outcomes by using a range of assets in a variety of activities. The activities they adopt and the way they reinvest in asset-building are driven in part by their own preferences and priorities, and by vulnerability. Activities are also determined by structures and processes which people face.

Elements of the framework:

The framework is composed of black boxes that represent the elements of the livelihood frameworks. The livelihood assts' box is a grey one which in most frameworks includes at least five basic types of asset capitals; human, natural, financial, social and physical. These boxes are filled differently by different authors and modified by different users to fit different contexts. These elements are briefly defined below:

Assets:

Assets are stocks of different types of capitals that can be used directly or indirectly to generate livelihoods. Assets are the main building units of people's livelihood, and can give rise to a flow of output, possibly depleted as a consequence, or may be accumulated as a surplus to be invested in future productive activities (Ashley & Carney 1999; Ellis 2000). Assets sometimes refer to as resources. The main resources that compose the livelihood asset are defined below;

Natural capital - the natural resource stocks, such as land, water, trees, pasture, and wildlife, and environmental services such as hydrological cycle, pollution sinks, from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived (DFID 1994; Ellis 2000; Scoones 1998). The productivity of these resources may be degraded or improved by human management (DFID 1994; Ellis 2000). **Physical capital** is that capital created by economic production process. It includes infrastructure, such as roads, canals, electricity supply, and water supply; and also producer goods such as tools and machinery. **Financial capital** consists of stocks of money or other savings in liquid form. It is also includes access to credit and easily-disposed assets such as livestock, (ibid)[9]. **Human capital** is considered as the chief asset possessed by the poor. It is constituted by the quantity and quality of labor available at household level; therefore it is determined by household size, and also by the education, skills, and health of

[9] Financial and physical capitals Scoones named them together as economical capital

household members. **Social capital** is the social resources such as networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations and mutual trust, upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies requiring coordinated actions (DFID 1994; Ellis 2000; Scoones 1998).

Resource mapping

Access to the capitals recently refers to as 'mapping**'**; which means the process by which endowments and entitlements of the capitals are shaped. That is to say, how people **get the right** to resources and what resources they **could** gain. The concept of mapping is related to the process of inclusion, through the endowment mapping. Endowment mapping is a process of gaining right over resources. Resources mapping is governed by the institutions prevailed in the community. For example to get membership in the community in order to get right to access the communal capitals such as gathering of remunerative leaves. Entitlement mapping refers to what the person could hold from the specific capital the person has right to, considering some constrains such as competition of the community over the capital , and utilization of the actor's limited time in different activities (de Haan & Zoomers 2004).

Two important issues in the analysis of the role of particular assets in livelihood strategies are those of sequencing and substitution: **Sequencing** refers to the fact that productive use of certain assets may require the prior access to and use of other assets. For instance, financial and physical capitals (cash and tool) may be necessary to achieve productive use of land through cultivation. **Substitution** refers to the liquidation or depletion of one asset to accumulate another. Social capital such as mutual family or neighborhood security mechanisms may be used as financial capital and financial capital in turn may be liquidated to be invested in physical capital such as equipment, or human capital, such as health or education. The ability to convert one form of capital asset into another is likely to be an advantage where livelihood strategies must adapt to rapid change in context (DFID 1994; Ellis 2000; Scoones 1998).

Mediating processes:

Mediating processes refer to the external aspects that condition the process of transforming the assets into activities and outcomes. It can be either macro or micro in operation, for example custom and property is established as much through practice at local level as it is

through national political debate and legislation. Both macro and micro context will have an impact on livelihood strategies (Rigby, 2000). Mediating processes includes two categories: vulnerability context and transforming structure and process.

Vulnerability Context

Vulnerability context is the external environment in which people exist; and widely condition access to assets and livelihoods strategies (DFID 1994). Vulnerability consists of trend (population, resource, technological change etc), shocks (natural shocks; economic shocks, and conflict), and seasonality (of prices, heath, and employment) (DFID 1994; Ellis 2000). For Scoones vulnerability covers a range of historical and current socio-economic trends, such as policy setting, politics, history, climate, terms of trade, agro -ecology and socio-economic conditions (Scoones 1998).

Transforming structure and process:

Transforming structures; is hardware and includes **public and private sectors** (political bodies and civil society organizations). While processes; software: includes **policies** (redistributive, regulatory etc), **Legislation** (international and domestic agreements), **Institutions** (markets, institutions that regulate access to assets), **culture** (social norms and beliefs), and **power relations** (age, gender, cast and class) (DFID 1994). Other authors arranged it differently, for example: Structures and processes include social **Institutions,** (rule, custom, land tenure and market regulation) and **organizations** of government and civil society through which institutions operate (Ellis 2000; Scoones 1998). It also includes **social relations** (gender, class etc) (Ellis 2000).

It is important to understand the structures, organizations, and the processes that control access, and use of the assets. An understanding of structures and processes provides the link between the micro (community, household and individual) and the macro (national, regional) (Ellis 2000; Scoones 1998). Such an understanding helps to identify areas where restrictions, barriers or constraints occur and explain social process that could impact on livelihood sustainability.

Livelihoods Strategies

Livelihood strategy is a set of activities that are pursued by households to generate means of survival (Ellis 2000), and to reduce vulnerability, poverty, food insecurity, and other negative outcomes (Longley & Maxwel 2003). Strategies are categorized differently. For example, Ellis (2000) has classified stratgies according to the nature of the resources used into; natural and non natural resource based activities. While Scoones (1998) has identified three broad livelihood strategies: agricultural; intensification or extensification of existing agricultural activities; diversification by adopting additional productive activities; and migration to develop productive activity elsewhere. It is important to note that these are not exclusive, and may be combined in practice. DFID (1994) has no clear classification but implicitly they classified it into: . . . *productive activities, investment strategies, reproductive choice.*

de Haan and Zoomers (2004) argue that not all what the people do are strategic; intentional, rather, they perform unintentional activities which are not considered as strategic (de Haan & Zoomers 2004). *Ex ante* strategies (like planting low-risk, but low return crops in dry land) could be considered as strategic activities, while *ex post* strategies (like cutting food consumption to one meal a day during the annual soudure) are not (Devereux 2001)[10].

Zoomers (1999) in her experiences in the Andes came out with the idea of considering both intentional and the structural components within the strategies. She argues that structural components such as geographical settings, whether rural or urban, different agro-ecological zones in mountainous regions, distance to markets, and demographic structure, influence the set of opportunities and outcomes of the actor. Subsequently, she classified the strategies followed by the actors in Andes into four categories; accumulation, consolidation, compensatory and security. **Accumulation** strategies; actors used minimum resources and accumulate capitals for future improvements and upward social mobility. After a period of upward mobility, wealthier actors who have surplus of resources apply **consolidation** strategies; activities that stabilized the actor's well being in the short-run. **Compensatory** strategies are followed by actors who experienced downward social mobility due to a sudden shock, such as loss of labor power, or a structural shortage of land or labor power. **Security** strategies are common in less secured communities due to ecological reasons. These categories are not fixed; they are stages in the social mobility process of the actors. Zoomers

[10] Cited in de Haan, L. & Zoomers, A. (2004).

suggested that instead of classifying actors on the basis of what they own, it is better to characterize them according to their objectives and priorities (Zoomers 1999).[11]

Actor portfolio of activities depends not only on the assets and the opportunities available or its structural components, but depends also on the historical socio- cultural repertoire of the actor. Recent studies shed light on the concept of livelihood '**trajectories**', '**styles**' and '**pathway**' which emphasize the consideration of the historical sociocultural repertoire of the actor(s) in the framework of livelihood approach (de Haan & Zoomers 2004). Focusing on the group practices takes the livelihood framework beyond the unit of analysis of individual strategies (Arce & Hebinck 2002)[12].

A **Style** is a group feature, defined as 'distinguishable patterns of orientations and action concerning the variety of means to achieve security; these patterns are structured by an internal logic and conditioned by social, economic and personal characteristics of people involved'. Style 'represent behavior that reflects both 'long-term practices and institutions on the one hand and individual strategic choices on the other hand' (Nooteboom 2003)[13]

The concept of style leads to the concept of 'habitus' of Bourdieu; which is 'a system of acquired dispositions, primarily defined by social class, which are acquired through socialization'. New disposition is evaluated according to the past experience. 'However, the evolving set of structures is not static in the sense that it determines livelihoods in a fixed way, but is generative and develops and changes over time because of the logic of practice' (Bourdieu 1980)[14]. Actors of a particular style or habitus 'have similar dispositions and face similar life opportunities, expectations of others, resulting in a livelihood typical of their group' (de Haan & Zoomers 2004). Actor(s) mobile form a style to the other through a pathway. 'A pathway is different from a strategy, because a pathway needs not to be a device to attain a pre-set goal which is set after a process of conscious and rational weighing of the actor's preferences. Rather it arises out of an iterative process in which a step-by-step procedure goals, preferences, resources and means are constantly reassessed in view of new unstable conditions. Individuals decide on the basis of a wide range of past experiences, rather than on a vision of the future, while these recollections of the past depend to a great extent on

[11] Cited in Ibid.
[12] Cited in Ibid.
[13] Cited in Ibid.
[14] Cited in Ibid.

our intellectual concern in the present. Actors co-ordinate their actions with other actors. In this co-ordination process regularities arise which pre-structure subsequent decisions' (de Bruijn & van Dijk 2003)[15].

de haan and Zoomers (2004) suggest to use 'the concept of pathway for the observed regularities or patterns in livelihood among particular social groups and to use trajectories for individual actors' life paths' (de Haan & Zoomers 2004).

Livelihoods Outcomes

Outcomes refer to the achievement of the livelihood strategies (DFID 1994). Outcomes should contribute to livelihood security and sustainability of natural resources (DFID 1994; Scoones 1998). Outcomes, conditioned by the assets status and the mediating process result on positive or negative effect on the poverty status of the household; it is possibly feedback on the assets and hence the further development of livelihood strategies.

Limitation of the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach:

Some livelihoods frameworks, such as the DFID framework have been criticized for giving insufficient details of 'transforming structures and processes' (Ashley & Carney 1999). These 'transforming structures and processes' have recently been referred to as: 'Policies, Institutions and Processes' (PIPs) (Hobley 2001; Longley & Maxwel 2003).

Ellis (2000) also recognised the limitations of using the household as base for livelihood analysis. With basis in the household it is difficult to capture the separate and joint nature of resources, distribution and consumption, within the household. Access to assets, mediated by gender as social relation, is a defining attribute for individuals in the sense that it measures their options and constraints. In this regard, Ellis has cited the following example: Access to land as most important natural resource when farming plays an important role in people's livelihoods. As for other assets, the ownership and control over land is not equal for women and men. Even though the picture is diverse, men are commonly the landholders. Not only traditional customs keep women from owning land, in many countries the laws hinder women from inheriting land and land — distribution programs tend to see the man as the head of the

[15] Cited in Ibid.

household and therefore only give land to males. Therefore, Ellis emphasises the need for gender analysis to tackle this limitation (Ellis 2000). Integrating gender analysis with livelihood analysis serves achievement of the third Millennium Development Goal: to promote gender equality and empower women (World-Bank 2000).

What is Gender analysis?

Gender 'refers to socially constructed roles and socially learned behaviours and expectations associated with females and males' (World Bank 2001). The term 'gender' refers to the social construction of female and male identity. It can be defined as 'more than biological differences between men and women. It includes the ways in which those differences, whether real or perceived, have been valued, used and relied upon to classify women and men and to assign roles and expectations to them. Gender analysis aims to achieve equity, rather than equality. Gender equality is based on the premise that women and men should be treated in the same way. This fails to recognize that equal treatment will not produce equitable results, because women and men have different life experiences. Gender equity takes into consideration the differences in women's and men's lives and recognizes that different approaches may be needed to produce outcomes that are equitable (MWANZ 1996).

Gender analysis is informed by a feminist perspective which states that there is an unequal distribution of power and resources in the world which unfairly favors men and that this inequality is reinforced by social, political and economic systems (Holmes et al. 1999). A gender analysis seeks to understand women and men's different roles and identify the underlying factors that explain this difference and applies this understanding to policy development and service delivery in order to achieve positive change for women (Birks 1997; MWANZ 1996). To achieve positive change for women, aspects of livelihoods should explore gender issues.

Two main tools are used to explore gender issues; sex dis-aggregation of livelihoods quantitative data, and gender analysis for qualitative data. Several frameworks are used to highlight the important elements of gender analysis. As an example is the framework (table 1) that developed by DFID infrastructure department to be used at the community level (Pasteur 25th January, 2002).

Table(1) ; Gender analysis framework

Category of enquiry	**Issues to consider**
Roles and responsibilities What do men and women do? Where (location/patterns of mobility) When (daily and seasonal patterns)?	*Productive roles* (paid work, self-employment, and subsistence production) *Reproductive roles* (domestic work, child care and care of the sick and elderly) *Community participation/self-help* (voluntary work for the benefit of the community as a whole) *Community politics* (decision-making/representation on behalf of the community as a whole)
Assets What livelihood assets/opportunities do men and women have access to? What constraints do they face?	*Human assets* (e.g. health services, education) *Natural assets* (e.g. land, labour) *Social assets* (e.g. social networks) *Physical assets* (e.g. IMTs, ICTs) *Financial assets* (e.g. capital/income, credit)
Power and decision-making What decision-making do men and/or women participate in? What decision-making do men and/or women usually control What constraints do they face?	*Household level* (e.g. decisions over household expenditure) *Community level* (e.g. decisions on the management of community water supplies)
Needs, priorities and perspectives What are women's and men's needs and priorities? What perspectives do they have on appropriate and sustainable ways of addressing their needs?	Needs and priorities "*Practical" gender needs* (i.e. in the context of the existing gender roles and resources e.g. more convenient water point to save women time and energy) "*Strategic" gender needs* (i.e. requiring changes to existing gender roles and resources to create greater equality of opportunity and benefit e.g. increasing women's access to employment on roads) Perspectives *Perspectives on delivery systems* – choice of technology, location, cost of services, systems of operation, management and maintenance

Source: (Pasteur 25th January, 2002).

Kabeer (1994) argue that neglecting power in gender analysis means a failure to reach understanding of or solution to deprivation of women in development process (Kabeer 1994).[16] Therefore, power is considered as a key issue in gender analysis that helps to understand livelihoods and achieve empowerment as a key to development (de Haan & Zoomers 2004).

Power:

The classical concept of power; 'sovereign power' is the power over people that one can own. Example of sovereign power is the power of the land lord over his slave. The concept of power that is used in gender analysis is the 'disciplinary power', the power that is normal to

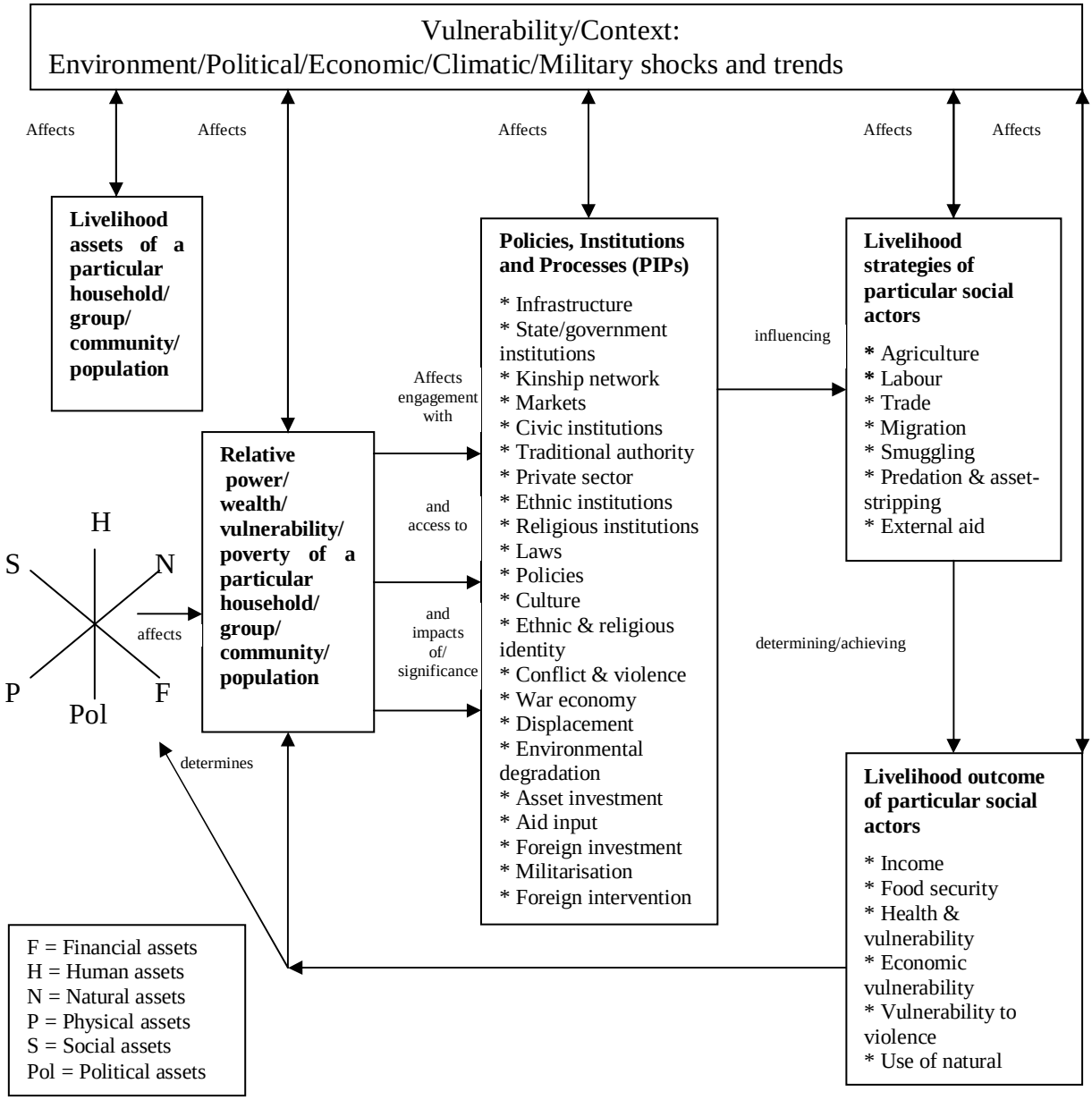
[16] Cited in Ibid.

people. Disciplinary power is unquestionably accepted, could not be owned but exists when exercised. It is the power that makes the slave accept her/his serfdom and the women accept subordinate gender roles. de haan and Zoomers (2004), argue that women are not pure victims, but they play an active role in their subordination. To prove their idea they quote Villareal, who follows Giddens idea of the dynamic processes of 'wielding and yielding'. Giddens argue that there is continuous interaction between structure and agency that could enable actors willingly deviate from discourses shaped by previous generations. In the interactions, power never completely belongs to one individual, and the outcome is the result of negotiation regardless of the inequality at the beginning of the negotiation. Therefore, power could be recreated or reshaped in the interactions of individuals; each supports his willing, in a dynamic process of 'wielding and yielding'. The objectives of the power wielding are influenced and shaped by the others who are in subordinate position. Thus, women could use their 'room of maneuver', not only to rebel, but to improve their situation (Villareal 1994)[17]. Improvement of women situation is a process of empowerment.

The above illustrated and explained is the basic concept and the essential components of livelihood approach and framework. This framework is developed for use in politically stable contexts, yet in recent years the approach has increasingly been applied in contexts of chronic conflict and political instability. Sustainable Livelihood Approach has been modified to attain the objectives of the emergency assessment approaches that include; estimation of the severity of food insecurity, identification of vulnerable groups and identification of appropriate interventions.

[17] Cited in Ibid.

Figure (2): **Adapted Sustainable Livelihoods Framework to support analysis in situations of chronic conflict and political instability**
Source: Collinson et al. (2002: 26) in (Jaspars & Shoham December 2002)



The adapted livelihoods framework (Figure 2) includes **political capital _** in addition to the basic five capitals- which is determined by connections to power. The minority elite use their power to benefits from conflict and political instability, while the majority of the population loses capitals (Jaspars, (December 2002). It is noteworthy to say that 'power' here is different from the 'disciplinary power' and could be possessed by men as well as by women. Jaspars and Shoham (2002) mentioned the importance of political capital in situation of chronic conflict and political instability, but Baumann and Sinha (2001) consider it as

important during the peaceful situation as well. Baumann and Sinha argue that political capital is used to mediate access to the other five capitals by influencing the stream of entitlements available through 'policies, institutions and processes' – either to gain access legitimately or illegitimately to such entitlements, or deny others access to them. This kind of meditation cannot easily be captured by the concept of 'policies, institutions and processes' of the sustainable livelihood approach. Political capital could be built up by deploying of other assets such as financial and human capitals (Baumann, P. & Sinha 2001).

In situation of chronic conflict and political instability **livelihood strategies** are constrained by on-going conflict, insecurity and a lack of basic services, which make achievement of sustainable livelihoods to be difficult (Schafer 2002). Thus, an alternative definition for livelihoods in situation of chronic conflict and political instability is given by Holland, et al (2002) as:

> *"The ways in which people access and mobilize resources that enable them to pursue goals necessary for their survival and longer-term well-being, and thereby reduce the vulnerability created and exacerbated by conflict"* (Holland et al. December 2002).

This definition introduces the concept of vulnerability which, some people have argued, needs to be placed more centrally within a livelihoods framework applicable in situation of chronic conflict and political instability. It also excludes sustainability and brings in survival in addition to longer-term well-being. Therefore, livelihood **strategies** are composed of the activities that generate the means of survival and longer-term well-being, and the **Outcomes** focus on such short-term objectives as personal safety, food security, reduced vulnerability and survival (Jaspars & Shoham December 2002). **Policy, Institutions and processes** (PIPs), at micro level as well as macro level, are more highlighted and **war/ political economy** is introduced to livelihood approach (Ashley & Carney 1999).

The political economy approach:

The political economy approach to chronic conflict and political instability attempts to uncover the losers and gainers from the war economy and instability; and the impacts of war, on the economy, and deliberate destruction of economic infrastructure (Schafer 2002).

Cost of Chronic Conflict:

The most direct effect of the situation of chronic conflict and political instability is on both human and social capitals. Human capitals affected by deaths, disablement, **displacement**, decline in capacity of the state to provide services, and **violence against women**, while social capital affected by: **disruption of social relations**, social dislocation, decline in trust and reciprocity (Goodhand 2001).

When considering **violence against women**, rape is the most common and usually the first to be analyzed. Feminists brought the use of rape as a strategy of war to the international attention during the Yugoslav civil war. By rape men assert their power over women and groups of men assert their power over other groups by overpowering 'their' women (Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998).

Disruption of Social relations*:*

Social relations include gender relations. In civil wars gender relations is affected by the increase in physical, economic and emotional insecurity. Men of combat age are particularly at risk of being conscripted or killed. In the absence of adult men, through fighting, death, injury or flight, women have to bear the major burden for the maintenance of their families under situations of physical risk and insecurity. Civil wars lead to large numbers of displaced, with women often forming the majority of adult displaced (Byrne Dec. 1995).

Displacement:

Displacement is defined as "simultaneously split and doubled existence – stretched across the multiple ruptures between 'here' and 'there' (Bammer 1994)[18].

"Internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border" (Global IDP 2005).

[18] cited in Brun, C. (2003).

‘[Displacement] indicates a state of ”inbetweenness’ and a state of being attached to several places and simultaneously struggling to establish the right to a place. Displacement due to war means physical dislocation, the separation of people from their everyday practices and their familiar environments, social disruption and material dispossession” (Brun 2003).

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I will tell the story of my first experience in conducting social scientific research. In addition to the methods I used I will focus on reflecting my own experience. The chapter consists of three sections; the first one is about the preparation stage of the field work. The second is about the field work; it tells about primary data collection both in Heiban and Khartoum, and secondary data collection. Also it tells about the limitations of the field work and its end. The last section is about data analysis where I will illustrate and explain the frame work I will use for the analysis, and define the household composition in Heiban.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE FIELD WORK

I started my preparations for the field work before I left Norway, where I have been living since the start of the new millennium. First, I decided to conduct my research in Nuba Mountains Region of Sudan. When I got the idea of the research topic I contacted the Norwegian Church Aids organization which works in the region, and got acceptance to facilitate my field work there. Then, I prepared my research proposal based on ethnography and theoretical information.

Since it was my first experience, I was worried about its success. My supervisor, Prof. Kjersti Larsen[19], recommended some literature related to the topic and to research methods. One of these readings was 'Strategies of qualitative inquiry' (Denzin & Lincoln 2003) where I found a recommendation to read previous studies made on the same topic, before leaving to the field. Thus, I have read two recent thesis; 'Land of plenty, plenty of land? : revival of livelihoods and emerging conflicts in Yirol county, a liberated area of the Southern Sudan' (Sundnes 2004) and 'War and cattle : livelihood strategies and perceptions of wealth and poverty in southern Sudan' (Tofte 2004). Both thesis are related to livelihoods and were carried out in southern Sudan. These theses were very useful for me, especially when I was confronted by reality and recognized that my proposal was not applicable and I had to adjust it.

[19] http://www.umb.no/noragric/staff/cv/larsen-kjersti.pdf

Selection of the Study Area and Institute Affiliation:

I had selected my research area, the Nuba Mountains, before the selection of my topic. My selection was due to my belief that the region is one of the most marginalized, but has not got enough attention from researchers. As I mentioned above, I had done the study with the cooperation of the Norwegian Church Aids organization. Also, both international and national staff supported my study. They provided transportation, accommodation and assistants. Without this support I could not have conducted the research. With the local staff and for logistic situations[20], we agreed to do the research in Heiban town, where most of their activities are concentrated.

THE FIELD WORK:

When I arrived into the Sudan on the 22nd of September, I introduced myself to the staff of the Norwegian Church Aids organization (NCA), who was already informed about my proposal to carry out a research project in the Nuba Mountains. Fortunately, one of the staff members I met, Dawood Narbi, the Relief Coordinator of NCA was Nuba and from Heiban. Using a snow-ball method Narbi facilitated my access to Nuba's elites and then the community in Khartoum. I have built a reasonable affiliation with the community. Meanwhile, I started the journey for secondary data collection, and preparations for the primary data collection.

I could not start the primary data collection in Khartoum because by the time I was ready, I had to leave to the Nuba Mountains, accompanying two of Norwegian Church Aids staff members in a regular trip. Unfortunately, the trip was postponed many times; we did not leave before the 8th of November. I stayed two days in Kadugli, the capital of South Kordofan state, before I left to Heiban. It was difficult to access Heiban by car, so Olav Forsmark; the Nuba Mountain program Coordinator in NCA, arranged for me a flight with the Joint Monitoring Commission JMC. During my time in Kadugli I visited JMC, UNDP and other local organizations. I collected some secondary data and interviewed the police department of the Joint Monitoring Commission. I interviewed them on the contribution of the JMC on achieving security in the region, mainly, women security. The department consists of three teams; international observers, SPLM/A representative and government representative. I

[20] other villages are accessed only on foot, situated far from Heiban that I could not walk the distance twice a day and it would need time to find host family

could not interview the later because he refused to cooperate – despite that he knew I got permission from his boss in JMC- unless I got permission form his boss in the police department of Kadugli. For security of the research I used the 'optimum ignorance' and did not proceed in this issue.

Field Work in Heiban:

In Heiban, I had been hosted by the Norwegian Church Aids and lived in its compound. Abu Eisa Komi; the Project officer of NCA in Heiban, has arranged with one of the temporary staff to stay overnight with me during my period in Heiban. This companion provided useful and amusing company. Majda Isma'ail is about 38 years old, married without children and for some reasons staying with her parents. We spent the nights chatting over different issues, mainly gender affairs, traditions and her experience during the course of the war. On several moony nights she accompanied me to the 'dance -yard'.[21] In addition, Norwegian Church Aids has 24 hours-a-day guard. During my stay there were three guards exchanging shifts; two of them were young, and the third was in his sixth decade. All of them were among the key-informants. We got enough time for formal and informal talking, mainly after working hours and on the weekends.

On the second day since my arrival in Heiban, one of the Norwegian Church Aids staff members had a harvest transporting -working party (*nafeer*). It was an opportunity for me to participate in local affairs and make contact with the community. I met with many people beside the *nafeer's* participants. Most of them were women, some on their way between the farm and the house others in the process of fetching water. I stopped many times to introduce myself and the purpose of my visit. I think this *nafeer* was the most important activity which helped me to build up a good affiliation with the community. This was mirrored in the attendance of the first group discussion which was held two days later. Later I participated in other activities in the community and made good contact with most of the people, according to their age, gender, religion and social position or status.

[21] young people form both genders use to spend the moonlit nights in dancing as the only possible entertainment opportunity

Research guides and research ethics

I used many research guides, some of them from the Norwegian Church Aids staff, and others from the vicinity. I used research guides to direct or accompany me in home visits, but many times I traveled independently. Since I did not use the guides as interpreters, they have never attended household interviews. It was an advantage not to need an interpreter, because then there was no explicit information lost in the process of interpretation and time was saved.

Concerning research ethics, I introduced myself to the community overtly, as a student doing her field work. Therefore, I assumed every one gave a relevant piece of information, whether formally or informally, for me to use in my research. Furthermore, I asked for the permission to record or photograph when I wanted to.

Data Collection:

Sociology is a social science that studies groups and the social context of their behavior. One of the social research methodologies is the case study. "The case study approach aims to understand the case in depth, and its natural setting, recognizing its complexity and its context. It also has a holistic focus, aiming to preserve and understand the wholeness and unity of the case" (Bryman 2004). The intention of this research was to study in depth the every-day life of a community, in order to develop a full understanding of their livelihood. "I therefore found it important to focus on the context of an observation, rather than the frequency that would be the focal point of a quantitative researcher" (Sundnes 2004). As a result of my intentions, I found the use of qualitative method more suitable than the quantitative one, in achieving this objective.

Primary Data:

The case study approach allows the researcher to select from a wide range of qualitative methods, one or a set of methods that allow her/him to attain her/his objective(s). I used different methods to collect my data. I placed major emphasis on various types of interviews, including: focus groups, individual interviews, questionnaires and participatory observations. I also used other methods such as participatory mapping, wealth ranking and social mapping. The interview technique I used was semi-structured, in that I ". . .has[d] a list of questions or fairly specific topics to be covered, [….] " (Bryman 2004). Using this type of interview

resulted in interviews allowed room to the interviewees to pursue topics of their particular interest (ibid) and gave me the opportunity to discover new areas to be explored. The methods I used will be elaborated in this chapter later.

Selection of the Sampling frame:

In research with an objective like mine, sampling should be purposive sampling. "Such sampling is essentially strategic and entails an attempt to establish a good correspondence between research questions and sampling" (Bryman 2004). Therefore, I made heavy attempts to select a purposeful sampling frame. The sampling frame should cover all the categories of the community: age, gender, social status, religion, and tribe, male / female headed household and demographic structure of the household, returnees, IDPs, and those who were stay during the war. To obtain this sample, I started with wealth ranking and social mapping methods.

Wealth ranking and social mapping:

The target of the NGOs is to eliminate poverty. If the character and determinants of poverty are known, it becomes easier to formulate a useful poverty alleviation strategy. In addition, the developmental agencies follow a participatory approach in the formulation of their plans. Therefore, wealth ranking and social mapping methods are widely used to identify community perception of wealth and poverty (Mikkelsen 1995). In my study, I used this method as follows:

I conducted two separate group discussions, one for each gender, in order to introduce the concept of wealth and poverty and facilitate to the community to identify the characters of the wealthy person in Heiban. According to Mikkelsen (1998: 133), this group discussions should follow community mapping, but I advanced it ahead of community mapping because on one hand, I did not have enough time in Heiban to familiarize myself with the setting or to build up an affiliation that would help me to find who could participate in community mapping. On the other hand, I could use the meetings to familiarize myself by introducing myself to the community and to find out their problems; course of action which would avoid the problem of time shortage.

Each group came up with its criteria. A group of four women and two men were selected to draw the community social map. For two reasons, I planned to conduct two separate meetings before my advent to the community. This plan was based on my knowledge about rural

communities in the Sudan; where women could not express themselves clearly in the presence of men. When I made myself familiar with the community I found that I had been mistaken, Heiban women discuss sensitive issues clearly in mixed meetings. The other reason for the plan was to differentiate between the perceptions of different genders.

Going back to the method I used, this committee came out with six characteristics that distinguish the wealthy people and categorized them into three categories: better-off, middle and poor. Then they drew a map of the community and assigned each household to the suitable category. I attended this meeting with them and followed their discussion about why they should put X in this category and not the other. Furthermore, the group illustrated the gender of the head of each household, the religion of the house, the tribe of the house and whether any of the household's members were IDPs, returnees or persisted during the war time. The question of community perception of wealth and poverty was posed in the individual interviews and, informally, to others whom I communicated with in the daily life.

Returning to the sampling frame, I used this map and selected a sample of 30 households that cover the different criteria indicated on the map. I chose openly from a wide range of households. My samples varied from those households headed by poor Muslim, IDP women who were from the Tira sub - group, to other households headed by males fitting other criteria. I also used other criteria which are not on the map, such as demographic structure of the household. I conducted 27 household interviews, and these interviews, in addition to the key informant interviews, are enough to generate a conclusion.

Participatory Mapping:

Photo (1): Participatory Mapping

"Participatory mapping is used to provide distribution information related to limited physical space and settlements, e.g. information on population distribution, demographic data, infrastructure, natural

resources and social services distributions" (Mikkelsen 1995). Heiban is in a transitional situation, and its mapping is useless. I used Participatory Mapping to draw a map to the Heiban locality. The importance of this map is that it shows the distribution of the Nuba sub-groups in the locality, villages under control of each conflicting party, roads connecting villages and the distribution of the education and health services that affect townspeople access.

Focus group interviews:

Photo (2): Focus group interview

"The focus group method is a form of group interview in which there are several participants (in addition to the moderator/facilitator); there is an emphasis on the questioning on a particular fairly tightly defined topic, and the accent is upon interaction within the group and the joint construction of meaning […] interviewees are selected because they are known to have been involved in a particular situation [..] [or] known to have had a certain experience and could be interviewed in a relatively unstructured way about that experience" (Bryman 2004).

Four focus group interviews were conducted; three of them were with women. One was to explore their experience during the war, and the others were to discuss gender issues. Participants in the first one included five women who had witnessed the war. Other women attended the discussion and participated by reminding them

Photo (3): women reprehensive explaining the water problem

of some events they had heard about. The other two group interviews were about gender division of labor; one meeting's participants were women between the ages of thirty to seventy, and the other meeting was for youth below thirty. The same information was obtained from men as key informants. Also this data was cross checked by informal discussions with other people. The fourth group interview was with the health volunteers from both genders.

Individual interviews:

This section refers to household interviews, which I conducted with the heads of various households and anyone of the household's members who were available. In household interviews, I used a one-page questionnaire for the bio-demographic data. It was useful to have this data in hand while I proceeded with the rest of the interview. The rest was a semi-structured interview aided by the help of some guide points generated from two sources; 'Rural livelihoods and diversity in developing countries' (Ellis 2000), and 'Measuring social capital : an integrated questionnaire' (Grootaert et al. 2003).

The interviews were conducted at different times of the day, depending on the availability of the respondents. The interview was designed to take one hour, but actually most of it took between one and a half and two hours. This was because we had to drink coffee first, a drink which is traditionally a very important offering to household visitors in Heiban. Coffee time was also beneficial to me in building an affiliation. In other cases, in addition to the coffee the respondent opened new interesting discussion windows during or after the formal interview.

When an interview session was over _ this is applicable to the key informant interviews also _ I would ask the respondent if s/he wanted to add something, and also ask for the permission to come again in case I needed more information. The first question gives the respondent the opportunity to discuss things they considered of importance to focus on.

Key Informant Interviews:

Key informants are people who are expected to have extensive information about a specific issue. I have interviewed many key informants: all Norwegian Church Aids staff members (7), leader of the community based organization, health personnel, community leaders (*Umdas*), women representative in the conflict resolution committee, a member in the conflict resolution committee, elderly people, merchants and religious leaders. I cross checked the data I collected by interviewing more than one person for the same topic. In most of the cases this interviews were attended by others who could participate in the discussion.

Ethnography:

The term 'ethnography' is associated with social anthropological research. The term is used to refer to data collected through the participant observation method, in which a researcher "immerses him-or herself in a group for an extended period of time, observing behaviors, listening to what is said in conversions both between others and with the fieldworker, and asking questions" (Bryman 2004).

During my time in the Sudan, I was conscious to observe every thing related to the Nuba and to my topic. Observations helped me to discover new areas that I should explore or consider during my research. Heiban was a new community for me for which I had little knowledge of social life. The *nafeer* I mentioned above, was the first step in my interaction with the community where I participated in different other social events, and exchanged visits. I managed to immerse in the community to the extent that they called me 'Kaka'; one of the tribal names[22] in the area. My existence in the every-day life of the community, and my observations of their activities, actions and interactions allowed me to readjusting my research points, adding more points to be investigated, mainly in social capital. Furthermore, my interaction with the community helped me to cross check the data I gathered.

Notes and Data recording:

> "*with approaches that entail detailed attention to language , such as conversion analysis and discourse analysis the recording of conversations and interviews is to all intents and purposes mandatory*" (Bryman 2004).

[22] I will say something about this later

In my study I used different recording techniques to collect my data:

Note taking:

I took short notes during the formal interviews and elaborated them later. I used this type of data recording at first just for the experience of it. I later relied on note taking when I found it necessary to use on various occasions on which I had no access to audio recording and when the respondent was/ or I estimated he would be reluctant to use audio recording. This method had many disadvantages. Mainly, it is time consuming, and also it reduces my concentration with the respondent and surrounding, and could not probe promptly, when it is necessary.

Audio-visual recording:

I used audio-visual recording only with group discussions, focus groups and in documenting social events such as *nafeer*. Audio-visual is too expensive to be used in individual interviews, and might affect the respondent's concentration, mainly if s/he was not familiar with audio-visual. In addition, I had to have a camera-person. The most important advantage of audio-visual recording is that it allowed me to catch up on what I had missed during the session, mainly group interactions.

Audio recording:

Audio recording was the most frequent method I used. I used both tape recordings and computer software recordings. The advantage of the later over the former; it gives opportunity to record for many hours continuously. But it also had disadvantages that it needed a continuous electrical source and more secure milieu. With audio recording I had to backup my work as soon as possible. Notwithstanding, I preferred to use computer software whenever it was possible. I used computer recordings with most of the key informants and some of the individual interviews. But, I had to be careful to select what I should use and with whom. After one of the individual interviews, where I used computer software for recording, the respondent went out to my guide, while I was chatting with his wife and asked nervously: "*is she just student or she will take my answers to the security officers in Khartoum, I had told her every thing …..*"

Generally, audio–visual devices are weapons with two edges. If the ethnographer does not employ them cautiously they may negatively affect the progress of the research or at least result in one's ending up with strategic answers.

Field Notes:

Bryman has classified field notes into three categories: mental notes, jotted notes and full field notes (Bryman 2004). I used two of them as follows:

Mental notes:

I had taken mental notes when I was participating in the community's daily life and when collecting data that respondent considered as confidential and reject using recording devices.

Full field notes:

I used them in most cases as complementary to the mental notes, in that as soon as I possibly could, I would write down full details of my mental notes. In addition, I started to revise my daily work and write down full notes at the end of each day. I wrote about all the activities I had participated in during the day, whom I interviewed, what I observed in relation to my study and my comments on the interviews and/ or interviewees. But due to the time factor, note taking had accelerated to a stop approximately mid way through the period.

Limitations:

Time and timing were the most constrains to my field work. In addition, my accommodation with Norwegian Church Aids created some constrains as I will discus below.

Time:

According to the schedule of the university, I have to carry out my field work between mid October and mid December. But, my study area – Heiban is not accessible before November.[23] In addition to the reasons I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the actual field work in Heiban lasted only four weeks.

[23] Due to heavy rain during the rainy season and the muddy soil

Timing:

The period I stayed in Heiban was at the end of the harvesting season, and people were occupied with harvesting the produce of a long exhausting agricultural season.

To overcome the above mentioned problems I worked day and evening, and with whomever I could get data from. In the mornings, I would go to the market place, health unit, or visit houses in which I knew some members were not at the fields - like the houses of women with newly born infants. After 16:00 local time, I interviewed men, while women were occupied with the domestic work. After 19:00, I interviewed women, until 21:00. I worked very hard after the two first weeks, but this was on expense of revising my daily work and taking notes.

Accommodation*:*

As I mentioned earlier, I was accommodated by the Norwegian Church Aids, the only active NGO in the area when I arrived. To avoid the confusion of the community that I might be one of the staff - a misunderstanding which might have resulted in strategic answers - I overtly introduced myself as a student and informed them that I had no relation with Norwegian Church Aids, except that they were kindly accommodating me. Despite the fact that I continuously repeated this introduction, I would occasionally receive strategic answers. Furthermore, my hosting by the NCA affected my interaction with Muslims; I was never visited by Muslim women, and Muslim men often promised to come to the compound to be interviewed as key informants but they never fulfilled their promises.

Fieldwork in Khartoum:

As I mentioned above I had prepared for data collection before my travel to Heiban. It took me time until I contacted a member of Heiban People Association in Khartoum (Erel)[24], Majada Kaju John; the leader of the women affairs office in the association. With help of Majda I managed to conduct two group interviews, one in the location of the association, and the other in a private house of the association representative in Um Badda square 43. In the group interview I used a semi _ structured interview method. Majada and other students/respondents helped me to fill up the bio-demographic forms while I was conducting individual interviews and key informant interviews. Respondents in the first group were

[24] Erel means Heiban in their own language

dominated by students and young people, while in the second group was dominated by women from peripheries of Um Durman town; *Injamaina* and *Trutwar*. Sampling in Khartoum was opportunistic. Key informants were members of Erel, teachers, and religious leaders.

Secondary Data:

The secondary data I had collected was from public and private sources. I collected from libraries of educational institutions in Sudan, such as University of Khartoum, Library of Sudan, Development and Environmental Institute, and Rabat Police Academy for Higher Education. The rules in some of these libraries prevent out-loan and photocopying of the references. Therefore, I had to read and take my notes in the library, which was time consuming. Other sources were NGOs and personal libraries. Most of the references I used were from the BIBSYS[25] database, through the library of Noragric[26], the Department of International Environment and Development Studies at the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (UMB)[27], where the system allows students to borrow references from all Scandinavian countries for four- renewable if possible- weeks. Furthermore student could receive references and copies of articles through mail when it is necessary.

The End:

"Knowing when to stop is not an easy or a straightforward matter in ethnography. Because of its unstructured nature and the absence of specific hypotheses to be tested [..] there is a tendency for ethnographic research to lack a sense of an obvious end point", (Bryman 2004). It was difficult for me to end my research, mainly because there were many points I was interested in investigating. But due to the time factor and the size of the project, I used the 'optimum ignorance' again and ended my research with a hope to get another chance to resume it.

[25] http://wgate.bibsys.no/search/gen?bibk=tc&lang=E
[26] http://www.umb.no/?viewID=7332
[27] http://www.umb.no/?avd=30

DATA ANALYSIS

Explaining the household concept:

The household was the basic unit in the framework I used for my analysis, which necessitated defining the concept of the household. The most frequent definition of the household is relatives who live under the same roof, and regularly eat their main meals together. The character of "live under the same roof" is not essential because the living arrangements vary throughout different communities. In some communities men and women do not share the same domicile. The household sometimes composed of a nuclear family with details; husband, wife and children, and other times is a compound family with details; husband, wives and children (Eriksen 2001).

Households in Heiban are not as typical as Eriksen's definition above. Women and men live in separate huts but within the same fence. They eat their main meals from the same pot but not together; women and girls eat separately from men and boys. Regarding the composition of the household, I found both nuclear and compound families but in addition to the children there are grandchildren _ often children of the daughter who has got them out of wedlock. In such situation the children belong to their grandfather; father of the mother _ or their uncle; brother of the mother, and not to their biological father.[28] This situation is applied also to the female headed household, where the mother, her children and grandchildren live together.

Explaining the livelihood Framework

Livelihood approach as reviewed in the previous chapter is a flexible analytical tool used for various objectives. The framework below is adopted form Longley and Maxell (2003), Ellis (2000), Scoones (1998) and DFID (1994), to analyze a post-conflict setting in order to find the effects of a protracted conflict on the livelihoods.

The context:

By the 'uncontroversial characteristics' for chronic conflict (see previous chapter); Schafer (2002) has panted a black and white picture; either there is chronic conflict when at least one of these characteristics exist or it is a peaceful situation. There is at present in the Nuba

[28] this will be explained in details in chapter five

Mountains a transitional situation, a post- conflict situation where at least one character is hold, should I then, when only on character is identified , define this as a chronic conflict?

These criteria, for me, are not sufficient for the use of the sustainable livelihood approach, particularly, when we consider people's priorities in peaceful and conflict contexts. As mentioned in the previous chapter, in a peaceful context livelihood outcomes should contribute to livelihood security and sustainability, whilst in a conflict context it focus on such short-term objectives as personal safety, food security, reduced vulnerability and survival.

In my view, when we define a context for use in the sustainable livelihood approach; we should consider, both Schafer's criteria and people priorities for intervention. Therefore, in a situation where at least one character is hold and people's priorities are like peaceful context priorities, I will use post-conflict context term. This term is coinciding with the Nuba region situation at my study time; where the state legitimacy is contested (Schafer 2002) and peoples' priorities are long term ones.

In this study, I will consider the context of Scoones (1998) where the vulnerabilit*y* context covers a range of **historical** and **current socio-economic** trends, such as policy setting, politics, history, climate, terms of trade, agro-ecology and socio-economic conditions (Scoones 1998).

Definition of "Sustainable Livelihoods" term:

After identifying the context of the setting, I would like to define the livelihood definition that will be used in this study. In the chapter of the literature review, three definitions were mentioned for the term "sustainable livelihoods". The definition generated by Holland et al. (December 2002) is constructed to be used in situations of chronic conflict and political instability. And the definition constructed by Scoones (1998) focuses on sustainability and capability. Since I will not deal with sustainability and capability and the context I deal with is post conflict one, I will use neither of the two definitions.

As I was argued before, the definition given by Ellis (2000) is more suitable to be used to develop knowledge about livelihoods of a community in order to be used as baseline for development intervention. Since this statement matches the objective of my study, therefore I will use Ellis' definition which repeated below:

"A livelihood comprise the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital) the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household" (Ellis 2000).

Social capital and social relations:

Considering the definition of "social capital"[29] stated in the previous chapter and Halpern (2005) definition: "social networks and the norms and sanctions that govern their character. It is valued for its potential to **facilitate** individual and community action, especially through the solution of collective action problems" (Halpern 2005).

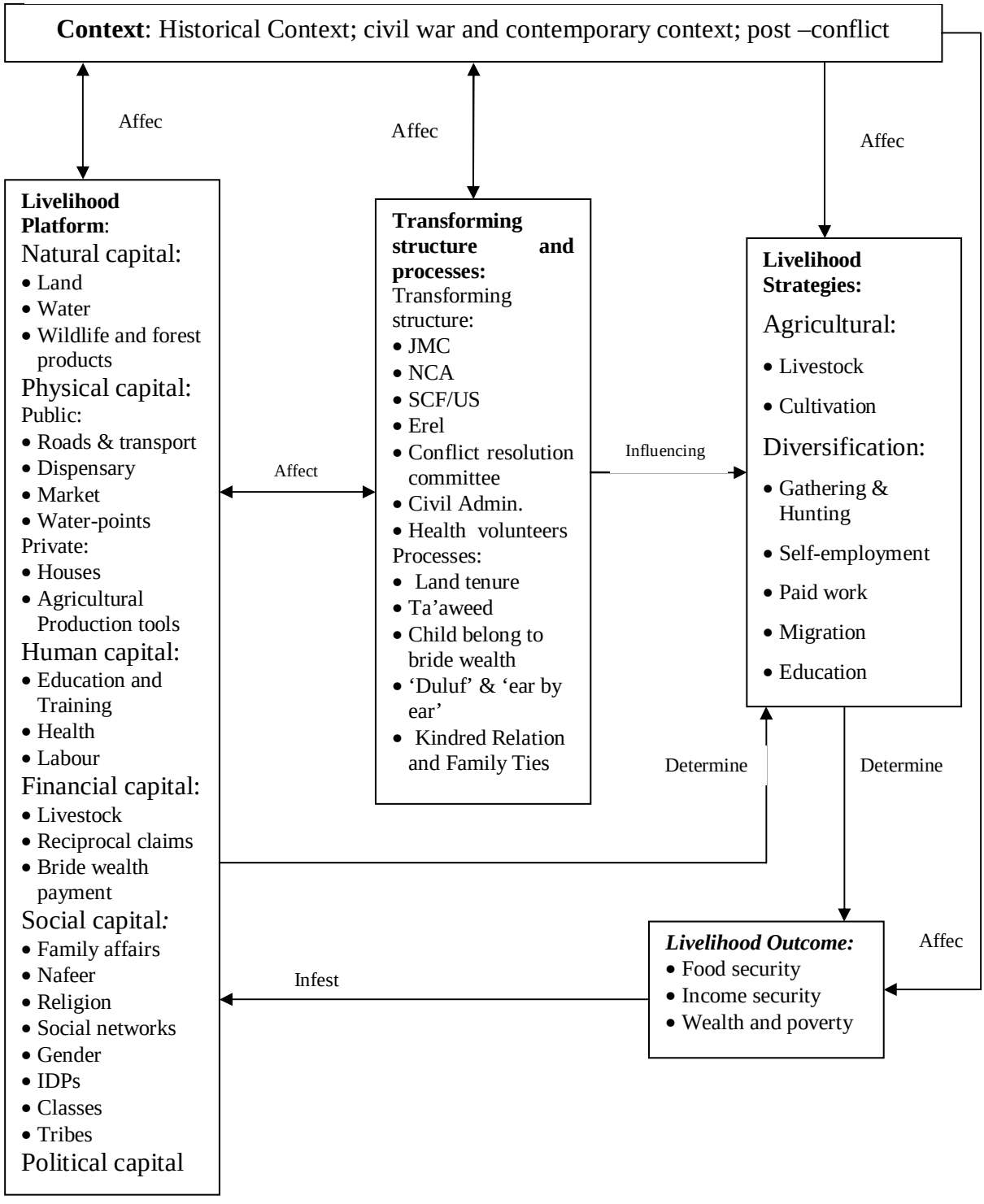
It seems confusing to have 'social capital', as asset and 'social relations' as mediator. The word 'to facilitate' in Halpern's definition makes the 'social capital' as mediator. In addition, there is no clear identification for the items of each element. For instance, gender, religion, cast and social networks are sometimes used as 'social capital' while other times used as 'social relations'. Thereby, including both social capital and social relations' in one framework seems as duplication. Thus I will take 'transforming structure and processes' from Scoones (1998) and include Organizations and Institutions only.

Livelihoods strategies are, to some extend, taken form Scoones (1998). The essential livelihoods activities for Nuba people of Heiban are agricultural; farming and herding. Subsequently, I considered any other activity, including migration, as 'diversification'.

Since Ellis (2000) and Scoones (1998) frameworks are flat and do not show the relationship between the components, I used the feedback loops from DFID (1994) and Collinson et al. (2002: 26). Also I include political capital in the assets item.

[29] **Social capital** is the social resources (networks, social claims, social relations, affiliations, associations and mutual trust) upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies requiring coordinated actions (DFID, 1994;Scoones, 1998)

Figure(3): Adopted framework to analyze livelihood in Heiban



How the framework works?

The resulting framework works as follow: the starting point of the analysis is the context; both historical and contemporary contexts which are identified in chapter four and section one of chapter five respectively. The context affects the platform, transforming structure and

processes**,** livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. Both the platform and the transforming structure and process affect the context. The later affect the context in the sense that some organizations and laws affect the contemporary context and control peace and social life. Whilst the former affects the context in the sense that the causes of the conflict are related to the resources such as land, water, religion, tribes, development and political marginalization. Relation between the platform and the transforming structure and processes is of two directions. One direction indicates that access to the platform is influenced by the transforming structure and processes. For example; access to land is determined by land tenure, and access to training, and medicines are mediated by NGOs. The second direction indicates that access to the transforming structure and processes is determined by the platform. For example; services provided by Erel and Norwegian Church Aid are affected by the tribe and religion. There is relation between the livelihoods strategies and the platform; for instance, rearing of pigs is prohibited for Muslims, and type of activities is determined by gender. Mediating factors and context on one hand and transforming structure and process on the other hand determine the livelihood strategies followed by the households. Livelihood strategies result on the livelihoods outcomes. The livelihood outcomes might be invested in the platform, such as investing income in education.

The framework will be used to identify the current livelihood of the Nuba people in Heiban as well as to assess the affect of the civil war on their livelihood components by comparing with the situation before the war. Wealth and poverty are estimated due to physical necessities, assets and the community perception of wealth and poverty. The gender analysis framework that is mentioned in chapter two will be used implicitly throughout all components of the framework, and the political economy analysis is carried out by finding how the context affect the economy of the community.

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The purpose of this chapter is to give the reader a brief view over the geographical, and socio-economical characteristics of Sudan, Nuba Mountains Region and to introduce Heiban; my study area. Sources of information here are secondary data. The chapter is divided into three main sections: section one introduce Sudan; geography, demography and the civil wars. Section two introduces Nuba Mountains: geography, demography and economy. Section three introduces the history of the Nuba Mountains, conflict in the region and the peace efforts.

SECTION ONE

GEOGRAPHY AND DEMOGRAPHY OF THE SUDAN

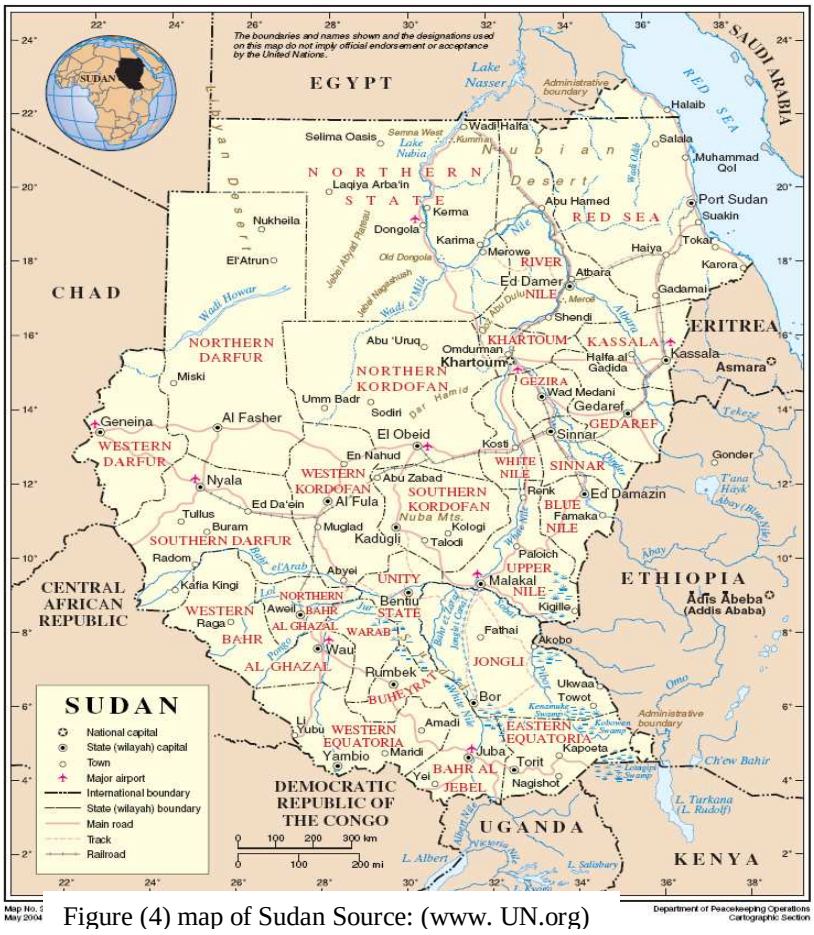


Figure (4) map of Sudan Source: (www. UN.org)

The Sudan is a vast country located in northern Africa between 15 00 N, 30 00 E. It has 7,687 km of borders, shared with nine countries, and 853 km of coast-line on the Red Sea. Sudan is the largest country in Africa. It covers an area of 2,505,810 sq km which is roughly, equal to one-quarter of the size of the United States (CIA 2005).

Administratively, Sudan is divided into twenty six states; each state is divided into some Localities.

Sudan, consists of a flat plain, with elevation varies between zero m (Red See) and 3187 m above the see level (Kinyeti), (ibid). Mountainous areas are scattered at the peripheries, (far south, far west and east). The only interior highlands of consequence are the Nuba Mountains south and west of Kordofan (Sudan Home 2005). The internal plain of Sudan lies at about 325 meters above sea level. It is crossed by the Nile River and its tributaries and by a number of mountains. The climate of Sudan varies from continental in the northern parts, through savannah in the centre, to equatorial in its most southern parts. Rainfall varies from 20 mm/year in the north to some 1600 mm/year in the far south. Average annual rainfall is 436 mm. Rains result in significant streams that flow to the White Nile and Blue Nile which join at Khartoum to form the Nile River; the longest river worldwide, and the main source of water in Sudan (Answers.com; FAO 2005; Odyssey in Egypt 2005). Availability of water and diversity of climate could make Sudan "the food basket of Africa". The cultivable area in Sudan is estimated to be 105 million ha, which is 42 percent of the total area. Most of cultivated land is rain-fed; and most of central and all southern Sudan is covered with forests and grasslands (FAO 2005). Despite the increasing oil production, and the high contribution of the service sector to the GDP (41 percent in 2003 est.); agriculture production remains Sudan's most important sector. It employs 80 per cent of the work force and contributes 39 per cent of GDP (CIA 2005).

Population:

Sudan has an estimated population of 40,187,486 (July 2005 est.) with population growth rate of 2.64 percent, death rate of 9.16 deaths/1,000 population (2005 est.) and life expectancy at birth of 58.13 years (2005 est.). 80 percent of the work force (11 million in 1996 est.), as mentioned above, is employed by agricultural sector; 7 percent by industry and commerce; and 13 percent by government, (1998 est.) (CIA 2005).

The Sudanese are a heterogeneous people. Most of the Sudanese speak Arabic which is the official language in Sudan. English and many local non-scriptural languages are widely spoken. According to the first population census, in 1955, spoken languages in Sudan are about 115 (Baumann, G. 1987; Deng 2002). About 70 percent of the Sudanese are Muslim, some 25 percent follow indigenous non scriptural religions, and most of the remainders are Christian. The people of northern Sudan are predominantly Sunni Muslims. Most of the people in the south either practice traditional non scriptural religions or are Christian (CIA

2005). Heterogeneity appears more clearly when we consider what the Sudanese refer to as (*qabila)*; that is, tribe or population. According to Deng (2002) Sudan is divided into 56 tribes and 595 sub-tribes. Location of the country, the extreme diversity in the languages, religions, and populations made Sudan as a true representative of an African multi – nations' state (Deng 2002).

Sudan is a country rich with potential but severely impacted by the effects of intra- state wars. The ongoing civil wars and the consequential decay and destruction of basic infrastructure severely constrain the capacity of the country to develop its full potential. Consequently, Sudan remains one of the poorest countries in the world, with widespread poverty and a weak and uneven economic base and infrastructure (CIA 2005; EU 2004). According to Kebbede (1999) Sudan is financially bankrupt. Its treasure has been drained by the wars; every thing for the war policy cost the country over 2 million USD per day (Kebbede 1999).

Civil Wars:

Sudan has been engaged for centuries with resource, religion, marginalization, and tribes related conflicts. These wars began with the south – north conflict which started in 1955 before independence and continued up to 2005 with 11 year- break between 1973 and 1983 (Justice-Africa 2005; Kebbede 1999). The war ended with the Addis Ababa agreement, which granted local autonomy to the south. In 1983, the Addis Ababa agreement was abrogated when Islamic law was announced and the war resumed. The second war was between the governments of Sudan, mainly the existing one: a military regime backed by the National Islamic Front (NIF), which espouses an Islamist (or radical Islamic) ideology, and the rebel; Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) led by Dr. John Garang (Johnson 2003; Justice-Africa 2005; Kebbede 1999). Efforts for resolving this conflict is going on. Finally, a comprehensive peace accord has been signed on 9th of January 2005.

The government of Sudan also engaged in other wars against the minorities[30]; Nuba region, southern Blue Nile, Beja and Fur. The first two areas lie in the geographic North of Sudan but have been fighting alongside the SPLA since the mid-1980s. Much of the tension there is fed by the same factors that led to the long running war in southern Sudan; using religion to achieve politics ends, resources, tribes and traditions (Verney, P. 1995).

[30] Considered as secondary war in contrast to the main stream war between north – south

The minorities' fear of being turned aside in an SPLA-government peace has led them to intensify conflict as a way of calling attention to their problems before any agreement is signed. Many other communities across Sudan feel deeply marginalized. Failure to achieve change peacefully has pushed more and more of them into armed confrontation with the central authorities. Recently, a new rebel group; Al Shahama has emerged in western Kordofan, and there is discontent in northern Kordofan, among people who feel that they are completely marginalized in the current peace agreements. The armed rebellion in Darfur now is at risk of escalation. A threatened massive military response by the government in Darfur would take a tremendous toll on the civilian population while only deepening bitterness (Justice-Africa 200).

The longest Sudanese secondary civil war is between The Government of Sudan and the Nuba Mountains rebels, who has been fighting beside the main stream civil war in Sudan; north – south civil war (UNDP-IOM et al. 2003).

SECTION TWO

NUBA MOUNTAINS REGION (*JIBAL AN-NUBA*)

Geography:

The Nuba Mountains region is located in the center of Sudan, between longitudes 29 and 31 east and latitudes 10 and 12.5 north. It is bordered by the North Kordofan region at the north, the White Nile at the east, the Upper Nile at the south-east, Unity at the south – west, and West Kordofan at the west (Jibear 2003; Kaffay 2004; UNDP 2003). Administratively, it belongs to two states: Southern Kordofan and West Kordofan and consists of six provinces (Dilling, Lagawa, Kadugli, Talodi, Abu Gebeha, and Rashad). The capital city of the state; Kadugli is about 980 Km from Khartoum, the capital of Sudan (Komey August 2004; UNDP 2003).

Figure 5: Regions of Sudan

Source: www.reliefweb.int

Nuba Mountains covers an area of 30,000 square miles (about 77700 sq km) - estimated as the size of Scotland- of the most fertile land of Sudan. The region is named Nuba Mountains – *Jibal an-Nuba*- due to the existence of a long series of an irregular, broken pattern of squat massifs and rugged rocks separated by broad valleys (Jibear 2003; Nadel 1947; Rahhal 2001a; Saeed, A. A. R. 2001; Verney, P. 1995).

Though the mountains dominate the landscape, the area covered by the hills themselves is less than a third of the total area of the region; the remainder of the land is extensive clay plains, some forested, and other farmed (Kaffay 2004). The mountains stretch out the plain; which is

itself about 150 meter over see level, for different heights; sometimes in long ranges, others as isolated massifs or single mountain (Faris 1989), (Babikir, 1994; Faris 1989; Jibear 2003; Kaffay 2004). Jabal Tamandig – near Rashad town- is the highest mountain of this series, followed by *Jabal el-Dayir,* they measure to be about 4789 and 4635 feet over the plain consecutively (Babikir, 1994; Jibear 2003; Kaffay 2004). The number of the mountains is estimated to be 99 (Adam, 1997; Hassab-Alla,1992; Jibear 2003; Rahhal 2001a; Saeed,. 2001; Suliman 2002), but according to Kafay, this is only the number of the mountains that were concurred and ruled by the kings of Tagaly's Kingdom in the eighteenth century (Kaffay 1995; Kaffay 2004).

Climatically, the area is classified as sub-humid with annual rainfall estimated as 450– 800 mm per year, and duration period of five to six months; between late April and early October. Other sources of water are underground water and surface water. Underground water is attainable through wells, springs and waterholes; while surface water is obtained from seasonal watercourses (*khyran);* which drain the rain-water following the slope of the land. *Khyran* makes water plenty during the rainy season and rare during the dry season. Thus, the region has no permanent source of water (Faris 1989).

The Nuba Mountains region enjoys 10 per cent of the cultivable land of the country and it is suitable for production of sorghum, maize, sesame, cotton and different types of fruits and vegetables. In addition, it is suitable for livestock production, such as cattle, sheep, camels and goats (Jibear 2003). Vegetation cover is typical for low rainfall woodland savannah. The area classified as acacia tall grass forest (Faris 1989).

Economy of the Nuba Mountains:

The Nuba- people practice a range of productive activities, such as animal husbandry, hunting and foraging. Farming is however the main economic activity, and this is one of the elements that distinguish the Nuba people form their neighbors (Jibear 2003; Suliman 2002; Wood 1971).

Agriculture:

Agriculture is the main livelihood activity in the region and is practiced by all categories of the population. Nevertheless, its contribution to household food needs is declining it is currently stands at 58% of annual food requirements (UNDP, 2003)

Crop production

In a normal year, cultivated land produces enough for self-sufficiency, with the better-off and middle groups producing surplus for sale. Both men and women undertake all agricultural activities equally (UNDP 2003).

The nuclear family is the basic farming unit. Individuals or families own the farming land according to the norms in the area, based on customary or civil law. Farmlands according to its location and ownership are divided into three categories; round house farms (*jubraca)*, round the village; hillside farms (terraced plots on the hillside), and far farm, located on the clay plains. The former is cultivated by women, while the two later are cultivated by men (Nadel 1947).

Concerning the ownership, there are three types of ownership; individual private land, communal vacant land which owned by the village or the mountain community, and vacant land which does not belong to any one. All the community members, regardless of their gender, have access to the latter form of the ownership. They can clear and cultivate the land, and transfer it's ownership to private ownership (ibid).

Farming system in Nuba Mountains is a traditional, subsidy one in which the family uses traditional tools to produce a range of crops to cover most of their subsistence needs. This system is based on shifting cultivation, which involves regular demand of new farmland. Farmland can be acquired by four different methods: 1) clearing and cultivating new land, 2) inheritance, 3) purchase' and 4) by lease or similar form of temporary transfer. The first method of acquisition is applied to the second and third type of ownership, while the last three methods applied only in the case of private ownership (Nadel 1947). Acquisition and ownership of land with relation to gender varies according to the norms and customs of the tribe. Nadel (1947) mentioned these issues with relation to inheritance in some of the tribes, and I will discuss it later with relation to the tribes in my study area.

Livestock production

Socially, livestock ownership[31] and numbers, in Nuba Mountain, reflect wealth and prestige. Household also have livestock to provide milk, meat and other by-products (Nadel 1947; UNDP 2003). Livestock encompasses sheep and goats, cattle, pigs and poultry. Better-off people; like chiefs and sub _ chiefs, also own horses or donkeys. Distribution of livestock varies with the culture of the people, fore instance, certain tribes that influenced by northerners- Muslims (Tira and Korongo) do not keep pigs; tribes like Laro, Heiban and Otorro, care more of sheep and goats than for cattle. Generally Nuba women take care of goats, pigs and poultry, while men are responsible of the rest of livestock (Nadel 1947).

The region is also rich in gold, iron, copper and uranium. Recent discovery of oil in the neighboring regions, such as Unity and West Kordofan provinces, has raised the economic importance of the region (Jibear 2003).

Knowing the economic and strategic importance of the region is a good entrance to know about the co-existence of different tribes and the disputes among them.

Who are the Nuba?

There is dispute among the researchers about the origin of the word "Nuba". According to Stevenson (1984) and Faris (1989), the word Nuba was used by the Egyptian in the old history to means "gold". The Pharaohs of ancient Egypt used 'Nuba' to refer to the people who worked in the gold mines in the southern part of Egypt. After Muslims from Yemen and Hijaz[32] raided Egypt, the term Nuba came to encompass all black people south of the Sahara desert, (Faris 1989; Stevenson 1984). The term "Nuba" became like "Sudan" which used to refer to all people with black skin in Africa in order to differentiate them from those of light skin in North Africa. For some time, the term was used for the non-Arabic speakers in Sudan (southerners and inhabitant of Nuba Mountains), but today the term is used only for the inhabitants of the Nuba Mountains (Faris 1989). Another finding is that; the term is a relatively recent term used by Anglo- Egyptian rulers to refer to the "*black Africans"* who inhabit the mountainous area of Kordofan (Suliman 2002).

[31] In chapter five I will discuss the ownership of livestock in Hieban, with relation to gender.
[32] Now it is Saudi Arabia

The term “Nuba” today is used to refer to the black-skinned inhabitants of the Nuba Mountains collectively. Verney (1995) defined the term ‘Nuba’ “[it] is a geographical label for people who share a common environment and stand out from the surrounding tribes, despite being differentiated among themselves” (Verney, P. 1995).

Similarly, many studies explored the origin of the Nuba people, but they have not come to a consensus. I summarized the finding of these studies as below:

The Nuba people are of the same origin with the Nubian who lives in the far north of Sudan and southern Egypt. They were enforced to move to the Nuba Mountains to seek protection during the invasion of Muslims forces into the Sudan. This finding is supported by the similarity of the language between Nuba and Danagla (Nubian tribe) of north Sudan (Hassab-Alla, I. M. 1992; Hassab-Alla, Issa Mohamed 1992; Jibear 2003; Jinaed 2003; Kaffay 1995; Nadel 1947b). This finding is refuted by other historian who argued that the origin of Danagla language is Hamitic while the Nubas’ is not, (Mus'ad 1960). Other historian argued that similarities in the language are due to relatively recent migration of Danagla people to the Kordofan region. Even this suggestion is refuted by Professor Ayhlarz who shows that each language has distinctive features of its own (Saeed, A. A. R. 2001). Another finding is that Nuba have lived in Kordofan for thousands of years. But because of repeated attacks by tribes controlling the Nile bank, and the Funj in the 16th century, the Nuba retreated to the mountains of South Kordofan which became their permanent homeland (Hassab-Alla, I. M. 1992; Jibear 2003; Kaffay 1995).

Faris (1989) concluded that the origin of the Nuba is unknown but there is clear evidence that they have been living in their present locations before the first *Baggara* migrations for over two hundred years.

Despite the fact that, the Nuba are marked off from the surrounding groups inhabiting the area, researchers collectively concluded that, the Nuba are not descendents of common ancestors, and that there is no racial unit between them (Hassab-Alla, I. M. 1992; Jibear 2003; Kaffay 1995; Kaffay 2004). Nadel classify Nuba into more than fifty tribes, based on their residential locations, and language (Nadel 1947a; Nadel 1947b). Each tribe named by the name of its location [mountain] (Jibear 2003; Kaffay 1995).

Culture and Languages:

The Nuba people possess rich and varied cultures and traditions. A measure of the variety of Nuba cultures can be obtained by looking at the linguistic variety, as summarized by Nadel, 1947: "It has been said that there are as many Nuba languages as there are hills. This is put a slight exaggeration. Students of the Nuba languages have reduced this bewildering complexity to certain comprehensive categories. They classified Nubas' language into three main categories…." (Nadel 1947). But Roland Stevenson (1984) classified more than fifty Nuba languages and dialect, clustered into ten separate groups. I am not going to mention these groups here, but I will mention one of it in section one of chapter five.

The common language used by Nuba today is the Lingua Franca 'Nuba -Arabic', but each tribe has its own African language. This plurality in the languages is explained by the isolation of each tribe on its hill due to the geographical and natural constrains, like mountainous nature, dens forest, heavy rains and muddy soil (Nadel 1947: 3).

Nuba traditions and customs reflect their interaction with the live and milieu around them. These traditions and customs practiced in different occasions of their life, such as sowing, harvest, marriage and death. There is general talk about 'Nuba culture' as if it is common. But actually there is a great variation in culture that gives each tribe its individuality, (Faris 1989; Nadel 1947). These variations do not negate that there is some similarity in some other customs; like sowing and harvest festivals and *kujurism* (Saeed, A. A. R. 2001).

Religions:

Kujurism is the traditional religion of the Nuba people. This tradition [*Kujurism*] was so prevalent that it seems to overshadow the concept of deity. The basis of this religion is that Nuba people revere and honor their ancestors. The veneration of Ancestral Spirit in Nuba tradition comes close to worship. Each Nuba tribe considers their ancestor as their god who directs the descendants' fate and sends all blessings and calamities. Communications are addressed to the Ancestral Spirit, which usually supported by gifts. Communications are made through tribal priest called by different names in different tribes, but commonly known as *Kujur*. *Kujurs* are first and foremost, mediators between people and their Ancestral Spirits (Saeed, A. A. R. 2001).

Kujurism has declined by the introduction of Islam and Christianity. Many Nuba people have converted to these religions. Today, halve of the Nuba population are Muslims (ibid) and the rest are Christians or follow traditional non scriptural religion. Islam is the most prevalence religion in east, west and northern parts of the Nuba Mountains, while Christianity and traditional non scriptural religions are dominant in the southern part of the region. This religious diversity in the Nuba Mountains is found also within the family (Suliman 2002; UNCERO November 1999).

Demography:

The size of Nuba Population is unknown. Different sources have different estimations of it. It is estimated to be 1.5 million; about 90% of the total population in the region (Suliman, 2002). Verney (1995) estimated it by 1.6 and 70 per cent of the region population, but the latest estimation is about 2.1 million (2002 estimate); 6 per cent of Sudan population (Orient 2005).

The Nuba are agro-pastoralists, as well as traders. They share the region's resources with other tribes. The other inhabitants of the region could be classified into three main categories: Baggara; are cattle herders who moved into the region around 1800. Their place of origin is considered to be Dar Fur. 'Baggara' is not a name of a tribe; it is a collective name for nomad, cattle-owners who move by their cattle in Darfur and Kordofan, and in dry seasons they migrate to the south following pasture and water points. They belong to different tribes such as Missiriya (Humur and Zurug), Ta'aisha, Beni Helba, Bedariya, Hawazma, Rezeigat, Ma'alia and Kinana (Verney, P. 1995). Jellaba are merchants and government officials who came form northern Sudan (Suliman, Baechler & Spillmann 2002; UNCERO November 1999; Verney, P. 1995). Other dwellers of the region are West – Africans who migrated from West Africa for about 300 to 400 years ago, are named Fellata, Hawsa , and Bargo (Rahhal 2001a; Rahhal 2001b).

Coexistence of the Tribes:

These groups coexisted peacefully, before the war, despite minor clashes (Suliman 1999 b; Suliman 2002). The most frequent problem was between the Nuba people and *Baggara*, mainly over pastures and water; when *Baggara* herders, allow their animals to graze on the

farms of the Nuba people before it have been harvested. These clashes sometimes lead to the use of traditional weapons such as stick, knife, and spear. Clashes are normally, resolved by the civil administration[33] that is Nuba Maks and Baggara Sheikhs. The annual conference for the civil administration's members held on a neutral ground, and both sides were abided by the agreements reached. Otherwise, the region enjoyed decades of peace and mutual trust combined with intermarriage and cultural exchange. Furthermore, some Baggara assumed titles and positions in Nuba tribes (ibid). However, the extent and limits of these cross-cutting ties varied greatly from one area to another.

Heiban:

The state of south Kordofan is divided into five localities, Heiban is one of them. Heiban town; where this study has been conducted, is the capital of Hieban Locality. The Heiban locality is an elevated area with height reaching up to 500-600 m above the plain (about 700-800 m above sea level). The high hills are mostly ridges separated by narrow V-shaped valleys controlled by rock structure.

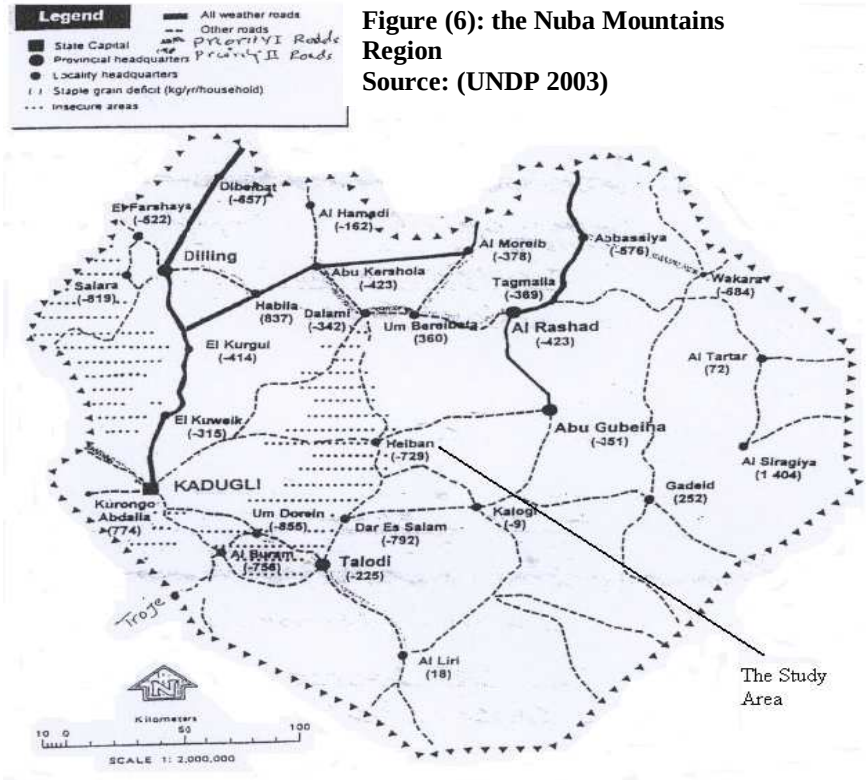


Figure (6): the Nuba Mountains Region
Source: (UNDP 2003)

[33] Civil Administration will be covered in chapter five

SECTION THREE

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE NUBA AND THE CIVIL WAR

Nadel (1947) noted that,

> *"The traditions and memories of the peoples themselves yield sparse information. It often seems as if historical traditions had been cut short by the overpowering experience of the Mahdist regime (1881–1898)".*

The Nuba of Tegali have the best historical records due to their strong links with the Funj Kingdom of Sennar, which was established by Umara Dungas around 1504. The more recent history of the Nuba goes back to the early 16th century, at the point when *Baggara* began to move south-westward into the plains of Kordofan, and enforced Nuba to move to the region now known as the Nuba Mountains (Suliman 1999b).

The Tegali Kingdom (1530 -1880s):

The Tegali Kingdom was founded in the Tegali hills in the extreme north-east of the region. Contact with the Funji Kingdom in Sennar was quickly established. In 1530, a holy man, known as Muhammed al-Jaali came to preach Islam. He got married to the daughter of the chief of Tegali and settled in the area. His son, al-Jaili abu Garida, has become the first in the dynasty of Tegali kings (1560-1585). By then, Islam was introduced into Tegali Mountains (Adam, A. A. 1997; Kaffay 1995; Kaffay 2004; Nadel 1947; Wood 1971).

Funji kingdom conquered and occupied the Tegali kingdom and controlled most of the mountains such as *Jabal Aldayr*. Their target was gold in *Sheibun* area and to recruit Nuba in their army, as potential soldiers. The kingdom itself was involved in the slave trade as intimidator (Adam, A. A. 1997; Kaffay 1995; Wood 1971).

Entrance of Baggara:

As previously mentioned; Baggara entered the region in about 1800, in search of pasture and water for their growing herds. The advent of the Baggara in the mountains was coincided with the beginning of slave raiding. These raids were especially widespread during the Turkish rule (*the Turkiya*), in 1821. Nuba Mountains never fell under the rule of *Tukiya*, but The Turkish governors of Kordofan led many expeditions into the Nuba Mountains in search of gold and

slaves. The Baggara have divided the plains among themselves and droved the Nuba uphill. Driven into the hills, the Nuba turned to terrace farming of the relatively barren hill soil. A cooperative relationship grew between the Nuba people and Baggara. Baggara protects the cooperative Nuba people from the raid of the other Baggara tribes, and received in return grains and slaves (Hassab-Alla, I. M. 1992; Jibear 2003; Kaffay 1995; Suliman 1999a; Wood 1971). Gradually, mutual trust grew between the two groups. In some areas, *Baggara* – Nuba relations were became closer than the protection agreements; this is indicated by that some *Baggara* assumed titles and positions in Nuba tribes, and intermarriages were also recorded (Suliman 1999a).

The Mahdist and Its Consequences (1883-1898):

The Mahdist is a national religious _ political movement upraised in the 1883. This period was a time of massive upheaval; and Nuba people had suffered a lot. Mahdi fought the Turkish colony, and recruited solders for his army from Nuba People. The Mahdi migrated to the Nuba Mountains (*Jabal Gadir*) and lived there for some time and resisted the attacks of Turko- Egyptian army from there (Hassab-Alla, I. M. 1992; Jibear 2003; Kaffay 1995; Suliman 1999a). During the existence of the Mahdi in the region, Nuba people should provide tribute demanded by the Mahdi. Many Nuba people resisted the Mahdist, and refused to provide the tribute. After his death, his successor, Khalifa Abullahi, sent a force to subdue the Nuba people. There was widespread bloodshed and destruction in the region. Many Nuba were perished and even more were enslaved. In 1898, The Mahdist was defeated by the British colonist in Karari, west of Omdourman (Suliman 1999a).

British Administration (1898 – 1956):

The Anglo Egyptian colonists ruled Sudan between 1898 and 1956. This new regime was not welcomed by the Nuba people. During this period the Nuba people had over 30 upraising and rebellions. The new regime took about thirty years to subdue the region and establish a State. The new state empowered the community leaders and used them to subdue their people. Relatively, it was a peaceful period, many Nuba people began to come down from the hills to farm and even live on the plains. This coincided with the desire of the government to bring the Nuba people down to the accessible plains for the purpose of effective administration and control (Suliman 1999a).

The new regime introduced a large scale mechanized agricultural system, with cotton as a cash crop. The success of cotton production brought the mountains to the attention of international companies and, subsequently, to the attention of the Jellaba (Hassab-Alla, 1992; Jibear 2003; Kaffay 1995; Salih 1982).

The colonial administration enforced a policy of isolation in the region under what is known as "closed district Ordinance" in 1922. The attempt of the British was to isolate the Nuba people from the rest of the community, in order to preserve and promote the indigenous Nuba culture and traditions, which had been mixed with others' culture. Furthermore, the colony attempted to protect the area from the influence of the Muslims, Arabic culture that had been penetrated into the region, (ibid). This is clear form the words of J. A. Gillan, the Governor of Kordofan; "to get rid of all traces of Arabs domination at once and at any cost" (Kaffay 2004). To reach his goal, he planed to spread Christianity through missionary education. Heiban area was selected as the best site where the missionary education could be started. This is due to the central location of Heiban and most of its population has non scriptural religions. Consequently, two schools were launched in Heiban and Abri in 19921 and 1922 respectively (Hassab-Alla 1992; Jibear 2003; Kaffay 2004; Salih 1982; Wood 1971). The 'close policy' was abolished in 1937 and the region was annexed to Kordofan province. Despite the fail of the closed district, it helped, indirectly, in spread of Islam, foundation of schools and Christianity preach centers (Hassab-Alla, 1992; Jibear 2003; Kaffay 2004; Salih 1982; Wood 1971).

The Post-Independence Period:

There have been many different national governments that have ruled Sudan after its independence in January 1956. The events committed by each government and contributed to the civil war in the region will be mentioned in the section of the civil war, but what the Nuba people have done after independence is well summarized by Suliman:

'Independence, established in 1956, accelerated the opening up of the mountains to all the winds of change and catalyzed movement of the Nuba people toward the urban centres of the Sudan and foreign countries. The Nuba Mountains were also now open to economic and social intrusion by national and international agents of trade and politics and to cultural

exchange. Going out to meet the world meant coming home to understand one's own identity. Many Nuba discovered their Nubaness in the towns of the Sudan, where their cultural diversity was reduced to a single Nuba identity" (Suliman 1999a).

The Civil War:

The civil war in the Nuba region was started by conflict over land between the three main inhabitants groups; the Nuba people, *Baggara* and Jellaba (Suliman, Baechler & Spillmann 2002).

Conflict over land:

Conflict over land is the most important factor in the trigger of the civil war in the Nuba Mountains and destruction of the economy and social live of the Nuba community. The Jallaba took interest in agriculture and growing of cotton as cash crop. They accessed the fertile land as borrowers and then as owner after purchasing the most fertile plains. In mid-1960s, the Nuba people became infuriated, when they found themselves producing only on the mountainous area, and, lost the ownership of the plain land.

In 1968, the Mechanized Farming Corporation supervised the introduction of large scale mechanized schemes, which were established with loan form the World Bank. These schemes covered most of the clay plains in the region (Verney, P. 1995). The mechanized schemes; two hundred farms, are located at Habila, between Dilling and Delami and supported by the State Agricultural Bank. One of these farm is leased to Habila merchants, four to individuals local merchants; *Baggara*, other four were local cooperatives and the rest were leased to Jellaba; merchants, government officials and retired generals from north (Suliman 1999a; Suliman 1999b; Suliman 2002).

Peace was destroyed, by further immigration of *Baggara* to the region. Since 1967 rainfall in western Sudan has been less than half of the annual average. As consequences, newly arrived Baggara moved to the Nuba Mountains seeking permanent shelter. This immigration coupled with the increase of human and livestock population led to tension between Baggara; old and new ones in the area, and farmers of the Nuba people (Suliman 2002). Recalling the three

types of land ownership and the agricultural system held in the region[34], traditional farmers who were continuously need access to new virgin land, had lost access to the second and third types of land ownership. Thus, their resistance to land appropriation by the state in favor of Jellaba and *Baggara* had increased (ibid).

Similarly, Jellaba appropriation of Nuba land enraged *Baggara*, who found themselves entrenched between the semi-desert in the north, the large scale mechanized schemes in the center and the war between the government and its troops against the rebel in the south (Verney, P. 1995). This was the turning point in the relationship between the three categories of people and the spark for the revolt in the region.

Armed conflict:

Many Nuba people became furious when the plain fertile land was distributed to 'outsiders'. Therefore, when the civil war in south resumed in 1983, the Nuba people were sympathized with southerners. Moreover, individuals Nuba joined the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA). In July 1985, SPLA made its first incursion into the Nuba Mountains. In response the government began to arm the Baggara as a militia (known as *Murahaliin*) to support its army against the SPLA's attacks in south Kordofan (Verney, P. 1995), and to protect the land owners; Jellaba and Chevron's oil fields (de Waal 1995; Suliman 1999c). When Sadiq al-Mahdi took power in 1986, he also armed *Baggara*, namely the Misiriya Zurug and Humur to support the army in the war against SPLA . This militias also named *Murahaliin,* was created by the minister of defense, Fadllala Burma Nasir, who was a Misiriya Zurug himself. *Murahaliin* took the opportunity of the power to serve their own interest and raid the Nuba people. They spread terror throughout the mountains and became more violent and aggressive in their dealing with Nuba people. They actively raided cattle, burnt villages and killed civilians (de Waal 1995; Rahhal 2001a; Suliman 2002). This was the beginning of the armed conflict in the region.

In 1986, SPLA entered Nuba Mountains and started to recruit Nuba people. The next year, the first SPLA fighting force entered the Nuba Mountains, under Commander Abdel Aziz al Hilu. Al-Hillu has organized large scale recruitment. The recruits received training in Ethiopia before they leave to the south of Sudan (de Waal 1995). The first battle between the Nuba

[34] mentioned above in (economy of the region) section

battalion and the Sudan army took place at Rimla south of Tira Limon, which became the center of the recruitment (ibid).

The National Islamic Front took power in June 1989. In October 1989, it passed the Popular Defense Act, which had legitimized the *Murahaliin* militia, and named them Public Defense Force (PDF). Between1989 and 1991, war was escalated by both sides and massive human rights violations against the Nuba people were recorded. The Nuba people suffered harassment form both sides. Cattle raiding, villages and farms looting were reported through out the region. Moreover, the government of Sudan started to arrest chiefs and well educated Nuba people, tortured and beat them when they were suspect of their collaboration with SPLA. Frequent burning of villages; arrest and disappearance; and killing of civilians (mainly, community leaders and well educated people) was also reported (de Waal 1995; Rahhal 2001a).

To resolve the problem of the Nuba Mountains the Governor of Kordofan, together with the head of (PDF), declared holy war '*Jihad*' in January 1992. In order to support Jihad, a group of Muslim leaders issued a *fatwa* (an authoritative ruling on a religious matter) in 1993. As response of Jihad declaration, the government army and troops committed many offensives against the Nuba people, regardless of their religion. The largest offensive was in Shaeer, north of Kadugli, and the second was in Heiban. In the Heiban's offensive six thousand people had been killed at Christmas time and buried in mass graves (de Waal 1995).

By then, the scale of the killings reached the level of genocide. This is supported by the wards of Khalid Abdel Karim Salih, who was in charge of security in Kordofan and was a personal bodyguard to the Governor of Kordofan (who is also his brother). From May 1992 to February 1993, he made a statement in a press conference in Bern, Switzerland. He announced that, "during a 7-month period, the army and the PDF had killed 60 000–70 000 Nuba [people]. He stressed that these ethnic-cleansing operations made no distinction between Muslims and Christians. Churches and Mosques, Missionary centers and Quranic schools were all shelled indiscriminately" *(de Waal 1995)*.

Other cause -factors of the war:

Land is portrayed by different sources as the initial cause of the civil war in the Nuba Mountains, but when war is protracted, other factors emerged as cause-factors. As Suliman (1999) argued: “in a prolonged conflict, when the initial causes have diminished or faded away, abstract ideological identity can become a material and social force in it own right. Perception becomes reality and what was once a consequence inverts to become a true cause of enduring conflicts”. In Nuba war some issues that already existed in the mind of the Nuba people, came out to be a cause-factor.

The religious factor

Historically, Sudanese Muslims are not extremists. Religious tolerance is a remarkable feature in Sudan, mainly in the Nuba Mountains where many religions have been practiced within a single family. Due to the war this tolerance was declined; on one side, “fundamentalist Christian missionaries who are rewarding belief with humanitarian aid are creating division among the Nuba people. On the other hand the authority which holds power in Sudan is an Islamic government that engaged in different terror activities in the Nuba Mountains, even against Muslims whom it believes are apostate” (Rahhal 2001a).

Tribal factor:

There has been a discrimination against the Nuba people since the colonial period. The Nuba people have suffered from policies of both colonial and national governments. The close district policy of the British depraved the Nuba people to get education like the other northerners. This policy contributed to the civil war by widening the gab between the Nuba people and northerner (Rahhal 2001a; Suliman 2002). When the successive national governments took up power, they did not care much about the education and development of the Nuba people, they pursued a policy of ‘hit slave by slave’; they used the Nuba people to fight their war against the southerners (Rahhal 2001a). Further worse, in north of Sudan, the Nuba people have been treated as second class, and the word ‘*abid*’ which means slave was widely used to degrade and humiliate the Nuba people (ibid).

Power sharing:

Since independence in the Sudan, power has been in the hands of the northerners elites. National rulers concentrated their developmental effort in the central north only, which caused resentment and frustration among the Nuba people. As consequence, Nuba believed that; the only way to get rid of the northerners' domination is the war (Rahhal 2001a; Suliman 2002).

These are the most frequent factors that mentioned, in addition to the initial one; the land that contributed to the civil war in the Nuba Mountains.

Consequences of the War:

Nuba people have suffered different colors of terror during the fifteen years of their war against the Governments of the Sudan. One of the consequences is separation of the families due to division of the region between the two parties. According to the UN, in January 2000, 760,000 Nuba people were living in the Government Controlled areas of the region, 370,000 in SPLA/M controlled area, and over one million Nuba people were scattered in northern Sudan and abroad (Komey August 2004).

Furthermore, the army of the Governments of Sudan has systematically looted, destroyed and burned out villages, abducted their inhabitants, who had been taken to the Governments' camps; 'peace villages', where they faced different types of abusing. Assassination squad was also reported since 1980s, as attempt of genocide the government army and public defense force engaged in terror activities in the region were settled in Heiban and Mandi (de Waal 1995).

In North Kordofan, there are estimated to be seventy-two (72) peace villages with an estimated population of 173,000. Sixty percent of them are estimated to be war-affected Nuba people (Global IDP 2005). I have not find the exact number of Nuba IDPs in other states of the Sudan, but in a survey conducted by NGOs they surveyed 4475 Nuba households with average size of 5-7 persons, scattered over 12 states; 2661 household of them are in Khartoum state (UNDP-IOM et al. Feb. 2003).

In the "peace villages", men are forced to join the army or to be killed, young boys were trained and sent back to kill their relatives and women and girls faced rape or threaten by

rape. Rape of women and girls by soldiers is preplanned. Soldiers and militiamen are given a license to rape Nuba women and girls during abductions, in garrisons and peace camps. Peace camps are designed to compel women and girls to submit to rape. The soldiers often force them to rape or threatened them by different types of punishment such as withholding food, clothes or access to water, if they resist them (Burr 1998; de Waal 1995). de Waal (1995) documented evidence from dozens of testimonies from the victims themselves. These testimonies are considered as evident of a war of genocide, waged by the Government of the Sudan with the aim of destruction of the Nuba society and culture for ever. Burr (1998) estimated the loss of Nuba population to exceed 200,000 people since 1989.

Peace Efforts:

Grassroots efforts:

In 1987, efforts to resolve the dispute between the Nuba people and *Baggara* were initiated by Ex Commander Yusuf Kuwa. He wrote letters to the sheikhs of the *Baggara* tribes asking them to either join the struggle or refrain from cooperating with the government. Dialogue with the Nuba leaders was continued through letters, where several reasons were cited for the necessity of establishing peace. Both sides had lost many men and animals and some were forced to abandon their homes. Central reason was the necessity to resume trade, mainly exchange of cereals and animals for industrial goods that *Baggara* bring from Khartoum such as clothes and salt. The most important reasons were that the Nuba people emphasized that their fight is against the Government of the Sudan and not B*aggara*; and *Baggara* admitted that the Government of the Sudan has deceived them. The Government had told them that the war against the rebels would only take a month or two, whereas it is lasted for more than 10 years (Suliman 1999a). The fruit of these dialogues took six years to ripe, whereas between 1993 and 1996 there were three peace agreements between the two parties: the Buram agreement (1993), the Regifi agreement (1995), and the Kain agreement (1996).

The above three peace agreements were the first step toward the comprehensive peace agreement. It contributed to rejuvenation of the mutual trust, achieved partial peace in the region, and paved the road for the next steps.

Cease fire agreement (CFA)

The first step to peace, which has been accomplished by national efforts, encouraged the international community to take the next step. Shortly, the Nuba Ceasefire Agreement (CFA) was brokered by the United States and Swizerland governments. It was signed by the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), the Nuba Mountains branch, on 19th January 2002, and came into effect after 72 hours of its signature. In the Agreement the parties agreed to an internationally monitored cease-fire among all their forces in the Nuba Mountains for a renewable period of six months with the objectives of cessation of hostilities, disengagement of the forces of the two warring parties, redeployment and separation of forces, and free movement of the population (JMC 2005).

CFA has been managed and monitored by a Joint Military Commission which, is (JMC)a conflict resolution body that had been created by the Status of Mission Agreement, and under the political support of Friends of the Nuba Mountains" (FoNuba Mountains)[35]. JMC comprises representatives from the Government of Sudan and the SPLM/A, and an international monitoring presence, including military and civilian staff (ibid).

CFA has been renewed five times; six month for each. During this period, great change was achieved. Considering that during the 15 years of the war humanitarian access and trade was denied mainly to SPLM/A-controlled areas[36], (ibid). Implementation of the CFA has improved the security status in the region. Thereby, it allowed some IDPs to return to their places of origin, and enhanced the mobility of NGOs and people _ mainly Baggara, who had been encapsulated in narrow zone with their cattle (UNDP 2003).

Despite the contribution of CFA to the peace in the region, a comprehensive peace agreement is needed to resolve all the conflicting issues and achieve final solution.

Comprehensive Peace Agreement:

There were many initiations to put an end to the protracted civil war in the Sudan. The main stream of talk was carried out under the auspices of the Inter-Governmental Authority on

[35] The political body that supporting JMC. It is formed of 12 Khartoum based diplomats
[36] In 1987 GoS blocked trade with Nuba Mountains areas under control of SPLA/M (De Waal, A. (1995). *Facing genocide*. London, African Rights., p 92)

Development (Omer 2000); and facilitated by the UN and other countries such as US, Norway, UK, Italy and Switzerland. IGAD's search for peace in the Sudan dated back to 1993. Both conflicting parties agreed that the IGAD should assume the task of mediating their differences in an effort to contribute to a lasting peace in Sudan (Omer 2000). The negotiating parties have accepted the 1994 Declaration of Principles as the basis for negotiations, which covers a broad range of areas, including state and religion, self-determination, and interim arrangements. The peace negotiation took place in Kenya. The first set of talks was concluded in January 2000, and ended without resolving basic disagreements over state and religion. The second round of talks, which was launched exactly a month later, continued to address the same issues, including clarification of the regions in which the right to self-determination is to apply(Omer 2000). The talk has taken many rounds, and many protocols were signed before it comes to the final comprehensive agreement which was signed in 9th of January 2005.

Meanwhile, Nuba leaders, the Nuba Civil Society Inter-Group[37] and others, were following closely and actively, seeking their rights. The two main parties in the talks disputed over to which regions – the North or the South - the three contested areas, Nuba Mountains, Southern Blue Nile and Abyie should be annexed. When the Draft Framework for resolution of the Three Areas gave the people of Abyei the right to self-determination, and not to the other two areas, they appealed to IGAD and peace facilitator to get the same right. Upon the adamant refusal of the government of the Sudan, the parties reached an agreement to accord a kind of self-governance to those two regions. However, SPLM/A and the government of the Sudan agreed to share authority on the region by 55 % to the latter and 45% for the former. Nuba military leaders in SPLM/A agreed reluctantly. It has been reported that, among the ranks and file, and even the populace, there is still widespread discontent and a feeling that the Nuba people have been treated unjustly. Some former members of SPLM/A think that the Nuba Mountains Region may see renewed turmoil in the future.

[37] Nuba Survival Foundation, Nuba Mountains Solidarity Abroad and Nuba Mountains International Develop. and Rehabilitation Fund -USA

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter I will present the fruits of my field work where I have analyzed the livelihood of the Nuba people of Heiban according to the framework which is explained in chapters two and three. In addition, I will define the community perception of wealth and poverty which is obtained by the method described in chapter three. Gender analysis is carried out throughout the chapter. The chapter is consisted of five sections, each section deals with an element of the five main elements of the framework; contemporary context, livelihood platform, structure and process, livelihood strategies and livelihoods outcomes. Power is explained in the platform section and the community perception of wealth and poverty is included in section five, for its strong relation to the livelihoods outcomes.

SECTION ONE

CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT:

In this section I will briefly describe the current situation of the town and its inhabitants as complement of the livelihood's context, which has started by the Historical Context above. To bridge the historical context with the current one I will briefly describe the livelihoods during the war time as it is told by some of those who experienced the war.

Location of the Town:

Heiban is a plain town located at the foot of the Heiban Mountain (*al jabal al aswad)*, which borders it on the North side. The town is also surrounded by other mountains and hills. Between the town and the hills are the farms, and beyond the farms is the forest. There are also trees scattered in the town; particularly, mango and Neem (Azadirachta indica**)** trees. A main seasonal stream runs through the town from west to east. The stream collects the rainwater and drains it off into the *Abu habil* stream, which is the largest seasonal stream in Kordofan. This stream acted as a natural border and spilt the town into two parts during the war time.

Brief Description of the Livelihood during the War Time:

The war's onset in Heiban town was in 1989, when most of the young men joined the rebel troops (*Khawarij*). The *Khawarij* lived in the caves (*Karakeer*) of the Heiban Mountain and they preformed their military activities from the top of the mountains. A governmental Garrison was based in the town and fought the rebels from there. In 1990 the war escalated to bombing during the day and raiding and looting during the night or the early morning. Bombing did not often occur during the first years, but it increased in the last years. Raiding happened often. Looting and raiding of cattle and farms was practiced during the warfare by troops of both warring parties, as a war strategy. Troops of the government looted, raided and burnt the villages controlled by the rebels as strategy to create food gap and compel the civilian to move to the government controlled area. The rebel strategy was to secure the loyalty of the *Khawarij* as well as to secure food for the troops. *Khawarij* sometimes return to their village or town when they find it difficult to continue in rebellion. To assure their continuation their boss commands them to commit crime _ loot cattle, in their family so that they could not return to them. However, the *Khawarij* often raided the town to loot food, clothes, and livestock. During raiding, they would kill whoever resisted them. The most severe attack incident was in 2001, just one year before the signature of the cease fire agreement. The town was attacked by the *Khawarij* early one morning. The attack resulted in a high number of deaths among both armies. The *Khawarij* also looted the weapons store. Bombing targeting civilians continued and resulted in more deaths. One important person killed in this year was the paramount chief Umda Osman Kunda. Details of war incidents are beyond the scope of this study, but I will give a brief review of the livelihoods of the people during the war as they were conveyed by those who survived the war.

In the initial years of the war (1989 -1992) people were forced to stay in the town. The *Khawarij* were everywhere and they held strategic positions. Such positions were sometimes on top of the mountains where they could easily recognize the townspeople. Most of the houses were destroyed by the bombs. People had to dig ditches/ trenches for protection. The *Khawarij* seized the section of the town north of the main stream. The government army controlled the southern section. It was not safe to go to the crop farms, so, during the first years of the war people lived on *jubraca* (home garden) products only.

The harvest from *Jubraca* was not enough for survival and it was supplemented with milk, and meat. Meat was the cheapest product then; one Kg cost 750 Sudanese pounds[38] while today it costs six thousand Sudanese pounds in Heiban and 12 thousand in Khartoum. When the food situation became worse, people ate practically whatever plant they came across. Many were put in their graves as a result of eating poisonous plants. People experienced famines for two successive years; in 1990 the famine was due to drought while in 1991 it was due to worms that attacked the crops. There is a consensus among the survivors that death due to hunger, poisoning, and disease was more common than death caused by the direct attacks. During the war, people were used to going around semi-naked. As stated by one woman: "*our clothes tore on our bodies, we continued patching it to the extent that one could not recognize the original part. Men used to wear only patched shorts young girls were dressed in chalallo* (ropes braided from rags, tied into a horizontal rope, which is fixed around the heap allowing the other ropes to hang down)".

People frequently complained about the shortage of food and clothes to the leaders of the governmental army who visited the town. In 1993/1994 the government responded to the complaints by sending relief to aid the population as well as supported the army with additional forces. Thus townspeople breathed for a while and resumed the crop farms cultivation, and accessed the fruit fields under the protection of the army. Time available for farming was limited, so, the area cultivated by each family was small. They also could not perform all the cultivation activities properly. Consequently, the productivity and, hence, the production were too low to support their livelihoods.

The water yard (*donkey*) was bombed and many women were killed while they were fetching water. Other sources of water were the seasonal streams. Many women were shot dead at the main stream and many others were kidnapped. Women were also raped by men from both troops and many incidents of death due to multiple rapes were reported. In addition, women were victims of what can be defined as a false marriage; a kind of temporary marriage[39] practiced by the government army.

[38] USD 1 = 2500 Sudanese pounds

[39] By false marriage I refer to the practice by which officers from the government army married women from Heiban. It is implicitly understood that women in such a situation have little chance to refuse a marriage request. Though bride-wealth was usually paid, it could not make it a serious marriage if the bride wealth stemmed from looted property or relief commodities. Furthermore, it was known that these officers would drop these wives

Due to the state of insecurity, the livestock had no place to graze other than on the little grass and trees in the town. Despite that, looting of livestock was practiced by both troops.

As far as public services are concerned, the health unit was operated by the army and only injured people were granted treatment. People were often dependent on the traditional healers and medicines. There was no midwife in the town and many women died in the delivery process. Due to the emergency situation, a woman started to practice midwifery to facilitate child delivery. Child delivery was carried on in conditions of bad hygiene; there was no soap, no clothes, and the child was sometimes covered with a dirty rag or an old plastic sack.

Supply of market goods was facilitated by the military and the prices were sky-high. Many goods, like salt, were scarce. The cost of a teaspoon of salt was 2000 Sudanese pounds (note that one Kg of meat cost 750 Sudanese pounds). The school was operated by the army. When it was assessed after the Cease Fire Agreement (CFA), the learning level of the pupils was found to be very low.

Official fighting was stopped by the signature of the CFA. However, actual fighting, shooting, looting and raping within the community continued for a while before the understanding and implementation of the CFA had been realized.

After the signing of the CFA, governmental authority was represented in the town by an administrative officer, but no effort for reconstruction and rehabilitation of the public sectors and services were carried out. The *Donkey* was destroyed, and there was no electrical power source, and no health services. People believed that the authority in Kadugli systematically marginalized the locality and that the administration officer was just a tax conductor. Townspeople submitted a list of requests to the regional minister of education. The minister promised improvement of all services, but these promises were not fulfilled. Consequently some youth demonstrated and called to be annexed to the SPLA/M controlled area. The authorities responded by rehabilitating the dispensary and other public houses. They also promised to fulfill the other requests. During my stay in Heiban, an electricity generator had been brought and was to be installed. Still, there was a feeling among the people that they

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when they were to move from Heiban. In some cases they dropped them off in public places in Khartoum and disappeared.

were being systematically marginalized by the authorities and they wanted to be annexed to the SPLA/M controlled area.

Current Status of the Town:

During my stay in Heiban, the town was in a state of 'no peace, no war'. Buildings were completely destroyed. Only some remains of the public sector offices, two rooms and remains of walls were still standing. Surprisingly, there was no trace for the building materials; bricks, windows, doors and roofs, all had disappeared. As it was explained by whomever I asked, the building materials had been looted by the government troops. Only about ten percent of the total area of the town was inhabited. The rest of the area was empty and was suspected of being occupied by landmines. Houses were crowded around the market place and water stations at the center of the town.

Photo (4): announcement for wrestling in Heiban

Regarding the transportation and communication in Heiban town, there are regular bus trips to different towns; two per week to Khartoum, and once a week to Obeid, Abu Jibiha and Talody (the main towns in the region). The principal

Photo 5: Wrestling

means of transport to villages in the locality is by foot. In the globalization era, the only source of information in Hieban is the national radio, but some people receive old newspapers sent to them privately from Khartoum.

The market is open every day. Thursday, however, is a special market day when traders come from other towns to buy the agricultural products and the non-timber forest products gathered by local people. On market days, people come from all over the locality to sell what they have and buy other needed commodities. Sometimes, entertainment is provided in the afternoon on market days. I attended a wrestling competition between Heiban's team and another village's team. Wrestling is the most practiced traditional sport in Heiban. The announcement for the competition starts in the morning; people of different ages comb the town playing traditional music practically throughout the entire day. The competition is attended by whoever would like to attend it from the locality. Music and cheers are used during the competition as a sort of encouragement.

Another type of entertainment in Heiban town is the '*Lia'aib*' (dance). Youth of both genders gather in an open space on moonlit nights to dance traditional dances, mainly the *Njango*. Wrestling and 'playing' among other types of traditional sports and dance were practiced more frequently before the war. These activities were resumed recently, after it had been stopped during the warfare.

The town has a social club equipped with a television and various sports equipment. The television was not in use due to electrical power problem. As earlier mentioned, there was no public electrical power source in the entire town; people had to use oil lamps for light.

The municipality office was closed during my time in Heiban; it had been closed since the beginning of the rainy season. Two basic schools started the academic year in the middle of December. Houses of worship in the town consist of a mosque and three churches. Security in the town is the responsibility of a police unit and a conflict resolution committee. Minor problems like theft are resolved by the conflict resolution committee. Major problems like murder are reported to the court in Kadugli. Two NGOs work in the town: the Norwegian Church Aids, which was the only active one when I arrived and Save the Children /US, which resumed its activities in December. In addition, there was a de-mining team that belonged to

the Joint Monitory Commission (JMC). Health services were provided by a dispensary and a private pharmacy.

Description of the People:

There are about 268 households in Heiban of which 104 are headed by females and none are headed by children. The majority of the population is composed of females, children and old men. The locality is inhabited by five Nuba tribes: Heiban, Otoro, Lira, Tira and Shawi. The community map (Figure 7) shows the location of each tribe in the locality. The original Heiban tribe, which had an estimated population of 4,412 persons (Stevenson 1984), is extinct. No logical explanation is available for their disappearance. A key informant said: *actually they were few in number, but now none of them is exist.* So, nobody knows if it was extinction by death or by intermarriage with other tribes. The Heiban and Abol tribes lived as close neighbors and had a similar culture and language; they named themselves Eban (Nadel 1947). The present Heiban tribe is composed of three minor tribes: Abol, Amjen and Libeng. The three tribes have adopted the name '*Heiban*' merely because they live in the Heiban area. This example supports Kafay's (2004) statement that each tribe is named after its location. There are very few in the town from Shawi; only two women (from the Shawi tribe) married men from other tribes. They are officially considered as Heiban.

Thus, the town today is inhibited by only four tribes. Most of the Tira are considered incoming IDPs who were encouraged by their sheikh (chief) to move down from their hills into the town. When they moved into the town, they occupied houses or land that was once owned by outgoing IDPs who moved out to peaceful areas during the war.

Each tribe has its own language, but the tribes can easily communicate with each other. Their ability to easily communicate is not strange considering the language classification made by Stevenson (1984). The first of the ten language groups classified by Stevenson (1984) includes, among others, the languages of the four tribes (Heiban, Otoro, Tira and Shawi), which indicates the similarity between the languages. Most of the Nuba people in Heiban are multilingual; some speak three of the four local languages in addition to Arabic, which is spoken by practically most of them. Arabic is not used in daily communication unless it is necessary, and most of the children under schooling age can not communicate in Arabic. Also, the cultural similarities of the tribes are underlined by Nadel (1947), who highlighted

the similarities between the Abol and Otoro and between the Otoro and Tira. I have not encountered books on the Lira tribe, but the tribe is similar to the other tribes in Hieban in that it shares the same main cultural issues.

The tribes of the Heiban locality have common characteristics that distinguish them from other Nuba tribes in other areas. For example, the tribal names, as were conveyed to me, in Kadugli for example, are Tiya and Kaffy. Names in the Heiban locality, as I found, are different, and naming is systematic. The first offspring is named Kaka if it is a girl and Koko if it is a boy. The second is Kotty if it is a girl and Konny if it is a boy. The names continue (see table 2 below) up to the sixth child and then the rotation restarts with the first name; that is to say, the seventh child is named either Koko or Kaka, and so forth.

Table (2): the tribal names in Heiban locality:

Order of the child	Names of Females	Names of Males
First	Kaka	Koko
Second	Kotty	Konny
Third	Kochi	Kalo
Fourth	Kachy	Komi
Fifth	Kanni	Kacho
Sixth	Kotto	Kunda
Seventh	Second Kaka	Second Koko

Source: field work

Also, the child is given another name besides the tribal name, and that name is used in official communication. Tribal names are used in daily life communication and the parents sometimes even forget the child's official name. For example, while I was collecting the bio-demographic data of households, I would ask the respondent (one of the parents) what the name of the first child was. S/he would turn to ask the spouse: *what is the name of Koko*? Sometimes both of the parents do not remember and call the child to ask: *Koko, what is your name at the school*?

As earlier mentioned, during the war people were split between the two conflicting parties. Sometimes, even the members of one household were divided. Thus, there was mutual enmity between the people of Heiban during the war. People who were in the government occupied area were attacked, raided and looted by those who were in the SLPA/M occupied area. This division, for some people, was the result of seeking better refuge in whichever area they chose

as being safer. Sometimes people would escape from one side to go to the other if they felt it was more secure. Often, people would leave during the night to go shopping in the town, mainly for salt. People that were caught during their ventures by troops of either side were considered spies. Captured people would be tortured; some were even shot dead in public. Consequently, the townspeople are still suspicious of each other and cautious in their interactions. In this regard, some people had even warned me to be cautious of 'X' because he is a SPLA/M agent or 'Z' because he is a Government agent. Suspicion is even extended to the children. As I had been told, pupils from the SPLA/M occupied area are forbidden to communicate with people of Heiban town and they are forbidden to give information about their schools. In the SPLA/M held area they have their own education syllabus, which is taught in English by teachers from Uganda and Kenya. The presence of foreign teachers in the locality makes the elite of the Heiban locality uneasy. They are worried that the foreign Africans bring sexually transmitted diseases. More information about the livelihood in Hieban is given in the following sections.

SECTION TWO

LIVELIHOOD PLATFORM

In this section I will highlight the six capital assets that are possessed or accessed by the Nuba people of Heiban, the importance of these resources to the households, and how each resource has been affected by the civil war. Gender analysis and the political economy of the war are implied throughout the section.

Natural Capital:

Natural capital is the natural resource stocks, and environmental services from which resource flows and services useful for livelihoods are derived, (DFID 1994; Ellis 2000; Scoones 1998). Natural capital is the basic source of livelihood in rural communities, such as the community of Heiban. The natural capitals I will deal with here are: land, water, and wildlife and forest products.

Land:

Land in Heiban is used either for production or for shelter; there is no special land for grazing. People who lived in the town before the war now own land for both production and shelter. Nobody owns a title deed for land, but the land borders for everyone are well known by the elders and the civil administration. People who did not live in the town since before the war are excluded from owning land without the approval of the civil administration. Those who use land that belongs to others have to stop using it when it is demanded back. Everyone living in the town at the time of my study had access to both types of lands. There were, however, disputes over land for shelter. Incoming IDPs (mainly from the Tira tribe) who were supported by their chief refused to leave the land for the owners. A small committee was established to resolve this issue, but the IDPs did not respect the decisions of the committee. The chief of the Tira is in fact more powerful than other chiefs. As was explained by the informants, he is supported by the governmental authorities in Kadugli. So, power has reshaped access to assets. The minority elite [Tira] use their power to benefit from conflict and political instability, while the majority of the population [other tribes] loses capital [houses] (Jaspars & Shoham December 2002). The powerful incoming IDPs often deny the powerless owners access to their own legally owned land.

Productive lands:

Productive land is located either around the town farms or around the house farms. Productive land around house farms are essentially backyard gardens *(jubraca).* Around the town farms, productive land is either for fruit production or crop production.

Fruit production farms are owned by few people, and their ownership is viewed by many as a signature of wealth. Crop production farms and *Jubraca* are essential for the survival of the people. In these farms, people produce their stable crop (sorghum), some cash crops, and other needed food stuff. Despite the fact that the *Jubraca* is the woman's responsibility, it is considered to be a part of the house and owned by the man. Each household clears farm land that is proportionate to the labor availability. Female members of the household participate in the land acquisition process, but they have no control over the land. The customary law denies women control of land.

Land in the Nuba Mountains, including Heiban, is considered to be ample. Despite the fact that people of Heiban today consider land to be plentiful, I believe the opposite to be true. This view that land is abundant is habituated by the use of low production technology. To elaborate, land is considered abundant because the people, constrained by poor production technology, are unable to cultivate as much land as they need. This point is reflected by the insufficient annual farm yields. So, if more advanced farming technology is introduced to the people, each household could be able to expand its farm, and only then would people come to realize how scarce land actually is.

Land Tenure:

In the previous chapter, three types of land ownership were mentioned: private, communal and no-man's land. Recently, the third type (no-man's land) has disappeared. In a Nuba Conference held in Kauda in 2003, tribal territory borders were agreed upon, as shown in figure (7), and the fluid tribal boundary lines that Nadel (1947) discussed no longer exist. All the land within each tribe's boundaries is either privately or communally owned. Regardless of gender, each member in the Heiban territory has access to the communal land. Immigrants, in contrast to what was prevailing when Nadel (1947) had conducted his study, are, however,

not granted access unless they get official permission from the civil administration. So, use of the land is endowed to Heiban inhabitants only.

According to the customary law in the community, which is patrilineal, as was stated by Nadel (1947), women do not own land. They even have no control over the *jubraca*, which they are responsible for. Furthermore, a widow is denied access to her deceased husband's land unless she remarries with one of his brothers or clansmen. An exception to this rule is a case of a widow with young children that does not remarry. In this case, the widow can continue to access the land, but land ownership will be transferred to her sons (never her daughters) when they grow up. A widow without children that does not remarry within the clan will be denied access to the land, and the land will be inherited by the husband's male kin.

Considering the land tenure above, war has impoverished some women and enriched some men. Women who had lost their husbands in the war and had not remarried within their husbands' clan had to leave their house and farm and allow the property to be inherited by the clansmen of the deceased husband.

Water:

Considering the fact that the community of Heiban is an agrarian community, water is crucial to sustain people's livelihoods. Water is important both for agriculture and domestic use. Agriculture in Heiban is rain fed, and occasionally the rain is sufficient. However, natural draining sometimes causes problems that result in declined productivity of some farms. As it stated by Abu John when I asked him about the productivity of his farm during this season; "*this year the productivity is low. The rain was too much this year and has damaged the crop. Those farms under the mountain* [at the foot of the mountain] *produced better than us because the rain water ran off their farms to ours* [the low slope farms]". The reverse can also be true. In cases of a low rainfall season, rain water drains from the higher farms to the lower farms resulting in a shortage of water and low productivity in the higher farms.

In contrast, water for domestic use is scarce. In the town, the water yard (*donkey)* is the only source of safe water. The water pumped from the *donkey* is distributed to three stations: one is located in the donkey-yard, another is located between the schools, and the last is located near

Photo (6): *Mashish*

the market. Water from the *donkey* is not provided for free. Four gallons of water costs one hundred Sudanese pounds and is considered expensive by most. Another source of water is the seasonal streams. People, particularly those who cannot afford to pay for the *donke*y water, access the streams during the rainy season for domestic use. When the streams have dried up, people make bores (*mashish)* along the streams' course in order to draw water that has seeped in. M*ashish*s (see photo 6) vary in depth and the availability of water depends on the location of the *mashish*s along the stream. As you go downstream (further distance from the town), you do not need to dig deep. Near town, shallow *mashish* (about one miter in depth) can provide water to fill a four gallon container in about one hour. During my stay in Heiban, as an attempt to help solve the water problem, Save the Children \US installed three hand pumps in the inhabited area of the town, but the pumps are not in use yet. Available water is not sufficient for the current population, and the problem will worsen if the town expands.

Water fetching, since before the war, has traditionally been the female's responsibility. Males, even children, fetch water only for their animals. Since before the war, safe water sources have not provided enough water and water fetching has been an energy and time consuming task. Water is scarce during

Photo 7: women at a water station

the dry season. During the rainy season water is plentiful to the point that it may damage the crop. Yet, no effort has been made to harvest the rain water. Generally, water scarcity, among other obstacles, limits settlement to expand in the town and limits the return of outgoing IDPs.

Wildlife and Forest products:

Wildlife and Forest products are of considerable significance to the livelihoods of the Nuba people of Heiban.

Wildlife:

Big game such as leopards, lions, elephants and giraffes have been extinct in the area since long time before the war (Nadel 1947). Hunting was reduced to wild cats (*hilba*), foxes (*baa'ashom*), antelope, hares, large birds (*kowari*), guinea fowls, little monkeys, lizards and small saurian, big snakes, rats, and some insects like grass hopper and *umrum*[40]. During the war, the wildlife in the area was endangered, except for the insects. However, recently hares, monkeys, lizards, some birds (*kowar*i), and guinea fowls have become available in the region. Hunting guinea fowls is more common in the town than hunting other animals. In addition, villagers collect honey and sell it in the town.

Forest products:

Forest products include wood for household consumption and non-timber products for both household consumption and commerce. The wood comes from different types of trees and is used for the construction of houses, the making of furniture, and for firewood. Non-timber products gathered in the area are wild fruits, nuts, berries, leaves, fibers, and the roots of some plants. Non-timber products are the only source of money for most of the population. The most economically and nutritionally valuable trees are:

[40] Umrum : black insects found in the mountain caves (*kurku*r)

Adansonia Digitata[41] (*Tabaldy*) and Tamarindus Indica[42] (*A'aradaib*)**:**

Fruits from both trees are gathered in the dry season mainly for commerce and for domestic use. The fruits are used for the production of soft drinks and porridge. In addition the fruits are used as medicines; *Tabaldy* is used for the treatment of diarrhea and *A'aradaib* is used for the treatment of malaria. Both trees are native to the Kordofan region and the fruits are used all over Sudan. Leaves of both trees are consumed locally as salads.

Grewia Tenax[43] (*Gudaim*):

Is not widely spread in the area but has fruit that is considered to be of high nutritional value.

Borassus Aethiopuim mart[44] or Palmyra (*Dalaib*) and Hyphaene thebaica[45] or doum palm **(***Doom***)**:

Both trees have fan-shaped leaves and fruits with distinct tastes and aromas. The stems are used for roofing. The emerging root (*halook*) is boiled and sold to be eaten locally. The leaves have many craft uses like the interweaving of baskets, mats, and food-covers (*Tabaq*). Leaves are also used for roofing, handcrafts and ropes for local bed production.

Balanites aegyptiaca (*Laloop*) and Rhamnus spina-christi[46] (*Nabaq*):

Both trees are thorny. The branches of the trees are used to make fences for animal pens. Fruits of the trees are collected for commerce as well as for household consumption. *Nabaq* fruit is of high nutritional value. *Laloop* fruit has medical value; it is used for the treatment of stomach disorders. The leaves of the *Nabaq* tree have medical and cosmetic values; they are used for the treatment of malaria and in skin and hair products. The leaves of both trees are used as soap during hard times, like war.

Other wild fruits and berries in the region include *Jogan*, *Midyaka*, *Humiad*, which are gathered during the rainy season. Also, some roots are gathered by traditional healers to be used as medicines.

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[41] African tree with a very thick trunk and fruit that resembles a gourd and has an edible pulp called monkey bread (source: http://www.thefreedictionary.com)

[42] long living tropical evergreen tree with a spread crown and feathery evergreen foliage; has fragrant flowers yielding hard yellowish wood and long pods with edible chocolate-colored acidic pulp (ibid)

[43] a genus of tropical and subtropical Old World climbers, shrubs or trees (ibid)

[44] tall fan palm of Africa, India and Malaysia yielding a hard wood and sweet sap that is a source of palm wine and sugar; the leaves are used for thatching and weaving

[45] **doum palm** (*Hyphaene thebaica*) is a type of palm tree, also called "gingerbread tree", with edible oval fruit; it is originally native to the Nile valley. Its fibers are sometimes used to weave baskets

[46] trees and shrubs, usually thorny, bearing drupaceous fruit. Has some medicinal value

Wild okra (*Saara*) is collected for local consumption and for commerce. *Saara* and other species of okra are dried and grinded. The produced powder is called *weaka*. *Weaka* is used in most Sudanese traditional food, which is eaten almost daily in the all rural communities of Sudan. The Nuba Mountains Region is famous for the production of *Saara*, which is considered to be of high quality.

Wildlife and forest products are not only very important sources of money and food but they also supply most of the daily necessities; from the fiber that is used in basket making to the firewood and the shelter. There has been no change in the uses of the wild life and forest products as result of the war, but there has been a change in the productivity of the locality. I have no numerical data, but there is a consensus among the townspeople that the vegetation and wildlife of the locality had been destroyed during the war and have recently started to revive. The destruction of the wildlife and the vegetation has decreased the natural endowment to the community and, hence, decreased the result of both wild food and cash.

Physical Capital

Physical capital is capital created by the economic production process (DFID 1994; Ellis 2000). In this study, physical capital is divided into two categories: Private capital (houses and production tools) and public capital (market, roads, dispensary, and water source).

Private Physical Capitals:

Houses:

Each family, except the incoming IDPs, owns a private house in Heiban. The house is composed of a few huts or, in a few cases, rooms fenced in by sorghum stalk fencing. Huts, in general, are built with local material. A hut is basically a round or square base topped with a wattle of wood and stalks roof. The base in general is made of wood and stalks, but sometimes it is made of mud. The base is about one meter in height and is topped with a cone-shaped roof. The area inside the huts varies, but it is at least enough for two beds. Usually, the husband has his own hut/room. The mother shares a hut with her daughters and sons that are under ten years of age. Sons over ten years have their own separate hut. The kitchen is a separate hut that is used for cooking as well as for sleeping. Some of the houses

have a pit latrine, but the majority of them do not have a latrine. Houses also contain a small granary (*Seweaba*), a flat rack for hanging ears of corn, and a small pen for the small animals. In cases of polygamy, each wife has her own hut and all the wives share one kitchen.

Construction of the house is the responsibility of both women and men. Men cut the trees and women carry them home. Stalks are cut by both genders and carried home by women. Women also fetch the needed water for construction. Men construct the huts and women do the finishing (i.e. level the floor and paint the walls) if need be. Construction of the fence is both genders' responsibility. Traditionally, women do not own houses. When a woman gets married she moves into her husband's house. The woman, however, has to carry out her role in the house's construction before she gets married. Houses need annual maintenance. Building and maintenance are done in December after the harvest when people have time and stalks are available.

Before the war, houses were made with stable materials- either brick or mud. Roofs were made of zinc and doors and windows were made of metal. As I mentioned earlier, this building material had been looted during the war. So, the war destroyed all the houses and all the building materials were taken. If the people have not made enough money they could not rebuild their houses unless they received aid.

A problem I noticed was that the soil was contaminated with termites, which is dangerous for both houses and cultivation. No effort has been made to exterminate the termites.

Production tools:

Everyone in Heiban is a farmer. So, agricultural production tools are important to everyone. People practice a traditional agriculture that is called 'hoe cultivation'. All the activities are done manually. People use a tool called a *sullucab,* which has a long wooden handle with a metal blade end. The blade used for sowing can be replaced with another blade that is used for weeding and harvesting ground nuts when the soil is dry. When the soil is wet, ground nuts are pulled out by hand. To harvest sorghum, people use knives to cut off the ears and special baskets (*reaka*) to carry the harvest home where it is to be stored on special racks to dry. After drying, the sorghum is transferred to a special clean yard (*taga)* for threshing. They use

large sticks for threshing. The sorghum is then hayed and women carry it back home in various containers to be stored in the granary (*seweaba*).

Production tools are locally made, except for the blades which are bought in the local market. The production tools used now are the same types that were used before the war. The only change is in the containers used to transport threshed grain. They used to use baskets, but now they use plastic containers.

Using these primitive tools is tedious and it makes the cultivation process depend heavily on the labor force. In addition, the use of these tools is the main reason for the shortage of food in the community. There was no effort made to introduce better technology, such as animal plowing, in order to reduce human labor and increase food production.

Public physical capital:

Water source:

As I mentioned earlier, there is one *donkey* that supplies drinking water and there are three hand pumps that are under construction by the SCF/US. Water from the *donkey* is mechanically pumped from a well into a tank that is connected to three water stations. Each station consists of eight water tabs that are controlled by a conductor. Stations are open for a few hours per day, mainly in the late afternoons. The *donkey* is frequently faulty, but the town can not afford to fix it itself. The townspeople have to contact the water department in Kadugli to get technicians to repair the *donkey*. Sometimes it takes up to three months to get it repaired, especially during the rainy seasons when the roads are muddy. When I arrived in the town, the *donkey* was not functioning for more than a month and the seasonal streams were dried up. People had to fetch water from the *mashish* downstream. The process is tiresome and time consuming. It is particularly a burden during the harvesting time, when every hour counts. There are some wells scattered in the town, but they were damaged during the war.

Women consider the water shortage as the main problem affecting their lives. To fetch water, even from water stations, is time consuming when there are long lines. According to the women representative; 'the *available stations are not enough for the current community and the problem will enlarge when the town is expanded'*. Though women as a category are the ones who mainly access the water sources, they have no control over the water. Even the

water fees are decided upon and collected by men. Water committee in the civil administration body, decides the fees should be paid for the water, and appoints a conductor for each station.

Market:

The market in Heiban is an economic and social space. It is where people buy and sell goods and meet relatives and friends who come from other villages. Consumption commodities are brought by the local traders from Khartoum. Also, the local products, as earlier mentioned, are sold on 'market day' to traders who come from different towns.

The market is now operated by local people. *Jellaba*, who dominated the market before the war, fled at the onset of the war and has not returned yet. The market consists of a few small shops surrounding an empty square. There is also a pharmacy, a tailor, a blacksmith, a bakery, and a grain mill. Two restaurants operated by men serve non traditional food. In addition, some women sell tea, coffee, and some hot local drinks under trees or racks. The butcher shop is open some days of the week. Animals are slaughtered in an open space in the town and sold in the market. Shops sell consumption goods that are brought from Khartoum, and one shop sells kitchen utensils. On regular days there are no fruits or vegetables being sold in the market. Currently, only one special market day is held per week instead of the usual two that was common before the war. This reduction in special market days indicates a reduction in the availability of local products and cash in the area.

Thursday, as already mentioned, is the special market day. People from different villages come to buy what they need and sell what they have gathered to traders who come from other towns mainly for that reason. Traders collect local products and sell them in other parts of the country, mainly the capital. On Thursday, more goods, such as locally produced fruits and tomatoes (no other vegetable is produced or marketed in the town), are available. In addition, women sell traditional perfumes (*Khumra, dilka, Bakhour and karkar*), which they make at home. Petty traders display their products around the market place and in the middle square area of the market. A unique activity operated by women is renting out beds on the main market day and the day before it to those who come from distant places. Female involvement in non-agricultural products trading and services is expressed by key informants to be a new phenomenon. Before the war, women contributed to the market economy by buying and

selling local products at the market. Most of the women traders I encountered in the market were returnees who had been displaced in urban towns.

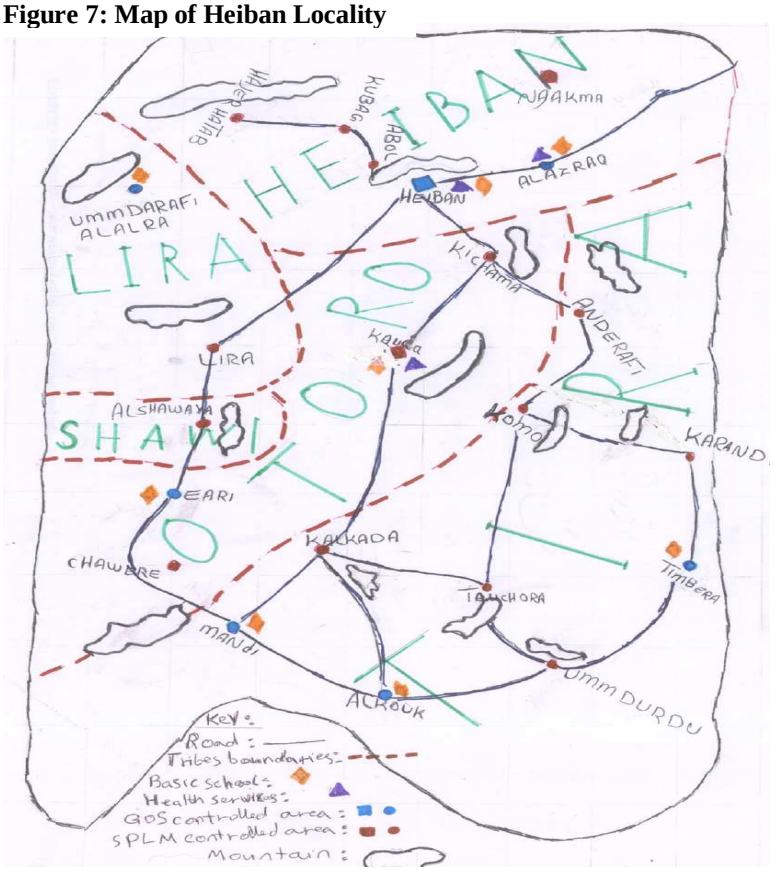
It is remarkable that the low quality goods brought from Khartoum are sold at prices that are almost double those found in Khartoum. Prices for local products are very low. For example, the price of meat is approximately half that found in Khartoum. According to some key informants, prices shot up during the war and remained high up to today because there is no authority to regulate prices.

The high prices of products supplied from outside the town combined with the low prices of the local products affect the local economy by reducing the cash circulated in the locality. In addition it is significantly affect people's livelihoods. People emerging from a situation of war with no source of revenue other than from selling gathered wild products now cannot afford to pay for necessary products such as sugar, coffee, and milk. Nor can they afford to pay for services such as education, grain grinding and health services.

Health Services:

According to the medical assistant Kamal Kalo Kunda, and as confirmed by other key informants, before the war Hieban had a well equipped clinic with a full staff (including a trained midwife) and departments; clinic, laboratory, and pharmacy.

Figure 7: Map of Heiban Locality



Today, health services in Heiban are provided by a small dispensary run by a single medical staff member. The dispensary was built with stable material. It was rehabilitated by the government after the cease fire agreement and it was built to serve as a rural hospital. However, only one room is used as a clinic. There is no laboratory or pharmacy. The medical assistant performs all the tasks (even the cleaning). Most of the medicine is provided by Norwegian Church Aids. The ministry of health in Kadugli provided emergency medicine during the rainy season of 2004. Health services are not free of charge. Each patient pays a fee of 500 Sudanese

Photo 8: A health volunteer treating wounds

pounds in addition to the cost of the medicine provided by the ministry of health. The fees, however, are not absolute. If a patient is unable to pay, s/he will still receive treatment. The most severe problem in the dispensary, according to the medical assistant, is the lack of laboratory and midwife services. There are two local midwives. One of the midwives is over sixty years old and had decided to quit due to failing eye sight. The midwives, as mentioned earlier, had started to practice midwifery only due to the emergency circumstances brought on by the war. No special child care or vaccination services are provided in the town. A vaccination campaign arranged by the World Health Organization and the ministry of health did provide services in the town for two evenings though.

The cease fire agreement had facilitated the mobility of the people in the region. Subsequently, people of Heiban could access the health services in Kauda, which are considered better than those of Heiban. Another health service source in the locality is in Al-Azrag village, but people from that village go to Heiban's dispensary for better services. Heiban's dispensary is accessed by people from different villages in the region. As estimated by the medical assistant: "*Sixty percent of the patients who visit the dispensary are from the different villages of the locality. They come from different distances that vary from two to four hours walk for the healthy person. In the peak, the rainy season, the number of visitors to the dispensary per day ranges between 30 and 60 persons. They arrive at any time, since there is no nurse to help me; I have to be standing by for 24 hours a day*". When the load of work came to exceed the abilities of the medical assistant, he began to train some volunteers to assist him. By November, training had been going on for six months. As the medical assistance stated; "*by now, I could depend on them* [the volunteers] *in providing services for their neighbors. Daily, two or three of them come to practice and assist me in the dispensary*; *they do the injections, injury treatments, and medicine distribution. Furthermore, some of them can diagnose some diseases, and decide the dose of the medicine. They give me relief, and the community trusts them, I could depend on them by now*". Supporting to his claim, I visited the dispensary before I left Heiban and I found that the medical assistant was away in Kadugli and the dispensary was being operated by two of the health volunteers. Through the health volunteers the community had temporarily solved the problem of nursing, but people still complained about the shortage of medicine.

Private pharmacy:

There is a private pharmacy in the market place that sells some medicines and disposable injections. According to the operator, the pharmacy does not function properly because people cannot afford to buy the medicines.

Health facilities, which basically consist of a clinic in the central town in the area, have been poor since before the war. The clinic has long provided basic treatment only. It has no operation rooms and no emergency facilities. Today the community dreams to even recover its past health facilities, poor as they were.

Roads and Public Transportation:

Roads and means of transportation are essential to diffusing knowledge and technology, which facilitate the development of communities. Since even before the war, roads connecting Heiban to other towns and villages in the region and in other parts of the Sudan have been poor. There are four main roads connecting Heiban to the rest of the region and the country. The major road goes north to connect the town of Heiben to Khartoum and Obied. It goes through Khordalieb and Rahad, where it meets the paved road. The same road connects Abbasya and Rashad and goes through Abri and Dalami. A second road goes to Talodi through Kauda. Two roads go to Kadugli; one goes through Kobang and other goes through Lijolwo. All these roads are unpaved. They are also all closed during the wet season, except for the main road. The main road (between Heiban and Khordalieb) is accessed during the rainy season either by tractor or by foot. There are no public means of transport between Heiban and the rest of the villages in the locality. The mountainous nature of the locality makes it difficult to use animals and bicycles as means of transport. Also, the quality of the roads makes it risky to invest in vehicles

All the roads out of Heiban, except for the one that goes north, are suspected of having land mines and, so, are not in use. During my stay in Heiban, the Joint Mentoring Commission had finished de-mining of the 16 km road that connects Heiban to Kauda.

The problem of roads and public transportation has been negatively affecting the livelihoods of the people in the locality, mainly in situation of poor health and market services. Presently,

the situation is worse than in the past, only one road is in use (Heiban _ Khordalieb) and people walk and few men use bicycles in the region. Women are the most negatively affected by the roads and transport problems. Traditionally, men should not carry loads on their heads; therefore, women should commute by foot carrying loads on their heads. Another example of the impact of road and transport issues have on women is in cases of emergencies during child delivery. With a lack of qualified midwives, in cases of emergencies women have to be carried for about six hours to reach the nearest relief point in Kauda.

Human Capital:

Human capital constitutes the quantity and quality of labor available in a household (DFID 1994; Ellis 2000). Human capital is the most important type of capitals in an agrarian community that depends on traditional farming. The components of human capital I will deal with are health, labor, education and training.

Health:

Generally, people in Heiban, both children and adults, look healthy. The most prevalent diseases are malaria, diarrhea and respiratory tract infections. These diseases occur mainly during the wet season. According to the medical assistant, there are some worm infection diseases that are difficult to diagnosis and treat properly due to the lack of the laboratory facilities. Death among children is mainly due to respiratory tract infections. Between June and November, the death cases in the dispensary were four children and four adults. As was explained by the medical assistance, "p*eople come to the dispensary at the last moment. They usually take local herbal medicines, and when they do not recover they come to the dispensary in a very bad situation which makes it difficult to help them with our limited resources.*"

Bad sanitation and hygiene contribute negatively to the health of the population. As I mentioned earlier, only a few houses have pit latrines. Most of the people defecate in open spaces near the town. Also, animals are slaughtered near the town and the remains are left for the flies and other parasites. Children are the most vulnerable and susceptible to insect transmitted diseases, mainly because they defecate in their playing place. The time between child births in a family is very short, commonly one year, so family planning services are needed for the sake of women and child health (as stated by the medical assistant).

Nowadays, people are poorer than before the war. Children go around almost naked, which makes them more susceptible to respiratory tract infections (particularly during the rainy season). The introduction of treatment fees has limited the entitlement of health services and contributed to the deterioration of human capital.

Labor

The labor force is the backbone for the traditional agricultural activities with low level of technology such as that one practiced in Heiban. The nuclear family is the main source of labor. Before the war all the productive family members participated in the farming process. The productive age in Heiban is from nine or ten years old and above; children of this age participate in some activities such as harvesting of ground nuts, providing food for the adults in the field, caring of small animals as well as caring of the younger children.

Similar to what Wood Roland (1971) has found women and men perform most of agricultural activities equally, but men work in the far farm and women work in *jubraca*. The gender specialization in the division of labor is that men perform the work requiring muscle, the hard work like cutting of the trees, while women perform all the carrying works, such as carrying wood and harvest from the farm to the house (Wood 1971). The situation today is different; women and men work side by side, if not on the same farm, on adjusts ones. Still, men perform the more 'physically challenging' jobs, like cutting large trees and threshing, while women perform the enduring carrying tasks. In the case of female headed households, women have to perform all the jobs themselves, if there are no men to help.

In contrast to what Wood (1971) and others have found, in my view, there is no equity in the gender division of labor in the farming realm. It is true that men could perform most of the activities done by the women, but they do not perform the same amount of work. Women harvest with men, but they carry the harvest home alone. Actually, when the crop is harvested it is collected in one place in the field before carrying it home. As I mentioned elsewhere in this study, I have participated in harvest transporting *nafeer*, and saw how hard the work was for the women. They travel a distance of two to three kilometer, between the farm and home, for more than eight hours a day, while carrying a load of as much as they possibly can. Carrying the harvest does not seem to be any less difficult than cutting trees, especially since the trunks of the trees needed to be cut are not very thick. In addition, it is important to

consider that clearing trees is done one time in the lifespan of the farm, while carrying the harvest is an annual activity. The more harvest the family produces, the more work for the women, but at the end the surplus is accumulated in form of livestock for the benefit of the men.

Generally, the labor preformed by the women is more important than that of men; they perform both the reproductive and productive work. Traditionally, women carry out all of the domestic work, and most of the agricultural work. They exclusively perform the roles of fetching water and wood, caring for the family, caring for small animals, carrying loads on their heads, and gathering wild fruits. Obtaining labor is the main reason behind polygamy. In most of the cases of polygamy I investigated, the first wife has encouraged her husband to marry a second wife when the load of work exceeds her capacity. Women are being married for their reproductive role; that is to say, for the production of laborers, as well as for the contribution of their own labor. As I will discuss later, the main character of the ideal future wife, is to be a hard worker.

As a result of the war, the labor force in Heiban has declined both in quantity and quality. Most of the households have lost at least one member due to the war. In addition to the external displacement people have been killed, either directly by weapons or indirectly by diseases and hunger. Consequently, the number of households headed by women has increased, resulting on a correlative increase of the burdens loaded on female shoulders. The quality of labor has declined due to the protracted displacement of much of the labor force to urban towns. People who lived in urban areas found it difficult to resume agricultural activates, while the generation growing up in the cities could not practice farming. Only one of the youths I interviewed in Khartoum thinks that it will be easy to learn farming if he goes back. As I was told by key informants, people who were displaced in rural towns, like Gadarif, Um Rawaba and Khordalaib have gotten access to land to practice their occupation of skill.

A source of work available in the community is hired labor. Some households that have a shortage in their productive labor force could not cultivate their own farms and work in others' farms for cash or other forms of payment. The main, secondary sources of labor are the working parties (*nafeers*). *Nafeer,* in the agricultural realm, is important for tedious jobs requiring many laborers, such as weeding and harvesting.

Education and Training:

Education and training are the most important factors that determine the quality of human capital.

Education:

Before the war, the education system in the Sudan was different from the current one. Before the university level, students had to complete the elementary (six grades), junior secondary (three grades) and high secondary (three grades) levels. In Heiban there were only two levels: elementary and junior secondary. For the elementary level, there used to be four schools, two for each gender. Each gender had one school for the students from Heiban town and another school for the students from other villages in the locality. The second schools are boarding schools where students (from outside of the town) receive complete accommodations. For the junior secondary level there used to be two schools in the locality, one for each gender. The school for girls was new; it was built in 1983 by communal efforts and had only two classes. Before the creation of this school, girls used to continue their education in Kadugli. The school for boys was a boarding school which fully accommodated students from outside of Heiban town. For the high secondary level, successful boys had to compete with the other students from the region for admission to schools in Kadugli or to the Dilling Teacher Training Institute. Girls competed for admission to the Obied teacher training institute[47]. It is noteworthy to mention that in 1979 there were only two secondary schools for boys and one for girls in the entire Nuba Mountain Region, (Komey August 2004). According to key informants, most of the girls used to continue their education only up to grade four. Very few girls from Heiban town were able to complete their education and become teachers.

The current education system in the Sudan is basic school (eight grades), followed by secondary school (three grades) and then the university. During the war time, education in Heiban town was controlled by military officers and there were only seven grades. Officially, 'standard' education was resumed after the cease fire agreement. However, in Heiban town there are only two basic schools operated by a staff of eight teachers and two volunteers. The schools are built of stable material, and are well furnished compared to other schools in the region. After the official resumption of the education, the academic levels of the new generation of students were evaluated by the staff. The students were then classified and

[47] The only source of information was the key informants. All the records are disappeared during the war time

appointed to classes between first and fifth grades. Today, there are separate schools, for students from first grade to the fourth, for each gender. Then, students from grade five to seven attend coeducational classes; due to low number of students and to cope with the shortage of the staff. The number of the students in the town is 170 girls and 278 boys; all of them from Heiban town. The ages of the students vary from between seven and twenty-two years. Most of the students in the first grade are above nine year old; school age children are often busy with the harvest season[48]. A registration fee of 16,000 Sudanese pounds and a monthly, one thousand pound tuition are paid by each student. Despite the fact that the registration fee can be paid in installments, many students are unable to pay the first installment.

According to schools calendars, vacation is during the rainy season, June to September. However, the 2004-2005 school year started in the middle of December instead of the middle of September. According to key informants, it is normal to start the school three months after the scheduled time. The school director claimed that the reason behind the delay was that all of the staff, who lives in Kadugli except one, did not receive their transport allowance on schedule. A deduction of at least three months per year from the school year reduces the possibility of finishing the syllabus and leads to a decline of the education level in the town. Another problem is the shortage of the staff; there are eight teachers for eleven classes. Commonly, teachers are reluctant to work in rural areas such as Heiban. Consequently, some people send their children to study in the schools of areas held by the SPLA/M and other towns.

Photo (9): school aged children care for younger children

In contrast to what is happening in Heiban, the value of education and increase of the general awareness are cited by many key informants as some of the positive effects of the war. Many

[48] As it is mentioned in other place they takes care of the younger children

IDPs and returnees noted that the war has allowed a better education opportunity for them. Without the war they could not leave the locality to access education, especially the women. As stated by Koko, "*before the war women attended school up to the fourth grade as the highest level and then got married. Now, two of my sisters are in the SPLA/M held area and during the war time they continued their education. Now they are at a university in Kenya. They could never dream of it*." There are no statistics for the number of people who managed to continue or to resume their education in the displacement areas, but my findings in this field allow me to estimate. From the students who are currently studying outside of Heiban, from the families I have interviewed in both Heiban and Khatroum, 91 are currently in the basic level, 54 are in the secondary level and 29 are undergraduate students.

It is clear that there was a shortage of educational opportunities for the children in the locality before the war. Children had the opportunity to study up to what is equivalent to the eighth grade. Though they could compete with the regional students for seats in two schools for boys and one for girls, few had the opportunity to continue their education. The community was educationally victimized, as children's' educational opportunities were jeopardized.

Considering the gender equity right for education, chronic discrimination against females continues; currently there are 170 girls and 278 boys at the basic school in Heiban; the education of boys is prioritized in the household level. As it was explained by a key informant: "*they* [girls] *are visitors; they will get married and move with their husbands. It is better to spend money in the education of boys than girls*."

Training:

To compensate for the deficiency of health staff members, the medical assistant in Heiban has been training some volunteers. He managed to train 30 women and 11 men in primary health care. He is continuing the training, both theoretically and practically. The training covers the diagnosis of common diseases, such as malaria and tuberculoses. According to the health volunteers I have interviewed, they joined this training primarily to help their own community and to assist the medical assistant. A secondary motivation among them was to compensate for the lost opportunity for education, hoping to attain nursing education in order to get jobs.

Additional local training was held by Norwegian Church Aids; the training was for the women and had the objective of peace building and improving the living condition. The

participants were 48 women trained in sowing, dying, processing of spaghetti, and making handcrafts. In addition, participants received illiteracy classes in the English language.

Save the Children/US has trained local people in various important fields. They conducted an intensive three week veterinary training program in Abu Jebaha. Two women and two men from the locality were among the participants. In addition they have trained two people in a local agricultural extension, and midwife training is going on.

Two workshops organized by the Sudan Council of Churches were held in the town. The first one was a three day workshop held on May 2003, financed by the Norwegian Church Aid. It was a women's conference with the objectives of enlightening participants on: the role of women in the church, gender equity, environmental and water hygiene, and HIV/AIDS prevention. The participants were thirty, from a group composed of women and the community leaders. The second workshop was held between 29th of November and 1st of Dec. 2004 and was titled "*Your Role in Peace Building.*" The workshop was financed and implemented by the Sudan Council of Churches. The main topics of the workshop were: conflict resolution and peace building, reconciliation and peaceful coexistence, gender equity, environment and home hygiene, and HIV/AIDS prevention. Participants were 52, including: the community leaders, police officers, and twenty-four of them were women. Participants of this workshop claimed that they became knowledgeable of the workshop's topics and they can now deal with the community problems in a better way.

It is remarkable that the number of women in training and workshops related to public work is higher than that of men.

Financial Capital:

Financial capital is the stock of money or other savings in liquid form. It also includes access to credit and easily-disposed assets such as livestock (DFID 1994; Ellis 2000; Scoones 1998). Financial capital in this study is composed of livestock, reciprocal claims and bride wealth payment.

Livestock

Generally, people in Heiban, like other Nuba people, are poor herdsmen. Livestock is acquired by converting almost all the surplus of crops into livestock. Traditionally, livestock ownership and numbers reflect wealth and prestige in the community (Nadel 1947; UNDP 2003). The number of goats owned by a household varied between three to sixty goats and the number of cattle heads varied between zero and fifteen. Households own livestock to provide meat, milk and other by-products. However, the most important values of livestock are as payment in the bride-wealth and sacrifices[49] (Nadel 1947). It is important to note that women have no control over the livestock, despite the fact that they are responsibility for the caring for the small animals.

Over the years, many households have lost their livestock due to cattle raiding and looting, as well as disease and the need for food during the war time. Looting and raiding of cattle was practiced during the warfare by the troops of both warring parties, as war strategy. Presently, cattle ownership is limited to a few people in the community and they are considered as the wealthiest in Heiban. Few households own either goats or pigs, and if not all, most of the households own fowls, chicken and ducks. The largest number of goats and pigs in a household is five. Small animals are reared in order to pay as part of the bride-wealth, to be eaten or to be held as any easily convertible asset in emergency situations.

The largest number of cattle heads owned by a household is ten. Most of the owners are from the Otoro tribe and have acquired them as payment for the children who worked with Bagara during the war time. Veterinary services are very poor in Heiban. Veterinary workers were trained and provided medicine by SCF/US. However, now they are not active due to a lack of resources. According to a veterinary worker there are some minor diseases in the cattle. Herders think that they are in need for the veterinary services and that veterinary workers provided useful help when they had medicines.

Cattle are, as already mentioned, raised mainly for wealth and social prestige, and are used for payment in the bride-wealth. Cattle are never sold or slaughtered for meat in the normal situations. People in Heiban convert the entire surplus of the household's crops into goats and pigs, which are bred and converted into cattle. Men struggle to accumulate cattle as cattle are

[49] see social capital

the main part of the bride-wealth. During the war time, marriage was used as a strategy to avoid livestock looting. As one man explained the reason for his second marriage, *"my father worried that our cattle would be looted. He advised me to marry a second wife. I got married, and the cattle were looted from my in-laws. Now all the people have no cattle, but I am better off because I have two wives"*. Many cases like this are told.

Reciprocal Claims:

Reciprocal Claims are considered as a savings process. As it is stated in the Social Capital section, the bride-wealth is paid in terms of livestock. Since a long time before the war, the cattle have been paid by the groom's family, while the clan shares the duty of paying the small animals. Clan members contribute to the bride-wealth that is to be paid by a clansman; in return they receive a share in the bride-wealth received when girls from the clansman's family get married. Furthermore, they acquire contributions for the bride-wealth paid by a son. In this manner, reciprocal claims are used as a saving process in the community.

Bride- Wealth Payment

The other type of savings method in the Heiban community is the bride - wealth payment, which most commonly paid, as discussed, in installments. Most of the time, the groom is unable pay the full bride-wealth at once. So, he gets married and pays in pre-agreed installments. The father of the bride asks for an installment when he is in need of it — particularly, when a son is planning a marriage. Usually, the father of the bride who has younger sons delay receiving the installments until one of the sons plans to get married[50]. I came by an interesting story in this regard; while I was interviewing a couple, the wife angrily told me that her husband married his second wife before he fulfilled the payment of her bride-price to her own family. But she relaxed when her husband told her that he had made an agreement with her younger brother to pay the bride-wealth when he plans to get married.

Generally, livestock, bride-wealth and reciprocal claims are the most common investment activities for the people of Heiban. Despite their high risks, these means of saving are preferred over the banks, because they are not only a means of living, but play large roles in

[50] As it is stated in the social capital section, the father and brothers of the bride receive the 'lion share' of the bride wealth of the daughters. This share is used in to pay bride wealth of the brothers or some times the father.

the people's social lives and statuses; They give the people, "*the capability to be and to act*." As it stated by Bebbington (1999), "A person's assets, such as land [cattle], are not merely means with which he or she makes a living; they also give meaning to that person's world. Assets are not simply resources that people use in building livelihoods; they are assets that give them the capability to be and to act. Assets should not be understood only as things that allow survival, adaptation and poverty alleviation; they are also the basis of agents' power to act and to reproduce, challenge or change the rules that govern the control, use and transformation of resources" (Bebbington 1999).[51] The diagram below illustrates the financial investment and saving in Heiban.

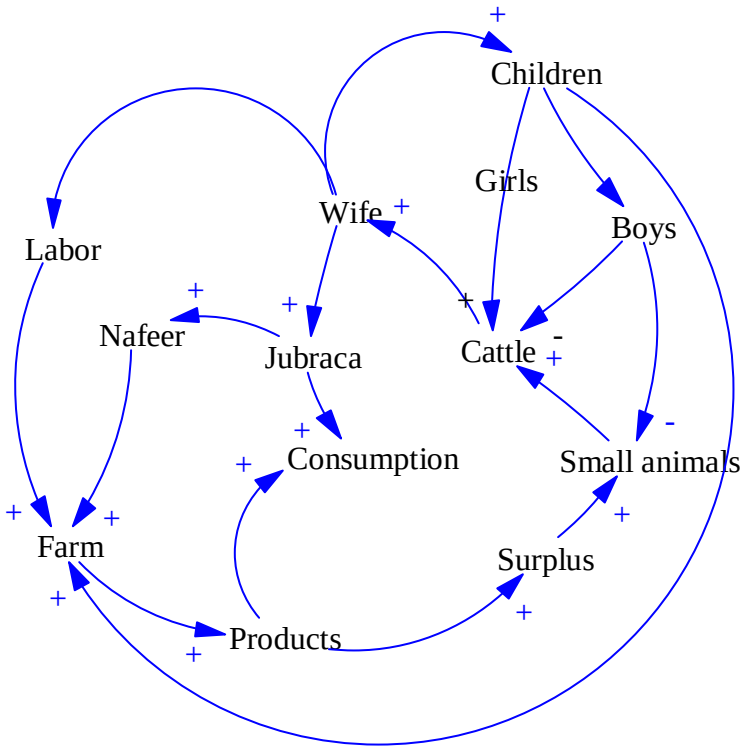


Figure (8): Investment and saving diagram

[51] cited in de Haan, L. & Zoomers, A. (2004).

Social Capital:

Social capital is the social resources upon which people draw when pursuing different livelihood strategies that require coordinated actions (DFID 1994; Ellis 2000; Scoones 1998). Social capital is important for sustainability of livelihoods in Hieban. The most important activities that influence livelihood in Heiban are family affairs; *nafeer*; tribes and classes; religion; and clans and social relationships, will be discussed below.

Family affairs:

By family affairs I mean marriage process, polygamy, divorces, widowhoods, and children ownership.

Marriage:

Marriage in Nuba of Heiban is a social institution which not only connects a couple, but also extends beyond the nuclear family to encompass the clan. The medium that connects the members of the marriage institution are the bride-wealth and the dowry. There are great similarities in the marriage process of the four tribes in Heiban. Inter-marriage between Nuba tribes and between Nuba people and other tribes in Heiban is practiced. In case of intermarriage, the bride price and dowry of the bride's tribe is followed. I will briefly discuss the common activities between the four tribes and mention the differences where necessary.

The first step of marriage is the establishment of a relationship between two youths. The public life in Heiban is gender mix, particularly the 'dance', gives youths in both gender the opportunity to meet and become familiar with each other. The two youths keep their relationship hidden until they are sure that they can continue to the next step, in which they introduce their relationship each to her/ his family. Fathers decide the selection criteria for the future spouse of their children. Fathers like to have son - in-laws that do not beat their wives and could provide their wives' needs. Also, fathers like to have hard working daughter in-laws from families with a good reputation — not suspected of engagement in witchcraft or theft. Some families were famous of engagement of witchcraft or theft. Since introduction of scriptural religions in the area, witchcraft and theft have been considered as unaccepted from a religious view point, and its practice was steeped down. In addition to reputations, families investigate the blood relations between couples who plan a marriage. Marriages between cousins are prohibited in all the tribes, except the Muslims of Otoro tribe who have recently

started to marry cousins. A main reason for the prohibition of marriage between cousins, as I have been told, is that cousins are considered as brothers and sisters concerning reciprocal obligations and rights. Other reasons include the desire to avoid problems within the same family and to avoid giving birth to ill offspring.[52] Also, a third reason is to bring more labor force into the family. The explanation of the new phenomena that is adopted by the Muslims of Otoro tribe as it was stated by a couple; "*since marriage with cousins is not prohibited in Islam it is normal to practice it"*. The marriage between cousins in Islam has been existed and practiced since the seventh century. The reason behind this new phenomenon within Heiban, in my view, could be the decline in the men in the community as effect of the war.

Before the war, if the relationship between the two youths was rejected they would respect their families' opinions, and drop the relationship. However, now, it has become common for youths to insist on staying together, while attempting to convince their fathers to accept their relationship. It has also become common for youths to get married devoid of their families requests; in such cases a girl's father refuses to take the bride wealth. Then, when the relationship is accepted fathers will go further to decide on the value of the bride wealth.

The betrothal periods vary in length. During the betrothal period the future groom has obligation for his future wife and her family; he is responsible for her expenditure except the food, but he is obliged to conduct an annual *nafeer* - a party of his friends and relatives from both genders gathered to work in her father's farm. Recently, this kind of *nafeer* could be substituted by cash payment, except in Otoro. Both the groom and bride have the obligation to prepare their future house.

The bride wealth is generally composed of cattle, goats or pigs, billies, a gun, and other small items, which vary according to the tribe. The number of cattle heads and goats also varies according to both the tribe and the 'value' of the bride (age, or have children out of wedlock). The table below shows the common wealth values of brides among the different tribes (the table may exhibit some deviation).

[52] People believe that marriage between cousins leads to production of mental handicapped or paralysed children.

Table No. (3): Bride-Wealth among Tribes in Heiban

Item	Heiban	Otoro	Tira	Lira
Cattle heads	2-3 (or its value)	4	2	3
Goats (or pigs)	10	25	15	6
Billies	2	15	3	3
Gun (now its value)	1	1	1	1

Source: field work

Payment of bride wealth is given in installments, except when the official marriage ceremony is conducted in the church. The groom's family pays the cattle heads and the patrilineal kindred are obliged to contribute to the rest. Patrilineal kindred in turn are entitled to receive a share in the bride wealth paid for the girls of the same family. The patrilineal kindred of the bride are invited to participate in the debate over the agreement of the amount of the bride-wealth and the payment rate for installment.

Animals for bride — wealth are carefully examined and all inferior ones may be rejected. The bride wealth is then divided among the entitled relatives; for example both uncles to the mother and to the father receive one or two goats and they divide this share among themselves (either as meat or money, by selling the livestock). The mother commonly receives nothing of the bride wealth, except in the Tira tribe, where she receives a small gift as the suckling cost. The father and his unmarried sons receive 'the loin's share': all the cattle heads, and some of the goats. Among the Otoro and Tira tribes, the father and his unmarred sons receive some of the billies also. The billies are used for *Karama*[53]; they are slaughtered and eaten in special ceremonies. The first he-goat is slaughtered for the marriage ceremony where the relatives are gathered to celebrate and eat. As *sibir*[54], all relatives must be satisfied in this ceremony; otherwise it is believed that the bride will never become pregnant. If pregnancy is delayed the husband contacts his in-laws to find out who of them was not satisfied in the marriage ceremony. If he finds an unsatisfied one, he has to satisfy her or him in order to facilitate the pregnancy of his wife.

[53] *Karama*[53]; is scarification of animal (mainly he-goat) in order to avoid the negative effect of Sibir.
[54] Sibir: as I understood, is a kind of believe that in certain circumstances there is obligation to be fulfilled otherwise specific harmful would happen.

The second billy is eaten when the bride moves to her husband's house. After paying of the first installment and eating of the first billy, the families complete the official marriage process and the bride is able to move to her husband's house. Among the Tira and Otoro tribes the bride stays for some years at her father's house, until the father becomes stratified with the payment process. If the husband is not serious with the payment of the installments the father, among the Tira, has right to return his daughter home. During the stay of the bride in her father's house, she is fully obligated to her husband as his wife, except that she does not cultivate his farm. In turn she is entitled to receive the full support of her husband except in terms of food. During this period the husband is allowed to visit his wife at any time, but is not permitted to eat or to stay overnight in his father — in-law's house. Among the Tira, when the husband wants his wife to move to his house he has to sacrifice a billy at his in-laws' house. This sacrifice is called the *Karama* of moving. After this *Karama* the father of the bride gives her the permission to cultivate her husband's farm, so that she can find food available after she moves to his house. If the moving *Karama* is not scarified the husband can not take his wife home. Among the Tira and Otoro, the wife may give more than one child birth while she is still living in her father's house.

Another *Karama* common among the Tira, is the 'meat *Karama*'. The wife should not eat meat in her husband's house until he gives her the permission. This permission may take a long time to obtain and in some cases may not be granted. Before receiving the 'meat eating permission' the wife cooks meat for her husband and the rest of the family but is not allowed to taste it. If she tastes it, it is believed that signs will show on the day of the 'meat *Karama*'. Eating any meat in the husband's house before she is permitted, will shame a wife and her relatives on the '*Karama* day'. Until granted the permission by her husband to eat meat in his house, the wife should not eat meat in her son's house as well; because he has common wealth with his father, but may only eat meat at her father or brother's house. If the husband dies before he grants his wife the permission to eat meat under his roof, then his son takes over the responsibility of this *karama*. There is no explanation for this *Karama*, and this practice seems strange even for the other tribes in the town.

According to the estimation of the key informants, meat constitutes about 30% — 70% of a person's annual diet. Considering the fact that vegetables are rare in the town, fruits are seasonal, and milk is not considered to have considerable nutritional value among the community, women are heavily affected by the delay of the meat *Karama*. For instance, the

requirement of the meat *Karam* combined with the norm that women have to stay home for forty days after giving child birth, negatively affects the health of both women and lactating children — as the women in this period is unable to go to neither their father's nor brother's house to eat meat.

In addition to the bride wealth, which the husband's family gives to the wife's, another exchange is made between the two families. The bride in turn has to bring a dowry when she moves to her husband's house. A dowry, commonly, is composed of the bride's own cloths, utensils, ornaments, some food, except among Tira, and one or two goats. Among the Tira, the bride must additionally prepare some building wood to bring with her to her husband's house. Dowry is commonly used between the couple, except the private components. Family members who receive a share of the bride wealth have an obligation to contribute to the dowry.

The gathering of clans people to participate in marriage activities; starting from the first meeting to agree upon the groom or the bride, to decide the amount of the bride wealth and to witness the payment of the installments maintains and strengthens the social relationships within and between the clans.

Polygamy:

Polygamy is practiced in Heiban town but is rare among Heiban tribe. In my interactions in the town of Heiban, I found that the largest number of co-wives was three, but there was another meaning for the term 'co-wives'. It is important to understand the meaning of the term 'co-wife'. The following story explains the concept of the co-wife in the Heiban town. During my second visit to a family containing three co-wives, the eldest wife told me that the husband of X [her co-wife] has arrived. I commented "he is your husband also!" She replied "*no he is my husband's younger brother*." "But you have said that she is your co-wife!" "*Yes she is, but she is not the wife of my husband."* "But why do you call her 'co-wife?" She answered, "*Because, the wealth* [the cattle] *is one* [shared]." Thus, the term co-wives can be use to denote the wives of brothers if they pool their wealth and share the same kitchen.

Co-wives in most cases live in the same house. The first wife (not necessarily the eldest) is called 'the mother of the house' and she has control over the others wives. The husband delegates some authority to the 'mother of the house' _ she is responsible for the management

of domestic affairs. Each wife has her own farm, and keeps her harvest separate from the others. Wives, husbands and children usually work as a team, spending a day in each farm. Wives and children, in the case of monogamy also, are responsible for the production of food for themselves and for the younger children. The husband contributes to the household's food supply with no less than what he consumes. In the case of polygamy, he ideally should divide his contribution equally between the wives. The husband also sells the surplus of the harvest in order to pay for other family needs. Left over cash is usually invested in goats or cows.

The tedious work done between the farm and the house compels women to look for co-wives to help them. In most cases I have investigated I found that the 'mother of the house' advises her husband to get married and she chooses the co-wife. The selected co-wife is usually young; it is desired for a co-wife to be of young adolescent age, hard worker and manageable. Other reasons for polygamy include that it is a strategy to avoid the risk of cattle looting and that it aids one in his search for male children — boys are preferred over girls in Heiban society. Also, the Heiban norm of inheriting widows supports polygamy.

In the past, women were not consulted when their husbands wanted to marry a second wife. This neglect usually caused problems within the household. Currently, women are consulted on the issue of polygamy which I considered as progress in women's empowerment in Heiban. In my investigations, I was only able to find one case in which 'the mother of the house' had not accepted to have a co-wife. In this situation the mother of the house was a young woman who was living between the towns of Abu-Jibeaha and Port Sudan, during the war time. She told me that when her husband told her he wanted to marry she refused to approve of his desire. When he continued to insist on his case, she traveled to her brother's house in Port Sudan and stayed there for more than a year. Then her husband came to her with a valuable gift and convinced her come back with him. She subsequently approved of his second marriage. It is new for the Heiban society that women seek their rights to be the only wife of their husbands.

Widowhood:

In the case of the death of a wife, the husband marries another one (not from the deceased's family) to continue the task of the dead one in caring for him and his children. When a husband dies, the widow, if she is of fertile age, marries one of his family or clansmen. For this marriage she is not paid a bride-wealth. Remarrying within the clan is called '*ta'aweed*',

which means literally ‘compensation’. If the young widow rejects the proposed husband, she must return to her father’s house with her young children. Young children are later reunited with their brothers and sisters after they become nine or ten years old. The other children stay in their father’s house until they get married. The widow does not access, control, or inherit her late husband’s resources, unless she is no longer fertile; then the rules are different. Widows above the fertility age may continue their lives with their children but have no control over their deceased husband’s resources. Control over the resources passes into the hands of the eldest son. In the case that the son has not yet matured, temporary control of the resources passes in to the possession of the deceased husbands-brother (until the son matures).

When a widow re-marries out of the clan of her late husband, an equivalent of the value of her bride-wealth is refunded to the family of the deceased husband. Furthermore, if she gave birth before she re-marries or paid the first installment of the bride-wealth, the child belongs to the deceased husband’s family because he is considered “*born in his bride-wealth*’. An interesting story was told by a 38 year-old woman. She said that when she refused to remarry within the family of her deceased husband, her ex-in-laws — after facing a delayed refund of the bride-wealth — pressed her to return to live in their house, in order to bear children for them and compensate for the delay of the bride wealth refund.

Divorce:

In the Heiban community, disputes between couples are resolved within the family or the clan. If consultation fails to achieve positive results, then the issue is raised to a traditional court. Before the war, the resolution of the traditional court was considered final and had to be accepted by both couples. But now a woman is able to reject the resolution of the traditional court and if her husband refuses to divorce her, she is able to go ahead and plead her case before the court in Kadugli. Traditionally, and this holds true up to now, when a wife insists on a divorce, her father is obliged to refund the bride-wealth. However, when the husband initiates the divorce he has to wait until his ex-wife is remarried in order to receive a refund of the bride-wealth. To secure the earliest refund of the bride-wealth, the man never tells the negative things about his divorcee. In the case of refunding the bride-wealth by the divorcee’s clan, the relatives who received a share of the bride-wealth are obliged to return it. Therefore the clansmen are very keen on the continuation of marriages. The situation of divorcee in terms of her relation to her children and ex- husband’s resources is identical to that of the widow who rejects remarriage within her deceased husband’s clan.

The Role of 'The child belongs to the bride-wealth':

If it happens that a girl becomes pregnant in the betrothal period, or even before she gets betrothed, then the child belongs to his grandfather or uncle (on the side of the mother) if the grandfather is too old to care for a child. Furthermore, if the husband divorces his wife before payment of a considerable amount of the bride wealth, the children return to their grandfather of the mother. This rule that 'a child belongs to the bride-wealth' is held even for married women if they are made pregnant by men other than their husbands; the child they bear belongs to their husband, unless he refuses to accept the baby and decides to part with his wife.

The law that 'child belongs to the bride wealth' is exploited by the men in order to increase their number of children, who are indirectly considered as wealth. I asked a man who was about 60 years old, "What happens if your daughter becomes pregnant before marriage?" He answered, "*I will benefit twice*." I continued, "How?" He replied, "*The child and the bride-wealth*." An example of male exploitation of the rule that 'the child belongs to the bride-wealth' is the following: There was a lady over 40 year old, who was unmarried and had three daughters. I asked why she was unmarried. The answer was that '*the fathers of the children wanted to marry her but her father always asked for a bride-wealth that was unaffordable for them"*. I asked again: Why? They replied; '*He wants to keep her producing children for him'*.

Children born out of wedlock are not considered illegitimate children and there is no social discrimination against them. A child born out of wedlock is named after his grandfather and grows up as a sibling of his biological aunts and uncles. Such children have the same reciprocal obligations and rights as their biological aunts and uncles. Recently, children have begun to ask their friends who among them was born out of wedlock in order to find an explanation to why they have the same father as their mothers. This question create problems for both children who born out of wedlock and for their mothers who could not explain the situation for their children. The questioning children could be grown up in other societies with different norms regarding having children out of wedlock, which renders the situation in Hieban town strange for them.

The experiences of children who grow up in their grandfather's house for any of the reasons above seem complicated to outsiders. The following story illustrates the complicated situation it may create for girls who grow up in their grandfather's houses.

The following story is about a widow who is twenty eight years old, has two children, and lives with her mother in Heiban. Her step father works and lives in Kadugli. This widow got a promising job in Kadugli; a job that provides a good salary, the opportunity to continue her education, and could stay with her stepfather. She was very eager to get this job, because it would improve her economical and social status. At the final step her 'brother' (son of her uncle on her mother's side) interfered to prevent her from getting the job. I asked her, "does he support you financially?" She answered, "*no*". But, why then does he control you, if you are living with your mother and going to live with your stepfather? To my surprise her answer was, "*My father had not fulfilled the payment of the bride-wealth of my mother. Consequently my grandfather took me with my mother". My grandfather and all my uncles* [mother–brothers] *are dead, so now it is the turn of my 'brothers'* [cousins] *to direct me*." Traditionally, the father has right to return his daughter home if he is not satisfied with the payment of the bride wealth. In such cases children belong to the mother's family and not to the biological father unless he has paid the bride wealth. The daughter who grew up in her grandfather's house should be controlled by her maternal men even if she herself is a mother.

Nafeer:

Nafeer is the local name for the working party or as named by Wood (1971) "beer working party' for the relation between beer and *nafeer* at that time. *Nafeer* is an unofficial social institution where relatives, neighbors and friends agree on forming a group for the reciprocal exchange of labor and food, labor for food, or work for work on different activities. Members of a *nafeer* group are families, for which all the members of the family, women and men, are obliged to participate in the *nafeer*. In the agricultural nafeer, a coffee club serves as the group's foundation. The 'coffee club' is composed of women who take their daily coffee together. When a woman has an acceptable reason that constrains her participation in a *nafeer* held by other member, she must provide the coffee and sugar for the coffee club. The mechanism of the *nafeer* is that, the members agree to perform a certain activity needed by all or most of the members in turns. There is no chief or assistance as Wood (1971) found, but all the members of the group work as a team and decides who has the turn to hold the *nafeer*. Also they encourage each other in the work; if a member does not work properly the rest of the group will do the same in her/ his turn, and in the end this family might be terminated from the group if they continued working improperly.

Generally, all work is carried out in a friendly and lively atmosphere. The atmosphere makes the difficult tasks easy and helps maintain good social relations between the members. The member who holds the *nafeer* provides the group with the food.

Another type of *nafee*r mechanism is that the *nafee*r holder calls his relative, neighbors, and friends to help him in a work that is not necessarily needed by the others, like building. In return the *nafee*r holder provides food for the group. A third type of the *nafeer* is that, individuals (usually friends) work for each others, without food interactions. The first type of *nafeer* seems like mutual exchange of labor and food, the second like 'food for work' and the third like work for work.

Photo (10) & (11): nafeer

The n*afee*r holder provides meat and *Marisa* (a weak, but thick local beer brewed from sorghum) as the main components of the food. In the past, *Marisa* was considered as food in most rural area of the Sudan, as well as in Heiban. Since before the war, using of *Marisa* as food has declined and so it's important in *nafeer* was lessened. Before the war, people raise small animals mainly billies for *nafeer*. A n*afeer* holder used to slaughter one or two small animals or a bull, depending on the size of the farm and the *nafeer*. Meat is eaten together with *Kissra* (the traditional stable food in Sudan), which is made of early maturing sorghum produced in *jubraca* or in some cases from the surplus of the previous year. Women in a

nafeer group share the job of processing of the food, beside their participation in the main activity. Food provision was not obligatory for poor people, when they hold the *nafeer*. Usually, poor people cooperate with their neighbors and try to keep good relations with them in order to maintain their membership in the social network.

Today, people are poorer than before the war and the quality of the food provided has declined. It is unusual to slaughter an animal for the *nafeer*. Some people buy meat from the butcher or slaughter a chicken; others make it with beans and dry meat (*sharmoot*).

The first type of *nafeer* is commonly used in agriculture mainly in weeding and harvesting activities. Special agricultural *nafeer* is '*nafeer al-Khateeb'*, where betrothed youth (*al-Khateeb*) is obligated to hold a *nafee*r in the farm of his future father in-law. The second one is common in building activity, but it is also used in agriculture; such as "*nafeer ass-khulan'*. In "*nafeer ass-khulan'* some individuals gathered to form a *nafeer* team that work for payment in term of small billies (*sukhulan*). The last type of *nafeer* is common in small activities such as carrying wood home from the forest. The engaged girl is obligated to participate with the females' activities in the building of her future house. So, she gathered her friends to help her to carry wood home, to fetch water for building and to build the floor and paint the walls of her future hut.

Tribes and Classes:

Before the war, there were no clear social distinctions between the tribes. People lived in a homogenous society, and intermarriage between the tribes was normal (Suliman 1999b). But today the seedlings of social classification have emerged. The tribes are socially classified in a hierarchy with Heiban tribe at the top, followed by the Lira, the Otoro and then the Tira. This ranking is based upon the tribes' education, etiquettes, prestige and social participation. The hierarchy presently influences the tribes' entitlement to resources. People of the other tribes complain that Heiban tribe dominates all of the available opportunities. For instance, one from Otoro tribe claimed that "*They* [Heiban] *take every opportunity for training, and claim they understand every thing*." On the other hand people of Heiban tribe claim that the others are passive, shy and do not have the self-confidence to enable them to participate in the community. As it is stated by a health volunteer, "*All the participants in the health training*

are Abol [Heiban]. *The other tribes do not come to participate, except for one from the Tira and two from the Otoro*."

The gap between the Heiban tribe and the others is clear. It is particularly apparent on their education levels. As evidence for this claim, among the outgoing IDPs I interviewed in Khartoum only one person among the students was not from the Heiban tribe. Domination of access to limited resources by one tribe increases the gap in the community; more education and training in one tribe improves the human capital, increases self-confidence and social status, and then provides better access to resource.

Religions:

There are three religions embraced by the people of Heiban society: Christianity, Islam, and non-scriptural religions. Most of the people in Heiban are Christians, few are Muslims and embracers of non-scriptural religions are rare. Since the believers of non-scriptural religions are rare and have no effect in the community, I will deal only with the two other religions.

Christians:

There are three Christian groups and churches: Catholic, Anglican, and the Sudan Church of Christ. The Anglican Church is a new church for this town; before the war there were no followers of this church. In addition to their regular prayers and rituals, the three churches act together, through interchurch committee, in order to take part in other activities related to the community. Examples of these activities are the two workshops I mentioned previously in the training section. Women of each branch of Christianity are represented by one representative in the interchurch committee. Female representatives actively participate mainly in organizing domestic work, like cooking for the workshops' participants. A woman's activity is the monthly meeting, where all women of the three churches meet once a month, in one of the three churches in order to pray, and discuss social and religious affairs. The Christians are obliged to pay an unspecified amount of their harvest (*a'ashoor*) to their church. According to the *a'ashoor* payers, the collected harvest is distributed through the church to the poor followers. I have not cross-checked this statement by direct questioning, but when I asked interviewees if they received or have being receiving any support, none of them mentioned s/he received support from a church.

Islam:

There is one Muslims group following the main stream of Islam in The Sudan (*Sunni*) and there is one mosque. There used to be four religious schools *(Khalwa),* for teaching of the Koran and religious songs to the children. *Khalwa* was held almost daily in an open place in the evening, during which the members used firelight for reading. Teachers in these *Khalwas* were from other towns. However, because of financial problems they have quit teaching. During the study period only one *khalwa* was active. Muslims Women have a leader who is responsible for the women's *khalwa* that held once a week in the mosque.

Interaction according to religions:

Before the war Muslims and Christian lived in a peaceful atmosphere even within the same household (Rahhal 2001b; Suliman 1999b). They celebrated both religions' festivals together. All people practiced their rituals freely and securely. Today there is a silent tension between the two religious communities and the atmosphere is turbid. According to a father in the Sudanese church of Christ, some young people press their Christian parents to convert and threaten them by leaving the house. On the other hand, some Muslims think the Christians, through the activities of the Norwegian Church Aid, work to convert the young Muslims women. Muslims participants in the Norwegian Church Aid women's program think that there is discrimination against them, and that trainers in the program favor Christians and people of Heiban tribe. Most of the Heiban tribe people are Christian and all of the trainers in the program are Christians from Heiban tribe.

I have attended the graduation ceremony of this program. Only eighteen out of the 48 participants were awarded certificates. I noticed angry discussion among the participants; when I investigated I found that those who were awarded certificates were all Christians from the Heiban tribe; none of the eight Muslims participants received a certificate. According to the plan of the project, training opportunities should be shared equally among all the tribes and religions. The selection criteria for the program were implemented correctly, but the training, as I heard, was not. Another example of the discrimination was that when Norwegian Church Aids distributed relief commodities, first receivers were Christians and at the end were the Muslims. Again the staff held the same standards as the trainers. However, the same accusations were made when the Islamic institutions 'al-Zaka office' distributed relief commodities; the receivers were Muslims only.

Trainers and trainees are all from the community; thus conflict among them means conflict within the community. Such conflict potentially threatens the social relations of the entire locality. Favoring one religion or tribe, results in bias development of the community, as the rest will lag far behind. This bias is especially dangerous to the community if it exists in a form of training which can open new financial opportunities. This kind of behaviors is refer to as social execlotion which de Haan and Zoomers are defined as 'a process in which groups try to monopolize specific opportunities to their own advantage' (de Haan & Zoomers 2004).

The newly founded classification of the community according to the religion or tribe is a damaging problem for the community. This new phenomenon is one of the effects of the war, and will badly affect the community's social capital; mainly both religions are found in most of the households.

Clans and Social Relationships:

Kinship relations in the four tribes are the same: cousins are brothers and sisters, nephews and niece are sons and daughters, and step-parents, wives of uncles and husbands of ants are parents. The similar factors between the tribes also include their common mutual rights and claim between relatives. For example, the cousins cannot marry each other, but a male cousin can marry the widow of his late cousin. Another example is that, the female is obliged to perform the same domestic work for her biological brothers and her male cousins, if they have no sisters. Also, a father regulates over his nephews and nieces as he would over his biological sons and daughters. He also contributes in the bride wealth paid by the son and receives a share of that brought in by the daughter.

In the past clans used to live together, but due to the war, clans have been torn and displaced. Furthermore, people have looted and killed members of their clans or other clans. The crumbling of clans is affecting the traditional social network in the community. As a twenty year old girl exclaimed, "*they said I have brothers and sisters* [cousins] *in Port Sudan and Khartoum. I have never seen them. I do not know how I will treat them when they come back!*" Another example of the negative effects of the war on the social relations within clans was cited by several key informants, and told by a man from the family as follow: "*The cattle of my grandfather were looted by one from the family* [clan]. *This man* [the looter] *had paid*

*his bride price from the same cattle herd. My grandfather now is very sad and he always bitterly repeats '**if it was looted by somebody else, no problem but to be looted by one from the family this is the problem**."* I asked the teller how he and his clan feel about this man; he replied, "*There is general reconciliation in the cease fire agreement, but I decided that if I found something* [any animal] *with him I would take it. Unfortunately he has nothing. He is still a member of the family. We host him in our houses coldly and we have never asked him about what he has done. We do not trust him any more, and we do not share the family's affairs with him*." The phrase of the grandfather was repeated in the same words by the other key informants and some of them are concerned about his mental health as a result of this event. Another example, was brought forward by a lady after she sadly told me about her father — his wealth and social status, his braveness and how he was killed. At the end she said "*I know who had killed my father and my brother, but I can not do anything to them. I do not like to see them*."

I asked a question, in both individual's and key informants' interviews, about the change in the social relations with regard to assistance, *nafeer*, family ties, and respect of the elders and the community leaders by the youth. There was a consensus among the respondents that there is deterioration in these relations. Regarding *nafeer*, the poor people can no longer hold *nafee*r without providing food. As an example of the decline of "assistance" within the community, the answer of a man in the individual interview was, "*people are degraded in the humanitarian sense. You see, this is my mother. She is sick. I brought her from the mountain* [the village] *because she is very ill and nobody can take care of her. As you see I am alone* [no females live with him]. *None of the neighbors help me with her; the better ones come and ask how she is today*?"

There is deterioration of family ties. As stated by Haroon, "*you do not feel the warm emission of the family. If you did not live with them during the war time, you feel the suspensions in their eyes. The mistrust between the people results in the dissolving of the family relations*." Another example of the deterioration comes from the answer of a woman: "*family relations and ties are not as the same as the old one. Before the war my uncle used to invite us* [the family] *at his house. He would slaughter a billy, and I would brew a jar of merrisa and take it there. We would eat, drink, sing, dance, and have a nice time in a family atmosphere. At the end of the day they would give me meat in my jar and we went home happily. Today he no longer invites us. The family ties have weakened*." Some phrases

commonly repeated in different interviews are; love has declined, fear, mistrust, increased theft, and no help.

Concerning the question of the youths' respect of the elders and community leaders, Mahjoob Tira, chief guard in the Norwegian Church Aid and member of the traditional court, answered, "*In the old times children grew up with their parents and the parents told them how to behave in the community. So children respected their parents and the elders in the community; no child sat with the old people* [considered disrespectful], *and a man could order any child in the community to do favor for him and punish a child if s/he committed a mistake — the parents would say nothing. But today, children do not respect their parents as they did before and can sit with them and listen to their chats with visitors. Children use different words and speak about big things. You cannot ask any child on the road to do a favor, and if you try to advise her or him when they commit a mistake, they simply reply 'it is not your affair."* Another example cited by Mahjoob Tira and others, concerning the youths' loss of respect for community leaders, resolves around a conflict between policemen and some youth. The youth gathered outside their town with their weapons, deciding to fight the policemen. The community leaders went to them as an effort to cool them down and peacefully resolve the problem. None of the youths paid attention to the community leaders, but went on with their plan, until JMC interfered and solved the problem.

Many of the respondent's explanations to this phenomenon were that it was resultant from the displacement and contact with urban communities. But according to Angilo Komi, "*not only those who grew up in the towns, but those who grew up here behave in the same way. The reason is that parents during the war time did not provide food and the other needs for their children. Children moved freely to find their own needs. Consequently, they do not feel the family orbits that connect them and continue to move freely— even the girls act like the boys. Family orbits are broken…"* Other interviewee said that, *"youths today are 'strong-minded', do not respect the elder and always use violence. This is due to the war."*

Internal Displacement:

There are two types of displacement in the community under study. The first type, incoming internal displacement, refers to people who moved into Heiban town during the war course. The second is outgoing internal displacement, and refers to people who moved out from Heiban town during the war time.

Incoming Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs):

Incoming IDPs were forced to move from their homesteads to seek refuge in Heiban town. Most of them are from the Tira tribe and were pushed by their chief to move into the town. They are hosted by the community and get temporary access to the available resources. As I mentioned previously, they live in the houses and use the farms that used to be belong to the outgoing IDPs. Incoming IDPs often refuse to leave the houses for their owners, even if they demanded it. Further more, the incoming IDPs destroy the fruit farms of the original inhabitants. Those IDPs are expected to move to their original homesteads after comprehensive peace agreement.

Outgoing Internal Displace Persons:

Outgoing IDPs are people who fled from Heiban town during the war or during the situation of "no peace no war'. Of the first category of outgoing IDPs (those who fled from Heiban during the war), many fled to Khartoum or to rural towns such as Khor Dalaib (Nuba Mountains Region), Um Ruwaba (North Kordofan) or Gadarif (east of the Sudan). There is a consensus that IDPs from Heiban never lived in camps; it is considered as shameful for citizen of the town who has relation with Heiban. It is noteworthy that generous and hospitality are characters of the Nuba people. Living in a camp where there are some people from Heiban in the same town is considered as stinginess which is not acceptable among the Nuba of Heiban. In general, when the IDPs reached their destination they would be hosted by relatives until they found their own way. I interviewed key informants who had been displaced in one of the three towns mentioned above; according to them, the IDPs got access to land for farming and housing, in addition to the public services. Some of them now own their own houses and farms. For example, Magbola stated that, "in *Khor Dalaib, we have built a house of mud and cleared a peace of land for farming. Farming is easier than in Heiban, we can hire a tractor for cultivation; productivity is higher than in Heiban. In addition, we distill a'araqi* [local produced wine]. *Now we are not less than the people of the town in term of furniture. Our children are enrolled in schools. We are better off than when we were in* Heiban." IDPs in Um Ruwaba got access to farming land and produced for their own benefits. When they make enough money, they either buy residential land in the town or travel to settle in more urban town. The situation in Gadarif was described by Father Jamri: Displaced people in Gadarif rent houses and work in the labor force of the agricultural realm. Women work in processing and marketing of food and local alcohols. Many of the women suffer police harassment "Kashsha", either because brewing local bear considered as illegal or

the food producers has no licenses or health card. Children, as well as the rest of the citizens of the town, have become engaged in education.

Of those who have been displaced in Khartoum, some of them had stopped in a temporary station for some months or years, before they finally moved into Khartoum. In Khartoum, all of them lived with relatives, before building their temporary houses at the periphery of the city (*A'ashwayee*). *A'ashwayee* literally means 'arbitrarily' and used to represent that the area was not originally planned as a residential area — is without the basic public services such as water, electricity and schools. As time progressed, these places were developed as residential areas, and the inhabitants were given official deeds for their lands. This was the manner in which most of the IDPs interviewees settled. However, others are still in *A'ashwayee*, where some, who are not entitled to get land because they lived for shorter period than required, bought property. Also, other IDPs still live with relatives. Those who are un-entitled to residential lands are the second category of the outgoing IDPs. This category is composed of the IDPs who fled after the cease fire agreement to seek better lives (mainly education) in Khartoum. IDPs who have no relatives in Khartoum are hosted by Father A'awad until they find a job and house. Father A'awad is a physically handicapped priest from Heiban. He arrived into Khartoum in 1999, after he had played a vital role in mediation between the two conflicting parties at the local level. After being hosted for six months by the family of his niece, he moved into his private house in *Altrutwar*. *Altrutwa*r is a zone that has recently been planned as a residential area, but public services are not expected to be provided in the near future. Father A'awad's house was bought through the contribution of the Nuba people from Heiban locality who live in the urban towns. In addition to his housing of IDPs, father A'awad uses the house as a church and as a classroom for teaching languages. In these classes, English, Arabic and Nuba's languages are taught voluntarily by undergraduate-students.

Actually most of the displaced people in Khartoum are student at different education levels. The majority of the interviewees (mainly Heiban tribe) in Heiban town have houses and children in education realm in Khartoum or Port Sudan. According to Father Barnaba A'abas, there is an agreement between the Nuba of Heiban locality that families with children engaged in education should not return before the situation in the locality is improved and public services are provided. And, according to Father A'awad, "*education is more important than food. We encourage people, even the married ones, to continue their education even if it*

comes at the expense of their food; they should eat once a day in order to avoid quitting their education." There is one basic school in the displaced people's area; as I have been told by Afkar, a teacher in the school, "c*lassrooms are built of non-stable material. Seats are built from mud; because of this situation, the school is closed on rainy days. Teaching material is not enough and of bad quality. Children do not wear school uniforms and can not afford to buy the books. Pupils come to school without having breakfast. Hunger declines the pupils' concentration and interest in school. Also, children drop out of school because of their responsibilities to take care of the younger siblings while their mothers are looking for work.*"

There is no financial support provided to the students and they have to work in order to survive. Many of the student said that they could not continue their education because of financial problems. It is difficult to keep balance between work and education. Students, mainly undergraduates ones, hold off education for some years in order to earn some money. An example is Yousif Kodi, an undergraduate student, who works as a building laborer. Kodi rented a house and brought his sister and two brothers to live with him. He had held off education for two years in order to earn the income to enable him to sponsor his sister and brothers in their basic education.

Common livelihood strategies practiced by outgoing male IDPs, other than farming, include being a soldier, police officer, factory worker, building-laborer, carts worker, brick maker, car washer, or as peddlers. Females commonly work in selling food and tea, working in factories, cleaning public offices, being domestic workers, producing local alcoholic drinks, or peddling. There is complain among displaced women that it is difficult to find work; "E*ven laundry work is not easy to find*." Women leave their children at home and spend the entire day searching for small jobs. At the end of the day they come home with little or no money; if they make anything, it is often not enough to last for the next day's food.

I asked questions about social relations and family ties among IDPs. There is an agreement that social relations are stronger than before at the community level; people are keen for the development of the locality, as well as themselves. They contribute their efforts in order to provide the basic needs of the community. For example, they have dug a well at Abol village. Through the Erel union, they participate in enlightening the community, mainly the students, about the importance of education. Regarding family ties, there is an agreement that they have weakened and that many undesirable characters have emerged in the community.

Children, during the daily long absences of their parents, get engaged in the urban live. To escape the miserable situation and the feeling of hunger, many boys start inhaling silicone, a substance regularly used for repairing rubber, as a narcotic drug. Girls become prostitutes in order to get a meal. As Majda noted, "*before a girl experiences her first menstruation she finds herself pregnan*t." Integration of IDPs with the local community led to the adoption of marriage traditions which made marriage too expensive for youths to afford.

In my interviews, I especially considered those who officially acquired residential land among the IDPs because they are separated from their everyday practices and familiar environments, and are ruptured between Khartoum and Heiban. Physically, some parents are in Heiban and their children are in Khartoum. The existence of this rupture is clearly indicated in their answers to the question about their future residential plans. The most frequent answer made by undergraduate students is that their return depends on the availability of suitable jobs. Another common answer is that their return depends on their ability to rebuild their houses. A building laborer answered "*I work as a labor. At the end of the day, I take a shower, go out to eat roasted chicken or fish, and go to the cinema or watch different international channels on the television. Could I find all these things in Heiban*?" An educated man answered, "W*e, as a community, already lag far behind the rest of the Sudanese communities; why should people return to live in a situation such as that you have seen in Heiban* [no public services]."

Displacement is a weapon with two edges; some people mange to improve their livelihoods, while others deteriorate it.

Political Capital

Political capital is used to mediate access to the other five capitals by influencing the stream of entitlements available through "policies, institutions and processes"– either to gain access legitimately or illegitimately to such entitlements, or deny others access to them (Baumann, P. & Sinha 2001). Nuba people use their political capital, at national and regional levels, to influence the stream of entitlement in order to improve the socio-economical status of the region. I will summarize their political activities at both the regional and national levels because they encompass Heiban lifestyle also.

As it is stated in chapter three, the Nuba people have been engaged in politics, in the form of resistances and small revolts, since the colonial era. Examples of these revolts are: the Tagali revolt in 1903, the Talodi revolt in 1906, the Niyanj Mountain revolt in 1910, the Al Faki Ali Almiri revolt in 1915, the Sultan Ajabna revolt between April 1917 and February 1918 (Hassab-Alla,. 1992) the Al Faki Mirawi, the Tlishi and the Julud Timayn revolts in 1926 (Komey 16 June 2004). These rebels were against the subordination of new rule at that time, and desired to stay under the traditional tribal rule (Hassab-Alla, 1992). Nuba rebellions continued through the different governmental eras, as many sought development of the area.

The first political organization of the Nuba people was setup in1948, "*Al-Kutla Alswda*," the black bloc, which called for socio-economic development of the region and power sharing (Hassab-Alla, 1992; Jibear 2003; Kaffay 2004; Komey 16 June 2004). The organization was denied the right of registration as a political party, and consequently was denied the right to representation in the House of Representatives of 1953–1955. Despite the fact that the Nuba people participated in the liberation of the country, they were omitted from the mainstream political movement for independence, and from participation in shaping Sudan's national identity (Komey 16 June 2004; Komey August 2004).

Many other attempts to participate in the national politics failed, until the first registered Nuba party, called the General Union of Nuba Mountains, appeared in the mid of 1960s with the objectives of unifying of the Nuba people, abolishing of the poll (digniya) tax[55] which dehumanizes the Nuba people, obtaining a share power, and decentralizing and resuscitating the Nuba Mountain Province, (Jibear 2003; Kaffay 2004). The Union, led by Father Philip A'abbas Ghabbosh, participated with eight representatives in the parliament of 1965. The party failed to continue due to ideological dispute which erupted between Father Ghabbosh and Engineer Mahmoud Haseeb. The main contested point was the membership of non- Nuba people, which was supported by the later and rejected by the former. The dispute weakened the party and led to the reduction of the representatives in the Parliament to three seats. In 1969 the party, like the many other Sudanese parties, was dissolved by President Nimieri. Engineer Mahmoud Haseeb was appointed as Minister of Transport, and became the first Minster from the Nuba people. Father Ghabbosh continued his struggle from abroad and led a coup plots against the regime in 1969. Another coup plot led jointly by Nuba People, Father

[55] poll (digniya) tax is a tax for people paid only(?) by Nuba People

Ghabbosh, and southerners was attempted in 1976 (Komey, 16 June 2004; Kaffay, 2004 ;Kaffay, 1995 ;Hassab-Alla, 1992;Jibear, 2003).

In the 1970s and early 1980s, the Nuba Mountains experienced the establishment of a series of political organizations, including the Nuba Mountains Liberation Activists, the Nuba Organization, the Association of Nuba People, the Worker Party, Komolo (Youth) activists and the Sudan National party. The activities of these organizations were secret and followed Father Ghabbosh ideology of "Nubaness." Membership to these organizations was exclusively for Nuba people. The common aim for these parties is fighting injustice, marginalization, regional disparity in development, and Nuba culture preservation (Hassab-Alla, 1992; Jibear 2003; Kaffay 2004; Komey 16 June 2004; Komey August 2004).

Nuba representatives entered the parliaments and the Cabinet with great hope that they could improve the conditions of their marginalized region. However, the successive governments continued to deny the demands of these regional movements. This situation occurred even during the democratic governments (Komey 16 June 2004; Komey August 2004).

In 1985, the peaceful struggle shifted to violent struggle when the late Yosif Kuwa Makki, leader of *Komolo* movement, joined the SPLA/M. Kuwa was active in recruiting Nuba people in the SPLA/M. The first recruited person was Daniel Kodi from the Heiban tribe and then commander Abd Al Aziz AlHilu[56] (Akol 2001). The later Nuba struggle, beside the SPLA/M, was mentioned in chapter three.

As part of the political marginalization of the Nuba people during the colonial as well as post-colonial periods, they were denied any access to socioeconomic development. Actually, "They [Nuba people] have never benefited from any policies to enable them to catch up on the education gap. Nuba farmers are vulnerable to well financed and well-connected businessmen, civil servants, and military officers from northern and central Sudan, who came and buy up their land at cheap prices, and then drive them off " (Rahhal 2001a).

Historically, the participation of the Nuba women in political affairs has been poor. This is not strange when we consider the education and the general awareness levels of the women in

[56]AlHilu is from non –Nuba tribe , but his involvement in the Nuba political activities was supported by Father Ghabbosh

Sudanese culture; women throughout the entire country hold no significant roles in the politics. Evidence is provided by the findings of Dr. Guma Kunda Komey, in a fieldwork survey he had done for the UNDP in 2004. Komy found that women are "… excluded from any decision-making process at various political and constitutional institutions. The situation seems to be identical in all parties active in the region where there is always representation of one or two females at the highest organ of the party, usually with one female in charge of women affairs." The current twenty constitutional posts are dominated by men, as shown in the table below (Komey August 2004).

Table (4): Women Participation in the Constitutional Posts in the Region, 2004

Posts	**Males**	**Females**	**Both Sexes**
State Cabinet and Advisors	09	00	09
State Legislative Council Leadership	06	00	06
Commissioners	05	00	05
Total	20	00	20

Source: (Komey August 2004)

It is clear that the Nuba people possess a poor political capital which has prevented the achievement of significant change in their region — which includes Heiban. Even during the peace negotiations, the Nuba region was not considered separately from the southerners. Nowadays, the Nuba people were denied the right of self-determination, which will be practiced by the southerners after the interim period.

I have summarized above the history of political capital, at national and regional levels, exhibiting an impediment of local participation in the mainstream. The current local political capital of Heiban town is not easy to capture in the short period I spent in the field. Despite the difficulty, I will illustrate the power of political capital on the locality. As I have stated earlier, the Umda of the Tira tribe used his political power to change the mainstream entitlement rules of houses and farms in Heiban town, in order to illegitimately gain the accesses, for his people, of the house of the others (outgoing IDPs). Also, the Tira peoples' decisions to disrespect the housing committee's resolution in attempting to solve dispute over houses, exemplifies the power of political capital. Here political capital is not co-related with the social capital; though the Tira people are poor in the terms of social capital (social status),

they are rich in political capital, and were able to get away with their rejection of the committee's decision.

Female participation in leadership was first started by the representation of the women in the 'conflict resolution committee,' and in the 'worship houses' committees'. There is no representation of women in the civic administration, but, according to the Umda of Tira, there is a need to have women in the civil administration to mediate between the women and the Sheiks.

SECTION THREE

TRANSFORMING STRUCTURE AND PROCESS

Transforming structure and process is part of the mediation factors that facilitate or constrain the transformation of set of capitals assets into livelihoods strategies pursued by households (Ellis 2000). The first part of this section will discuss civil society organizations that work in Heiban as a transforming structure, while the second part discusses the institutions or customary laws prevailing in Heiban and function as a transforming process.

Transforming structure:

In the situation of 'no peace, no war' and the absence of the authorities that provide the public essential services, and help the community to restore its shattered livelihood, the civil society organizations play vital roles in this concern. The Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) that work in Heiban are Norwegian Church Aid (NCA), Save the Children / US (SCF/US) and the Joint Military Commission (JMC). The community based Originations (CBOs) are Erel, health volunteers, Civil Administration and Conflict Resolution Committee which work under supervision of JMC.

Joint Military Commission (JMC) and Conflict Resolution Committee:

The Joint Military Commission (JMC)**,** as defined in chapter four, has facilitated the peace and the mobility of the community, mainly the women. The Conflict Resolution Committees, CRCs, are the channels through which the JMC works in the community. The performance of the JMC in Heiban will be illustrated by a discussion of the performance of the CRC below, in addition to de-mining of the 16 Klm road that connect the town with Kauda[57], which was mentioned below. I will mention here one question addressed to some of the JMC's staff. I addressed a question to General Rindert W. Leegsma, Chairman JMC, and to the international observers in the police department, and SPLA/M representative in the department. The question was about prevalence of the incidences of rape in the region. The SPLA/M representative confirmed that incidences of rape are many and women are still suffering rape in the community. Contrarily and consensually the Chairman of JMC and the international observers in the police department came out with the answer that there is a

[57] Kauda, the head quarter of SPLA in the Nuba Mountains region

misunderstanding for the concept of rape. The international observers in the police department argued that all the cases reported and investigated were not considered as rape, because women were not enforced. Furthermore, in most of the cases reported by the fathers of the females, there was no sexual intercourse. The problem is that girls want to get married with youths that are objected by the fathers. Fathers reported cases of rape as weapon to constrain undesired marriages. This phenomenon supports the claims of respondents in Heiban that, girls today insists to marry whom they want regardless of the opinions of their fathers.

The conflict resolution committee:

The conflict resolution committee is a joint committee of the subcommittees of both Government and SPLA/M held areas. The committee was founded by the JMC after the Cease Fire Agreement. The main purpose of the committee is to assist JMC in observing the implementation of the agreement, to control peace in the locality, and resolve dispute between inhabitants of the two areas. Each subcommittee consists of eleven members, with women represented by one member. The committee is supported by police units and both work under direct supervision of JMC. In case of dispute between people from the two parts – for example theft of livestock from one side by people from the other side- the criminal is sentenced according to the customary law of his own side.

The committee works as a catalyst for peace building and reconciliation. By de-mining the road that connects Heiban with Kauda JMC reconnected the divided community and facilitated mobility of the community.

In addition the committee facilitates the establishment of three markets in the locality. These markets reduce the drudge of on-foot traveling for long distance, particularly for women who have to carry their products on heads to the market place. The location of the markets between villages that held by the two parties facilitates reconnection of the community and healing of the social networks' tissues that had been damaged by the war. It also helps in restoring of livelihood by facilitating trade and income opportunities and flourishing the economy of the community.

An important achievement for women as commented by Amina Kody Koko, the women representative in the committee, was that, the *committee facilitated the safe mobility of the women. Before the foundation of the committee women suffered rape by people from the*

other side even at the periphery of the town. Participation of women, for the first time, through a representative in a local administrative body, in my view, is a great achievement for women in Heiban. The representative meets often with women, individually and collectively, and discusses with them the obstacles that constrain their livelihoods, which is then reported to the subcommittee for further action.

Other achievement for the committee is that it facilitates the access of available health resources by the entire community of the locality. In this concern people of Heiban town get access to health services in Kauda which are not only better than those of Heiban, but free of charge as well.

According to the respondents, the committee has facilitated peaceful communication between the two sides and reduced the theft crimes and incidence of rape in the town.
By facilitating the rehabilitation of the infrastructures in the community and mobility of NGOs and the community, JMC has reduced people's vulnerability and increased their capacity to cope with the post war situation.

Norwegian Church Aid (NCA):

Norwegian Church Aid was the only active NGO at my arrival to Heiban. NCA has been working in the locality since 2002, and intervened with main objective of peace building and improvement of livelihoods through integrated approach.
In field of **basic education**, NCA has supported the infrastructure by rehabilitation of the two basic schools in Hieban, and the staff's houses, including latrines, and conducted a water station between the schools. Rehabilitation was carried out though 'food for work' activity which provided temporary jobs and food security for the local people.

NCA has equipped the schools by the needed furniture, for both the staff and the pupils. In addition it provided the needed teaching materials, texts books for all the levels, exercise books, pencils for the pupils, and sport equipment. It also provided a daily meal and school uniform for the pupils, and monthly incentives for the staff.

Other achievement in education in Governments held area in the locality is rehabilitation and provision of school materials for nine schools in eight villages, and provision of school

uniforms for pupils of five schools. In addition, NCA provided training and monthly incentives for the staffs (55 teachers) of the eleven rehabilitated schools.

By supporting the education, NCA created a comfortable atmosphere that contributed to improvement of teachers' performance and pupils' academic interest, which facilitate capacity building at the locality and secure the sustainability of the education at the basic level.

In the **health** realm, as it mentioned earlier, NCA provided essential medicines and incentive to the medical assistance. In addition, it facilitated improvement of HIV/AIDS awareness in the community through the workshops mentioned in the training part. Intervention in the health field is highly appreciated by the community, where it is commented by key informant that; without the medicines provided, half of the people may have been dead by malaria.

In the field of relief **and peace building**: NCA has facilitated the distribution of food rations provided by WFP, through years 2002 – 2003, in a community in a situation of hunger and destitution. As a catalyst for peace building and reconciliation, NCA has financed a workshop by the title: '*You Role in Peace Building*'[58] , and conducted a women project with the objective of bridging between the divided community. To achieve the same goal among the men, NCA has built a social club and equipped it with the need facilities for sport and entertainment.

NCA contributed significantly to Human capital by capacity building and health services. In contribution to the social capital NCA has put effort on reconciliation and revival of trust among the community. It is too early to evaluate the result, but I could say NCA has highlighted the most dangerous effect of the war; discrimination according to tribe and religion which was explained in the social capital. Underscoring the problem is the first step towards a radical solution.

NCA has participated in solving the **water** problem by installing water distribution system which distributes water into three stations, as mentioned earlier. This system has shortened the long queue and reduced time used by women in water fetching. In this regard, NCA has discussed with the community leaders, its plan to drill and install twenty water hand pumps in

[58] For more details see the training part of the Human capital.

the eleven villages in the locality. They agreed upon the location of the hand pumps but it is not implemented yet.

Save the Children / US (SCF/US):

Save the Children started its work in the town in 2002, by intervention to enhance resettlement, food security, water sufficiency, health sanitation and capacity building. To **enhance resettlement**, SCF/US provided the community by kits which include cloths and kitchen utensils. In relation to short-run food security, SCF/US distributed 210 metric tons of food stuff to a community of 218 households at that time. In the long-run plan for **food security** SCF/US provided the community by improved crop and vegetable seeds and production hand tools. In the frame of food security and restocking of livestock, SCF/US provided the 25 top vulnerable households with three goats for each, as a base for the reconstruction of their livelihoods.

At the time of seed distribution the community was starving and could not wait for the seed to germinate rather than to ripe and be harvested, so they consumed the seed directly. The goats were provided at insecured period so most of them were looted. The long run plan could enhance capability of the households, increase income and ameliorate food security.

In the field of **water and health sanitation**, to enhance water sources, which is the most obstacles of the livelihoods in Heiban, SCF/US has rehabilitated the *Donky* and the drilling of three hand pumps was in progress. Training of two community based agents in maintenance of the hand pumps was planned to follow the installation. Provision of water was preceded by establishment of 90 household pit latrines. Despite the fact that implementation of the pit latrines in some households was combined with technical problem, pit latrines have contributed to the environment and home hygiene.

In **capacity building** SCF/US contributed by the training of a midwife, veterinary workers, and a local agricultural extension agent (details in the training part).

Heiban People Association; Erel:

Erel is the name of Heiban People's Associations and the word 'Erel' refers to the geographical area that belongs to Heiban tribe. Wherein Heiban people reside in Sudan they form their own local Erel association. All Erel associations in Sudan participate in the development of Erel, the location, through the local Erel association. The local Erel in Heiban town was founded in 2002 as branch of Erel in Khartoum which was founded in 1996. In 2004, local Erel was officially registered as an independent CBO that works to serve Heiban people in the locality. Membership in the local Erel is automatic and free of charge for all Heiban people in the locality. Other people such as Jalaba, Falata and the other Nuba tribes in the locality, who have been living in the town for long time, have chargeable membership right. Local Erel works through administrative and executive body of fifteen members and five offices. One office is called the social office and is responsible for the social activities and livelihoods at the household level. To this end the office traces the vulnerable people that need urgent support and reports their cases to the committee for further action.

Another office is the women office, which works with women in order to fight illiteracy and what the elite of the community considered as dangerous norms and cultures. The dangerous norms and cultures targeted by the women office of Erel are circumcision, *Shelukh*[59], witchcraft and S*ibirs*.

The third office is the youth office, and is responsible for mobilization of the youth for participation in the public activities, such as voluntary teaching in the illiteracy class. The fourth one is the communication office, and was entrusted the task of communicate with the different Erels in the country, and other needed local communications. The fifth is the culture and press office and is responsible for the conservation of local cultures and reflect it outside the locality. Financially, Heiban's Erel depends on its own resources and the contributions from other Erels.

The local Erel is too young to be evaluated, but it could contribute to the development of the locality. One of the activities in progress is the provision of water for Abol village; the village of the main sub tribe of Hieban tribe. As I was told by Baranba Abd Elmajeed, the leader of the local Erel, a considerable amount of money is raised as a contribution from other

[59] *Shelukh* is the cutting of the cheeks of women in different designs as matter of decoration.

Erels for solving the water problem in the village. The inhabitants of the village will contribute by their labor.

Health volunteers:

The health volunteers[60] whom have been trained by the medical assistant in Heiban are not organized as a group, but I considered them here as a group for their vital role in the community and the possibility to be a seed for a Red Crest branch in the town. As it is mentioned in the training part, the health volunteers have been trained and could work independently in the primary health care and diagnosis and treatment of locally prevalent diseases. The volunteers work individually, each in her/his vicinity, in provision of health services mentioned above and broadcasting knowledge about sanitation and home hygiene which is highly demanded in the community. By performing these tasks health volunteers are contributing to improvement of the health status in the community and sustainability of the human capital.

Civil Administration:

Civil Administration is a system of rule that was re-established in Nuba Mountains region, including Heiban, by the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium administration. The system was an inheritable hierarchy of chiefs (*Umda/ Mak*) that mediate between the authorities and the population. Chiefs were granted a considerable judicial power as well as responsibility for taxation, (Manger 1994). The current structure of the chiefs system, presented hereunder, shows that at the top of the hierarchy sits a prince (Nazir before the war) and he heads seven Umdas/ Maks. The prince mediates between the governmental authority and the Maks. *Maks/Umdas* are the paramount chiefs in their communities. Under each Mak are number of Sheikhs/Umda; varies according to the number of the tribes in the specific area; for instance in Heiban locality there are five Sheikhs. The same Sheik responsible for example of Otoro in the locality is responsible for the Otoro in the town. Each Sheik is executive chief and has assistance and admin his tribe through different committees.

[60] For more information see the training part of the Human Capital and Health in the public Physical Capital.

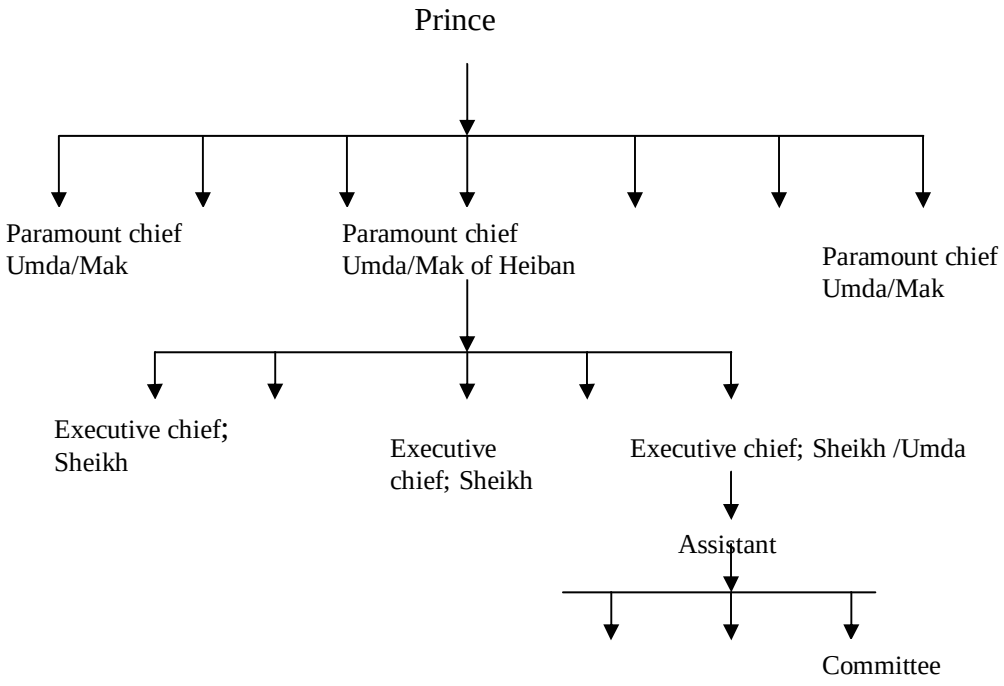


Figure (9): Structure of the Civil Administration in Heiban: Source: field work

The new in the chief system is that the positions are no longer inheritable within the chiefs' extended families. For example the ex paramount Mak of Heiban has two sons who- without bitterness continue his work as merchant but not his position as Mak. The prince is appointed by the government authority while Maks and Sheikhs are elected or approved by the community leaders on behalf of the community. Each Sheikh nominates his assistant and the members of the committees.

Sheikh is responsible for mobilization of people for the public work and to mediate disputes within his tribe, both in public and private arenas, and between tribes. Each Sheikh has his customary court that judge in minor crimes such as theft, family affairs; marriage, divorce etc and conflict between farmers and herders. Sheikh reports the bigger problems to the Mak and Mak reports the problem out of his authority; such as murder, to the courtyard. The traditional courts judge according to the customary laws in the locality, while the courtyard judges according to the civil laws of Sudan. Customary courts were judging with aid of *kojur*, but *kojurism* does no longer exist.

The ex-Mak of Heiban locality, Umda Osman Kunda, was shot dead in 2001. The new Umda, Hassen Al-Banna Koko Kodi, arrived to Heiban in December 2004. Since the death of the ex-Mak and the absent of the courtyard, the highest authority in the locality was the

Sheikhs. Each Sheikh rules his tribe only. The absence of both, the top chief of the hierarchy and the civil law, created a state of anarchy and authority vacuum in the community, that was gradually filled up by the JMC in the locality.

Transforming Process:

The concept 'Transforming Process' refers to the institutions and customary laws used in the community,(Ellis 2000) The role of the Transforming process is to establish a stable structure to human interactions, and consequently reduce vulnerability, (North, 1990).[61] In Heiban all the customary laws mentioned in the sections above are applied in the customary courts. Most of the customary laws have been applied even during the chaotic period.

Land tenure:

Land tenure has been prevailed since before the war, but, as Mahjoob Tira — assistant Sheikh of Abol tribe — noted, the civil administration plan to have some changes in the land tenure and title deed will be issued. It is noteworthy that the issue of women ownership of land was not raised yet. The customary law concerning land inheritance is applied but there is violation in the application of the new law of immigration into the tribe territory (see natural capital). As it is mentioned before, the incoming IDPs refuse to leave the houses for their legal owners. Some times both of the families; returnees and IDPs, lived in one house, which some times caused other problems. As an Example; a returnees family; mother, daughter and grandchildren, are sharing their house with an incoming IDPs family. The legal owner of the house demanded their house back when they returned from their displacement location. The incoming IDPs family refused to abandon the house, but allowed them to use two rooms. As it was told by the mother of the returnees family; *we complained to the 'house conflict resolution committee' and they alert them [*incoming IDPs family] *to leave the house, but they had not move. We talked with their sheikh but 'no live to whom you call'* [no response]. *The problem is that our children are living in a horrible atmosphere, because the husband* of the *incoming IDP- family often flogs his wife and throws her with whatever he comes across. Sometimes he threatens her with the knife in his hand.*

[61] Cited in Ellis, F. (2000). *Rural livelihoods and diversity in developing countries*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Ta'aweed:

The customary law of inheriting the widow '*ta'aweed' and* adoption of orphans is behind the relatively low number of female - headed households in Heiban community. All the females that head households are above 45 years old, except one; a 25 years old widow who lives with her seven years old daughter after the death of her husband and her direct in-laws. The clansmen inherited the cattle and left the widow and her daughter in the house. Not inheriting a widow is considered as shameful in Heiban, unless the widow is objected. However, those clansmen are not living in Heiban and the widow does not know where they are. I have no empirical data to explain the reason why shameful man is considered when not inheriting the widow, but it could be considered as a mater of wasting the wealth (bride wealth) of the deceased.

Kindred Relation and Family Ties

Kindred relation and family ties are behind the absence of child- headed households in Heiban community. Three groups of siblings in Heiban town have lost their parents due to war. The sibling of one group live with their adult sister, while those of the second one live with their grandparents and get support of an uncle. The third group was a 7 years old daughter and lives with her 78 years old grandmother. The last group receives charity from some neighbors.

The child belongs to the bride wealth:

The law of 'The child belongs to the bride wealth' is at the peak of its application in the customary courts. According to the Umda Bahar El-Deen; Sheikh of Salahab[62] tribe: many men disappeared during the war time. Their wives have been inherited or remarried with other men, and have gotten children with them. After the cease fire agreement the first husbands appeared and disputes over the wives and the new children were onset. Such disputes were brought to courts. Because the payment of the bride wealth was suspended during the war time, courts rule that both the wife and her new children were to follow the bride wealth paid by the first husband.

[62] Is a non-Nuba tribe that has been living for long time in the locality. It is the tribe of Abdel Aziz AlHilow; commander of the Nuba rebels.

Hoof 'Duluf' and 'ear by ear' laws:

Hoof 'Duluf' and 'ear by ear' laws: are examples of the laws applied to the cases of farmers-herders' conflict. Duluf which literally means hoof is applicable in situations where farms are damaged in their early stages. In this case damage will be assessed by the agriculture committee of the tribe and compensation will be paid to the farmer. 'Ear by ear' law is applicable in situations of damaging the ears of sorghum or maize. In such cases the same number of ears of the crop been damaged should be repaid to the farmer.

SECTION FOUR

LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

Livelihood strategies in the framework used in this study are classified into agricultural activities and diversification activities. In this section, activities of both categories, that are practiced in Heiban; and their contributions to people's livelihoods will be discussed.

Agricultural Activities:

As it is mentioned earlier, all the Nuba people are farmers who depend on traditional cultivation and herding as the main activities. Both cultivation and herding activities will be highlighted hereunder.

Cultivation:

Cultivation is the main activity that generates means of living in Heiban. Nuba people of Heiban practice three types of farming;

Fruit Production Farming:

As it is mentioned above, the fruit production farms are owned by a few people. Fruit farms are small areas that are cultivated in a non-scientific way. That is to say, the spacing is too narrow, leading to reduction of trees productivity. Fruits produced in these farms are mangos, lemon, guavas, papaya, custard-apple and a few trees of bananas and grapefruits. Some of these trees, particularly mango and lemon, are cultivated in the houses' yards as well. Fruits are produced for both consumption and commerce purposes, especially mango, which is used to be marketed domestically and internationally. Fruit production has no considerable local market, and every household has free access to mango trees. As stated previously, during the war period fruit farms were accessible for all people from the town, but only under the protection of the army. In addition, troops of SPLA/M have looted the farms, leaving the fruit seeds scattered all over and all around the farms. Consequently, trees of custard apple and guavas today are gown wildly among the other forest trees, and custard apple is gathered in small amounts as wild fruit. Fruits, being important for people's nutrition, are sometimes eaten in special ways. Mango, for example, can either be eaten as raw fruit or cooked and eaten with the traditional food. In addition its leaves can also be cooked and eaten during the food gap period.

Crop Production Farming:

These are mainly devoted for the production of the stable crop; sorghum. A heavy, late maturing, variety of sorghum *(Kulum*) is produced in these farms. *Kulum* is sown in late April \ early May, and harvested in November, (see table 5). The farms are highly infected by weeds, which impose necessity of weeding for three to four times in order to get a good harvest. After the harvest of *Kulum*, it is left to dry, then threshed and grinded before processing. Sorghum flour is used to produce *kisra* and porridge, which are the traditional food for Sudanese people. *Kisra and* porridge *are* eaten with different types of sauce; *Mulah*. The main types of *Mulah* in Heiban are prepared from the local products. Another traditional food in Hieban is *Balyla*. The ingredients of *Balyla* are sorghum, sesame, ground nut beans and leaves of some plants. Other crops that are produced in these farms are cow beans and local variety of cucumber (*tibish)*.

The cash crops produced in these farms are sesame, ground nuts, hibiscus, and pumpkin. Pumpkin is grown mainly because of its seeds. The flesh is considered as a byproduct, which is chopped and dried to be eaten in the summer season. Using of manual tools for production is a labor consuming process, and renders labor as the main input in the farming system of Heiban. Thus, cultivated area depends on the availability of the labor force for the household. Although people considered the productivity of the farms low, they had no attempt to use any kind of fertilizer rather than burning the remains of the stalks or allowing the cattle to graze on it and leave their dung.

Farmers diversify between food crops and cash crops, but both are not enough to generate annual living. Harvest, in most cases, is not enough to sustain consumption for six months. It is, therefore, supplemented by purchased stuff, *jubraca* products, and gathering.

Backyard farms (Jubraca):

Jubraca is considered as a supplement for crop farms. A light, early maturing, variety of sorghum (*abb-ahmed*), maize and beans, in addition to pumpkin, okra, *tibish* and *umnjaw*[63] are produced in *Jubraca. Jubraca* is sown in late June. After the sowing of the crop farms is accomplished, it is weeded for two to three times, and harvested in late September or early October, (see table 5). The ears of *abb-ahmed* and maize are boiled and eaten fresh. The

[63] *umnjaw* is a Local vegetable looks like squash

other products of *jubraca* are used as ingredients for *Mulah.* In addition to domestic consumption, *jubraca* products are used for conducting *nafeers* for the crop-farms.

Table (5): Year calendar and gender division of labor in farming

Month	Crop -Farm	Jubraca	Females	Males	Comments
January	Land clearing		bushes	Big trees	Clearing is only when accessing new land. trees chopping is done by female if there is no male in the HH
	K. threshing		Transport it to & from the yard	Thresh it	
February	Land clearing		bushes	Big trees	
	K. threshing		Transport it to & from the yard	Thresh it	
March	Land clearing		bushes	Big trees	
April	Burning grass & branches		Females only		
May	Sowing: Kulum, beans, tibish abb-ahmed, maize		Together	Together	S. farms Stopped in Middle of June, & start in jubraca
June	sowing & re-sowing weeding		Together	Together	
		Sowing	Female only		
July	Weeding, sowing of sesame , GN		Together	Together	w. starts at end of June and continue when needed 93 - 4 times) throughout Oct.
		Sowing	Female only		
August	W. H. of abb-ahmed, maize		Together	Together	
			Female		
	Transport product to House		Female		
September	W. H. abb-ahmed, maize		Together	Together	
		Harvest	Female only		
October	W. Tying kulum[64] H. S. and GN		Together	Together	
November	H. of K. ,		Together	Together	
	Food for nafeer		Female only		
	threshing of S.		Together	Together	
	Transport product to House		Only		
December	H. of K. ,		Together	Together	
		Clearing	Female only		
	threshing of S.		Together	Together	
	Transport product to House		Only		

Key: K. = Kulum, S = sesame, GN = groundnut, H = harvest, W = weeding

It is noteworthy that, while both genders participate in the activities of the crop farm, it is females only who are responsible for *jubraca.* Furthermore, women have complete control over the production of the *jubraca*. They are the decision-makers in terms of what should be

[64] The stalk of the Kulum is too long and weak to stand the wind and carry the ears, so stalks are herded into groups and each group is tied together to make it hold.

used for food at once or for conducting *nafeer*, what to be stored and what to be converted into cash in order to buy ornaments for themselves or for their daughters or even to buy livestock. The table above shows the year calendar and gender division of labor in farming activities.

Herding:

As it is mentioned above, Nuba of Hieban are poor herders and ownership of livestock is a sign of wealth and social prestige. Livestock in Hieban is comprised of cattle, goats, pigs, and fowls. Pigs and fowls are women's responsibility and are kept at home. Goats are children's responsibility and, most of the time, are kept at home where they can be fed on eatable stuff from the vicinity. Goats sometimes are herded with the cattle, which are the male's responsibility. Because the number of cattle owned by a household is small, herders cooperate in the herding activity. Three to five households herd their cattle together, and share the work in shifts. As Nadel (1947) has found, in the rainy seasons animals are kept in special camps outside the town, where the natural pastures and rain water are available, while in the dry seasons they are kept in the town for the availability of the water and to feed on the grain stalks of the *jubraca*. In addition, they get protected from the attacks of hyenas and leopards that roam in the area during the dry season (Nadel 1947). Seasonal grazing routine today is the same as what Nadel has found, except for the fact that the cattle need to be protected against raiding and looting instead of being protected against wild animals' attacks. As it was mentioned previously, looting and raiding of cattle was practiced during the warfare by troops of both warring parties, as war strategy. Looting was practiced by the civilian also, and they continue practicing raiding in a decreasing rate after the signing of the cease fire agreement. Cattle herders are nightmares for the farmers. Herders often allow their cattle to roam in the farms especially during the night before the farms get completely harvested. This phenomenon is new in the community and key informants explained it as being the result of the close contact of the Otoro children with Bagara during the war time.

Livestock is owned to provide bride wealth and dowry and to make sacrifices in addition to meat and milk supply. Milk production per cow is very low. Milk, as already noted by Nadel (1947), is not nutritionally valued in the community. Very few people drink milk, but some of them used to eat thick porridge with sour milk. Meat, in contrast, is a very important

component of food in Heiban. As it is estimated by key informants, meat composes about 30 – 70 percent of the annual food. It is provided by fowls[65]; domestic and hunted ones, pigs, goats, calves, old pull and in rare cases by cows. It is an important ingredient of *mulah,* and its importance increases during the food gap period, when the crop stock is exhausted and no food source other than mango, guavas, and leaves of wild plants is available (see table 6).

Poultry breeding in Heiban is mainly for its meat, for it is not common to eat eggs. As a taboo among some tribes, such as Otoro, eating eggs and chicken is prohibited for women. But commonly, egg is rare to be eaten among the entire community. I have not investigated this issue but the reason could be taste preference.

Diversification:

People of Hieban town, who are farmers and herders, diversify their livelihood in the short run by diversifying the food and income sources such as gathering and hunting, self employment, seasonal migration and paid work. Their long run diversification plan is by adjusting their portfolio of assets and activities, such as investing in the education of the children to improve their prospects of obtaining non agricultural jobs.

Gathering and Hunting:

Wildlife gathering or hunting was portrayed by Nadel (1947) in a frame of social and religious activity that had no significant nutritional value. Hunting games was an organized activity where two or three men (kin or friends) used to go together and stay out for about three days to return with a large animal that can feed many people. On the other hand, hunting of small-animals was practiced in pairs or individually. Hunting today is practiced as a source of food where all hunted animals and gathered insects are eatable except some tribes like Otoro which considers this as a taboo for women. This change in the motive of hunting could be due to deterioration of the assets endowed by the community as a result of the war which has led to need for food

Wildlife available around the town is only guinea fowls and some other birds. Hunters are dominantly men, but women can use traps for hunting of fowls, and they monopolize

[65] I considered fowls among meats because locality it is considered as meat.

gathering of *umrum*. Grass hopers are gathered by children. The equipment which they used for hunting is rifles and traps.

Gathering of wild fruits, as mentioned earlier, is important as a source of cash rather than food. The most valuable wild fruit as a source of food is wild okra (*Saara*). *Saara* is collected by women for local consumption and for commerce. *Umnjaw* is a local vegetable and looks like squash, which are gathered during the rainy season and eaten fresh. Other important gathering is the leaves of (*Tabaldy*) and (*A'aradaib*) trees which are consumed as salad. They are chopped and mixed with sesame or nut butter.

Gathering, pre-marketing preparations and marketing are practiced by women and children. Women have full control over their gathering, and they usually put aside some of it for household consumption and participate in purchasing of household needs. Table (6) below shows the year calendar for availability of wildlife and gathering as sources of food in the area.

Self-employment:

Self employment opportunities are limited in Heiban. The available opportunities are:

Photo12: Women sell females' perfumes in the market

Trading: Some men own shops at the market where they sell basic consuming goods. Few of them are veteran traders, while most of them are new in business terms. All goods are brought from Khartoum. One veteran trader travels to Khartoum and buys the supplies needed by the other traders. I do not know to what extent trading improves the livelihoods of the traders, but it is indicated by both women and men as a criterion for wealthy people in Heiban.

Restaurants and tea makers;

Two restaurants are available and a few women make tea. They have a good selling opportunity during the market days. Other days' selling is low.

Bed renting:

A woman owns about fifteen beds which she rents to the villagers who come for the market day. She rents a bed for 1000 Sudanese pound per night. It is considered as good earning, but she does not rent all of them at the same time.

Petty traders:

Most of the people are petty traders. They sell cash crops and gathered products to the traders from the other regions. Petty trading is important for the entire community and it is the only source of cash for most of them. Some people sell sorghum and small animals to get cash for buying other needs. As petty traders, two women sell female-perfumes as mentioned earlier, and a woman makes *weaka* and sells it in Khartoum.

Tailor:

Tailor in Heiban could be practiced by both gender, but currently, only one man works as tailor. A previous tailor quit and started a different job due to decline of the income generated by the tailor. He said '*people come to me either to repair their old clothes or to make the readymade one fit to them'*. This confirmed by a women and the current tailor. This phenomenon is prevailed in many places in Sudan; people considered the readymade clothe as better in term of fashion and price. In addition men engaged in jobs like blacksmiths, one pharmacist, a mill, a bakery and a butcher.

Migration:

Migration means that one or more family members leave the household for different periods of time, and make new contribution to its livelihood, (Ellis 2000). Since before the war, people of Heiban have been practicing two types of migrations:

Permanent migration:

In this type of migration a family member finds a permanent job in an urban area, where he consequently establishes a permanent domicile. Migrants commonly, seek to settle in towns where they are likely to find job opportunity such as Khartoum, Kosti, Kinana and Port Sudan. There is no significant remittance to the original household in Heiban, but the new domicile provides accommodation for the second type of migrants and forms a fall-back position mainly during the war. As it is stated above, the outgoing IDPs from Heiban have never lived in camps. They had been accommodated by the permanent migrants until they established their own domiciles. Furthermore, permanent migrants are still accommodating relative students who fled for educational reasons.

Seasonal migration;

Since before the war, young men of Heiban have been practicing a form of seasonal migration. Seasonal migrants are pushed from one side by the need to accumulate the bride wealth and pulled from the other side by the availability of marginal jobs in the urban communities. They used to move away during the slack period and return at the beginning of the agricultural season. The main goal of this type of migration was to generate income to be used in the bride wealth payment. Therefore, remittance was of no significant contribution to the livelihoods of their households. The indirect contribution they achieved was by reduction of the consumption of the household stock, and the need to convert crop to livestock so as to be used in the bride wealth. This kind of migration is disturbed by the war and confused with the forced migration (displacement). Youth are no longer returning to participate in the agricultural season. Their motive to stay in the urban cities is for obtaining education rather than for marginal jobs and wealth accumulation.

Women in Nuba community of Heiban, have practiced the first type of migration as wives of the migrants, but have never practiced the second type. This limited participation of women in migration could be explained by the motive of the migration and the culture of the community.

Paid work

Paid job opportunities available in the community are limited. Norwegian Church Aids has employed five local officers in addition to six trainers who received incentives. Other wage earners are; one teacher, two pensions, one medical staff, staff of the churches and two cleaners. Few households do not have enough labor to cultivate independently, and so they hired by other farmers to work in their farms.

Education

Most of households in Heiban reinvest the livelihoods outcome in human capital by reinvesting in education. As stated earlier, people of Heiban draw on the social capital and send their children to relatives in other areas for better education opportunities. On the other hand, displaced people — as I was told by key informants — minimized their food intake in term of quantity or quality, in order to pay the school fees for the children. By investing in education, households change the composition of the assets they possessed, and hence the future livelihoods strategy portfolio.

Considering Zoomers (1999) categorization of the strategies, Heiban community follows compensatory strategies. After they experienced downward mobility due to the war they are struggling to revive their livelihood platform.

The pathway of the community:

The Nuba people of Heiban were subsidy farmers. They invest their human capital in traditional farming to produce their food. In addition they hunt/ gather wildlife and forest products. The farmers improve their social status by investing the surplus of the farm products in livestock. Some few people entitled personal characters that allowed them to engage in trading activities and move to higher social status. While few others mange to continue their education that enable them to follow waged jobs and acquire better social status.

Presently, there are some changes in the community pathway. More people- of both genders are engaged in trading. They start as petty traders even before they own livestock.

Furthermore, some people have expanded their production of cash crop at the expense of the stable crops. They acknowledged the inefficiency of investing their limited labor force on production of the stable crops and preferred to buy their food after selling their cash crops. Other people managed to resume or continue their education and have being working in waged jobs. Most of the farmers, herders and traders are very keen to invest in education, which might lead to a great change in the pathway for the next generation.

SECTION FIVE

LIVELIHOOD OUTCOME

In this section I will discuss the achievements of the livelihood strategies and their contribution to food and income security and wealth and poverty of the households. Wealth status is analyzed according to two different tools; livelihood approaches and wealth ranking and social mapping. The relation between the two tools is explained in addition to gender and wealth analysis.

Food security

As it is obvious from the previous section, people of Heiban live from agriculture supported by wildlife and non timber forest products. Support products are used as complementary products to the stable food but not as substitutive ones. As it is mentioned before, the meal normally is composed of kisra/ thick porridge as stable food and *mulah*. The main ingredients for the traditional *mulah* are onions and meat, but in other *mulahs*' types, different ingredients are used such as sour milk, beans, pumpkin, okra, *weaka* and the leaves of some plants. I remember, one day while I was traveling in the crop farms, I was invited by a family to join them in a meal. It was thick porridge with *mulah* '*um talata'*. The *mulah* is called '*um talata'* because it is composed of three (*talata*) ingredients; water, salt and *weaka*. Another dish was *balyla* which is described above. People normally eat two meals per day and some have nibbles in between. Nibbles ingredients depend on what is available; it could be boiled pumpkin, fruits, grass hoper, *umrum*, or any other type of gathered products.

Photo (13): store of maize

Table (6) shows the year calendar for the availability of the different products used for consumption or marketing. *Kulum* is ready for consumption in January and it lasts for five or

six months, while Abb Ahmed and maize are ready by the end of September and last for about three months. The period from June to late September is considered as food gap (*maja'a*) for approximately all of the people. During the food gap (*maja'a)* period people buy their food from the local market, if they have cash or small livestock, and eat one meal a day. Other sources of food are the mango trees, where both fruits and leaves are eatable, and the leaves of other wild plants as well. Currently, the usual length of the *maja'a* period is about four months, while others suffer for about eight months. The length of *maja'a* period varies according to the production/consumption ratio per household. As a result of the war, the production/consumption ratio per household has declined, and the food security as well. Some households are composed of either old couples, or two old women living together. These families produce only on *jubraca* and the product is not enough for more than two or three months.

Table (6): Year calendar for availability of products for use

Date	Fruit	Jubraca	Crop	Gathering	Wildlife
January	P,B,L,		kulum	*Tabaldy*k, *halook A'aradaib, Doom, halook, Laloop, Nabaq*	*Fowls, Grass hoper , umrum*
February	P,B, L.		kulum	*Tabaldy*k , *Doom A'aradaib, halook*	*Fowls, Grass hoper, umrum*
March	M, P,B, L,		kulum	*Doom , halook ,Tabaldy*k *A'aradaib*	*Fowls, Grass hoper, umrum*
April	M, G, P,L		kulum	*Tabaldy*k *A'aradaib , Doom, halook*	*Fowls, Grass hoper, umrum*
May	M, G L		kulum	*A'aradaib, Dalaib*	
Early June	M, G, L	FOOD GAB for some people		*Dalaib*	
Late June	M, G, L	FOOD GAB for some people			
July	M, G, L	FOOD GAB (*MAJA'A* PERIOD)			
August	G, L				
Early September					
Late September	G, CA, L	Abb-Ahmed, maize, beans pumpkin , okra	Abb-Ahmed, maize, okra	*Jogan, Midyaka, Humiad*	
October	CA, L	Abb-Ahmed, maize, pumpkin ,okra, beans	Abb-Ahmed, maize, okra	*Jogan, Midyaka, Humiad*	
November	GF, L	Abb-Ahmed, maize, pumpkin , okra,beans	S. and GN, pumpkin , okra	*Tabaldy*k, *Doom, halook, Laloop, Nabaq, Saara*	*umrum*
December	P,B,GF. L	Abb-Ahmed, maize, pumpkin , okra,beans	S. and GN, pumpkin, okra	*Tabaldy*k, *Doom, halook, Laloop, Nabaq*	*Fowls, umrum*

Key: M = Mango, L = Limon, G = Guavas, P = Papaya, CA = Custard apple, B= Banana GF =grapefruits, S = sesame, GN = groundnut,

Income security

As stated before, cash is very important for the payment for the food as well as for the payment for water, education, health, and grain grinding. Before the war, the main source of cash for the Nuba of Heiban was the livestock. As mentioned earlier, livestock ownership has declined due to raiding, looting, diseases, and consumption during the war time. As a consequence, cash entitlement has declined. Currently, the main sources of cash income, for most of the people, are cash crops and gathered non timber forest products which are both seasonal sources. Furthermore, the expansion in cash crop production implies a reduction in sorghum production. That is, the availability of the additional food stuff and services is conditioned by the reduction of the stable food and visa verse. Therefore, farmers have to balance the use of their limited labor force between the production of stable food and cash crop.

Table (6) shows the time of availability of the cash crop and non timber forest products for gathering and marketing. The time of low income that is generated from both sources does not coincide with the peak of the cash need; *maja'a period*. Since the cash generated is consumed immediately, only a few people can buy small animals. Small animals, as a saving strategy, will be reconverted into cash during the food gap period. Recalling the livestock's acquirement process that is discussed in the financial capital part and the traditional agricultural production method that allows only a few people to make surplus, cash entitlement is very difficult to be attained, leading to serious problems of cash shortage in the area. This problem has enlarged as a result of the war. As it is argued above, the producers/consumers ratio has declined, followed by a decline in the production and saving. Other reason for steeping down of the cash income in the community is the eroding of the livestock during the war time which is mentioned frequently in this study.

An example of coping strategy to survive the problem of balancing the limited labor force between production of stable food and cash income is that one adopted by a young couple. They are considered as a better off family. The husband receives a reasonable monthly salary and the wife operates a small trading business between the town and Khartoum, and they managed to send their five children to study outside the town. During the agricultural season they produced cash crop more than sorghum. They generate enough cash that enables them to buy 'enough food stuff'.

Wealth and poverty

It is useful here to remind the reader about the definition of poverty that is used in this study; '*… poverty refers to the lack of physical necessities, assets and income'* (Chambers 1995).

Wealth and poverty in this study are assessed according to two approaches. The first approach is the absolute poverty approach which is indicated by the lack of basic needs, and is measured by sustainable livelihood tool. The sustainable livelihood approach is used as a tool to assess lack of basic needs due to the strong relation between the basic needs and the capital assets investigated in this study. The second approach is the community perception approach which is a subjective approach used to assess the community perception of wealth and poverty. The community perception of wealth and poverty is measured by wealth ranking and social mapping tool.

Assets and basic needs approach:

As mentioned above, assets underscored in this study are the providers of the basic needs (Food, shelter, schooling, health services, potable water and sanitation facilities, and employment opportunities) that determine whether a household or a community is in absolute poverty status or not. I do not want to repeat here what has been discussed throughout the previous sections of this chapter about the assets status of the Nuba of Heiban and how it has been affected by the war. But I would like to conclude that when the war was onrush, the community was rich in term of the natural capital under concern: land, water, wildlife and forest products. However, the community was poor in term of public physical capital such as roads, education and health facilities. The war had badly affected and destroyed the already poor and insufficient physical capital: water sources, schools, health services, houses, markets, and roads. In addition, the war has destroyed the laborforce and the livestock which are the main inputs that are used to secure people's livelihoods in term of food and social relations.

The positive effect of the war on the assets possessed by the Nuba of Heiban is that impaved formal and informal education opportunities became allowed to the outgoing IDPs. Formal education has been obtained through accessing different schools and universities instead of competing over limited schools in the region, and informal education is obtained by acquiring

different skills through performing different jobs. The new skills have opened new job opportunities in the locality, such as emerging of new traders in the local market that was dominated by the *jalaba*, and the above mentioned activities that were preformed only by women. Both formal and informal education opportunities affected the local capacity building and enhanced the general awareness.

Community perception approach:

The community perception of wealth and poverty was assessed by a participatory method and each gender perception was assessed separately. Women came out with seven criteria of the wealthy person in Heiban while men came with four. The final committee that discussed the finding of both gender agreed on six criteria that were used to classify the community. These criteria indicate the needs of each gender.

Criteria of the wealthy person in Heiban

Both genders mentioned that the owing of cattle as the main criterion for the wealthy person in Heiban. This criterion was confirmed by all respondents, but a woman has touched the concept of the well being in the community when she said; "yes *those who own cattle are wealthy but they are not better than us. They do not dress like us and their homes are not clean and well furnished like ours"*. Actually, most of the cattle owners are from Otoro and Tira tribes, and have no remarkable social status in the community. Social status in the community is indicated by the well being — dress, furenture and home and self higyne. Considering the role of cattle as a financial capital and its important role in the social capital that is mentioned above, owing cattle is an important sign of the wealthy person regardless to the number of heads owned and the well being of the owners. Practically, the cattle owners work to accumulate wealth in form of cattle and do not concern about their well being.

Other criterion mentioned by both genders is the production of enough harvest, which is considered by the committee as the harvest enough for eight months, and the possession of a large shop or a mill. Nobody produces enough harvest for the entire year. To have 'enough harvest' implies to have high producers/ consumers ratio. Considering the fact that the wife is the main producer in the household, the highest producers/consumers ratio is found within the compound families. This is supported by the fact that all the compound families are classified as better off families.

The women group added that the wealthy people could educate their children or have monthly salary. Monthly salary, large shops and mills, are connected in the function of provision of cash income. The importance of the cash income, particularly, during the food gap period, reflects the importance of the cash for food provision.

The education criterion is highly supported by the women. When a woman mentioned education of children as a sign of the wealthy people in the women's meeting, she turned to the young girls and asked if she was correct. The girls shouted *yes, yes we need education,* and then gave a hand clap for the woman. It is notable that men did not mention education in their general meeting, but most of the male respondent mentioned the need for education in the community. As a support to the high demand for education among the community, many households have sent their children for schooling outside the town, and the outgoing IDPs have conditioned their return with the availability of sufficient education facility. Emphasizing the need for education by the community means that they are acknowledged that the traditional agriculture is a tiresome and economically inefficient activity to support livelihoods. Children education will change the future composition of the assets possessed by household, and entails the availability of jobs opportunities. Job opportunities at the locality and regional levels are very limited. Possibility of investment opportunities in a locality that is rich in natural resources is high, and could create high local job opportunities.

Linking the two approaches

There is a close relation between the asset access approach and the criteria of the wealthy person in Heiban as defined by the community. The first criterion is the possession of cattle, which represents, on one hand, the financial capital in terms of saving, the payment process of bride wealth and reciprocal claim. Livestock on the other hand represents the social capital in terms of marriage and payment of the bride wealth. Having enough harvest encompasses land and water as natural capitals, production tools as private physical capital, *nafeer* as social capital and labor and their health as human capital. Labor health implies the availability of health services which is a public physical capital. Education is the main part of the human capital, and implies the availability of schools as public physical capital. Possession of shops or mills represents the market which is a public physical capital, and implies the availability of roads and means of transports which are both public physical capital.

Classification of the community

The committee has utilized the six criteria that are mentioned above to classify the community into three categories; better off households that possess four or three items of the criteria. Middle households possess three or two of the criteria, while the poor possess one or none of the six criteria. The most common example of the criteria of the better off persons are; owning cattle, having enough harvest for eight months, having stable source of cash income and the ability to educate the children. The middle category owns the same criteria except the stable source of the cash income while the poor possess parts of some various criteria. The table below shows the classification of the community according to the wealth categories, with gender of the head of each household (HH).

Table (7): wealth classification of the community

Gender	poor	Middle	Better off	Total
Female headed HH	102	2	0	104
Male headed HH	99	41	24	164
Total	201	43	24	268

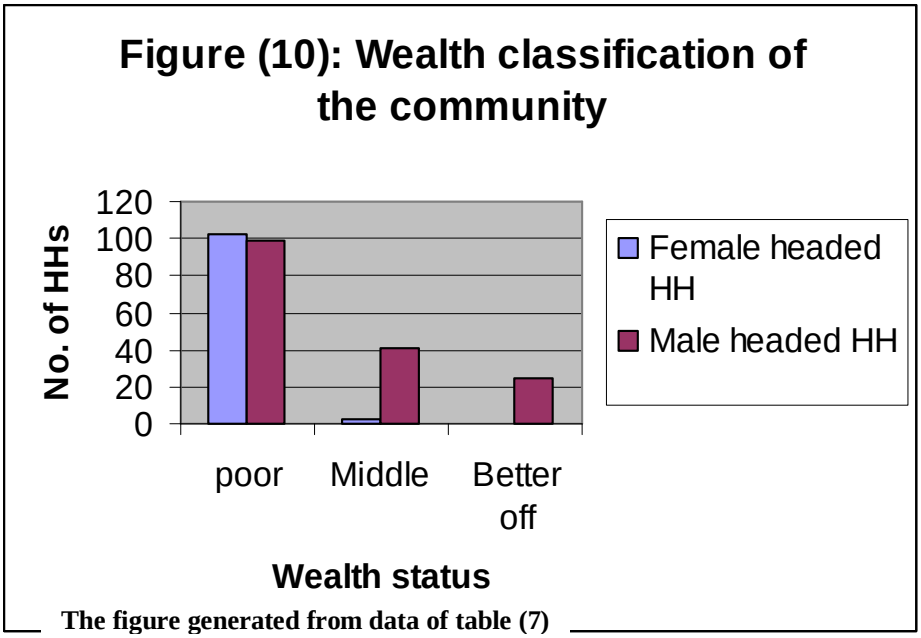
75% of the total households in the community are classified as poor, 38% are headed by females while 37% of them are headed by males. 16% of the households are classified as middle, with 0.7% and 15.3% are headed by females and males respectively. The 9% of the better off category is monopolized by male headed households.

Despite the humble criteria of the wealthy person in Heiban, the poor composes three quarters of the community. This indicates the severe damage that has infected the livelihoods in the community due to the civil war. Women of the Nuba of Heiban have limited access to the wealth accumulation, this will be proved below.

Gender and wealth

38.8% of the households in Heiban town are headed by females, and 98% of them are considered as poor, 2% as middle class and none is a better off. On the other side, 60% of the male headed households are poor, while 25% are middle class and 15% are better off.

There is a great disparity in genders' wealth in Heiban. The high percentage of poor female headed household is explained by the fact that women do not own cattle, nor can they operate business activities like shops or mills, that can generate cash income. Cash income is related to the education of the children through the school fees, books and other needed stationeries. Therefore, a woman who heads a household can not educate all her children. In addition, she shoulders the burden of food production alone, and can not produce enough harvest nor expand in the production of cash crops.



The figure generated from data of table (7)

It is remarkable that women utilized their labor on food production and maintenance of the household. Even the wives and daughters, in the male headed household can not become wealthy. The cash they earn is used to buy their own needs, and they give some of it to the father. The father accumulates the surplus in form of livestock which again should not be owned by the females. Only two female headed households are considered of middle status in the community. Those two women are with mature sons who have inherited cattle from their fathers. This is the only possibility for a female headed householder to be considered as a non poor.

Economy of the war

The political economy approach to chronic conflict and political instability attempts to uncover the losers and gainers from the war economy and instability; and the impacts of war, on the economy, and deliberate destruction of economic infrastructure (Schafer 2002). The effects of the war on the economy of the Nuba of Heiban are stated in different topics throughout this study. The effects were stated in terms of destruction of the assets possessed by the community for the benefit of powerful minorities from north of the Sudan, as well as in term of reduction of human capital per household. I will hereby repeat some few points:

According to Kebbede (1999), Sudan is financially bankrupt. Its treasure has been drained by the wars; every thing for the war policy cost the country over 2 million USD per day (Kebbede 1999). This situation affects the Nuba of Heiban as part of the Sudan. This effect could be as foregone development opportunity.

The Nuba region was invaded by the successive governments since the Tegali Kindom (1530 – 1880s). The main targets of the invaders were the gold in *Sheibun* area, to recruit Nuba people in their army, as potential soldiers as well as for slave trade (Adam,1997; Kaffay 1995; Wood 1971).

In the 1960s the exploitation of the region's resources was extended to encompass the main source of livelihoods of the Nuba people. Gradually *Baggara* and *Jallaba* took interest on land of the Nuba Mountains, as farmers and herders. Introduction of the Mechanized Farming Corporation in 1968, had highly affected the economy of the region. The scheme was implemented on the fertile plain and the Nuba people were pushed to farm on the mountains. The two hundred farms of the mechanized schemes were leased to *Baggara* and *Jallaba* except five of them are owned by Nuba (Suliman 1999a; Suliman 1999b; Suliman 2002). Human and natural resources of the Nuba Mountains Region were utilized to improve the economy and the power of the authorities and their elites at the expense of the Nuba people.

As part of the political marginalization of the Nuba people during the colonial as well as post-colonial periods, the Nuba people were denied any access to socioeconomic development. Actually, "They [Nuba people] have never benefited from any policies to enable them to catch

up on the education gap. Nuba farmers are vulnerable to well financed and well-connected businessmen, civil servants, and military officers from northern and central Sudan, who came and buy up their land at cheap prices, and then drive them off " (Rahhal 2001a).

Nuba of Heiban are affected by the above mentioned points as part of the Sudan and the Nuba Maintains Region. The particular effect of the war on the economy of Heiban is reflected by the destruction of the poor assets possessed by the community and the declining of the resources mapping. In addition to destruction of the infrastructure, destruction of wildlife and forest combined with looting of livestock declined the cash in the locality. It is noteworthy to note that the looting and raiding of the community resources by the troops of both warring parties during the war time had different motives of the two troops other than the military one. While the governmental troops engaged in the looting and raiding in order to do well out of the war, the rebels troops were seeking survive due to shortage of food and blockage of trade to their areas.

Control of the market by the government army during the warfare and the exaggeration of the prices which has fixed up-to-date, as well as the decline of prices of the local products lead to drainage of the cash out of the locality.

Reduction of human capital has raised the ratio of consumer / producers per household as well as female per male. There for the number of widow and orphan increased, and subsequently increased the burden of work for the women.

The destruction of the wildlife and the vegetation has decreased the natural resources endowment to the community and, hence, decreased both wild food and cash.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach is a flexible tool that enables users to explore livelihoods of different communities from different angles. I have used the approach to define the livelihoods of the Nuba people of Heiban town in Nuba Mountains Region of the Sudan, and how it (livelihoods) has been affected by the civil war. The approach is used, as well, to examine the livelihoods and the residential plan of the Internal Displaced People (IDPs). The approach has efficiently enabled me to collect and analyze the needed data.

The community of Heiban is an agro-pastoral community that depends on natural resources supported by human and social assets. The community has suffered the civil war for fifteen years. The war has imposed significant costs upon the civilian population, who are forced to flee their homes and community or to stay and suffer different kinds of violence, terror, raiding, rape, and looting by troops of both warring parties. Exploring the effect of the war on the livelihoods of the community has shown the effects that were anticipated by everybody, as well as unanticipated effects.

The anticipated effects of the protracted war on the livelihoods of the community are:

- Destruction of the human capital, both in quantity and quality. In addition to the external displacement people have been killed, either directly by weapons or indirectly by diseases and hunger. The **q**uality of the human capital has declined due to protracted displacement that rendered the displaced people unskilled as farmers. Another reason is the foregone opportunity of education and training for some IDPs and those who could not flee during the warfare.
- Destruction of the natural capital. Land was expected to be occupied with landmines, forest trees and the green vegetations were eroded and the wildlife was endangered.
- Destruction of the physical capital**.** Buildings, roads, market performance, health facilities, schools, water sources in the community have been destructed and building materials were looted.

- Destruction of the social capital. Family and kindred ties are weakened. **A**ssistance and mutual trust among the community, as well as the respect for the elders and the community leaders by the youths have declined.
- Destruction of the financial capital such as ownership of livestock, reciprocal claims and bride-wealth payments constitute the financial capital of the community. Livestock in the community was destroyed due to raiding and looting, as well as to disease and the need for food during the war time. Reciprocal claims and bride-wealth payments are both dependent on livestock and have been disturbed by the destruction of the livestock.
- Increase of the women headed households and the workload on their shoulder.
- Change of the demographic structure of the community to be dominated by children, women and the elders.
- Increase of food insecurity and prolonging of the annual food gap.
- Decline of the cash money circulated in the community.
- Increase of poverty in the community.

The unexpected effects of the protracted war on the livelihoods of the community are:

- Bringing the community under attention of the international community and highlighting inherited weaknesses within the community. Weaknesses that might lead to recovery and development programs.
- Better education opportunities for the IDPs
- Improvement of the general awareness among the community and the consensus to prioritize the education in the community.
- IDPs ownership to land and houses in the urban communities.
- IDPs acquiring of new skills and emergence of new jobs in Heiban.
- People have increased awareness of their identity (Nubaness) and a strengthening of social network in the locality and with the other Nuba.
- More men and women are engaged in self employment activities.
- Women empowerment indicated by the fact that more women are engaged in education and training which improve their general awareness about women's rights. Quality of women's human capital was improved at the community level. Women involvement in administration and public work. Women engaged in non-agricultural

products trading and services. Girls have started to continue their relationship with the rejected youth devoid of their families' requests. Wives are consulted in the second marriage of their husbands. Woman can now insist to divorce her husband and could reject the resolution of the traditional court in this issue and go ahead and plead her case before the regional court.

- Emergence of social classification and religious tension.
- Introduction of marriage between cousins among some tribes of the community.
- Change in the motive of hunting which is practiced as a source of food, rather than social and ritual activity.
- Change of some household's life-styles by investing in education and producing more cash crops and less stable crop.
- The children who have grown up in different communities than Heiban started to question the children born out of wedlock about the reason behind having the same fathers like their mothers. The children born out of wedlock, in turn, addressed the question (having the same father like their mothers) to their mothers.

I consider the most serious problem incurred by the war is the loss of mutual trust and emergence of social classification and religious tension in the community. It is easier to revive the tangible assets than to revive intangible assets. Therefore, mitigation of such problem requires high level of awareness about peace building and reconciliation as well as strong wiliness to mitigate the problem.

In my view, most of the unanticipated effects of the warfare could be considered as positive effects. Improvement of general awareness and prioritization of education are essential change that might lead to change in the community life-style. By investing in education, households change the composition of the assets they possessed, and hence the future livelihoods strategy portfolio. Furthermore, shifting to production of cash crops on the expense of the tedious and labor consuming stable crop, engagement in self employment activities as well as women empowerment could be considered as great social change. Hereby, I could support the claim of Goodhand (2001) that warfare has positive dimensions and is essential for the process of the community social mobilization.

The Sustainable Livelihood approach is used also to assess the wealth and poverty of the community. Another tool used for the same objective is the community perception approach, which was measured by wealth ranking and social mapping tool. The first approach has shown that the war has impoverished the already poor community. The second approach gave the same result because the wealth and poverty indicators according to the community perception were the same as the basic needs and the resources defined by the sustainable livelihood approach.

The residential plan of the Internal Displaced Persons (IDPs) who moved out of Heiban town was not clear for them. Their return to Heiban depends on the availability of suitable job opportunities and access to the basic needs in the community.

Last Comment:

In the end, I would like to say that thesis writing was challenging. Through thesis writing, I managed to use some of the knowledge I have gained during the Development Studies program. Furthermore, thesis writing itself was a practical learning process and allowed me to improve my writing skill.

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