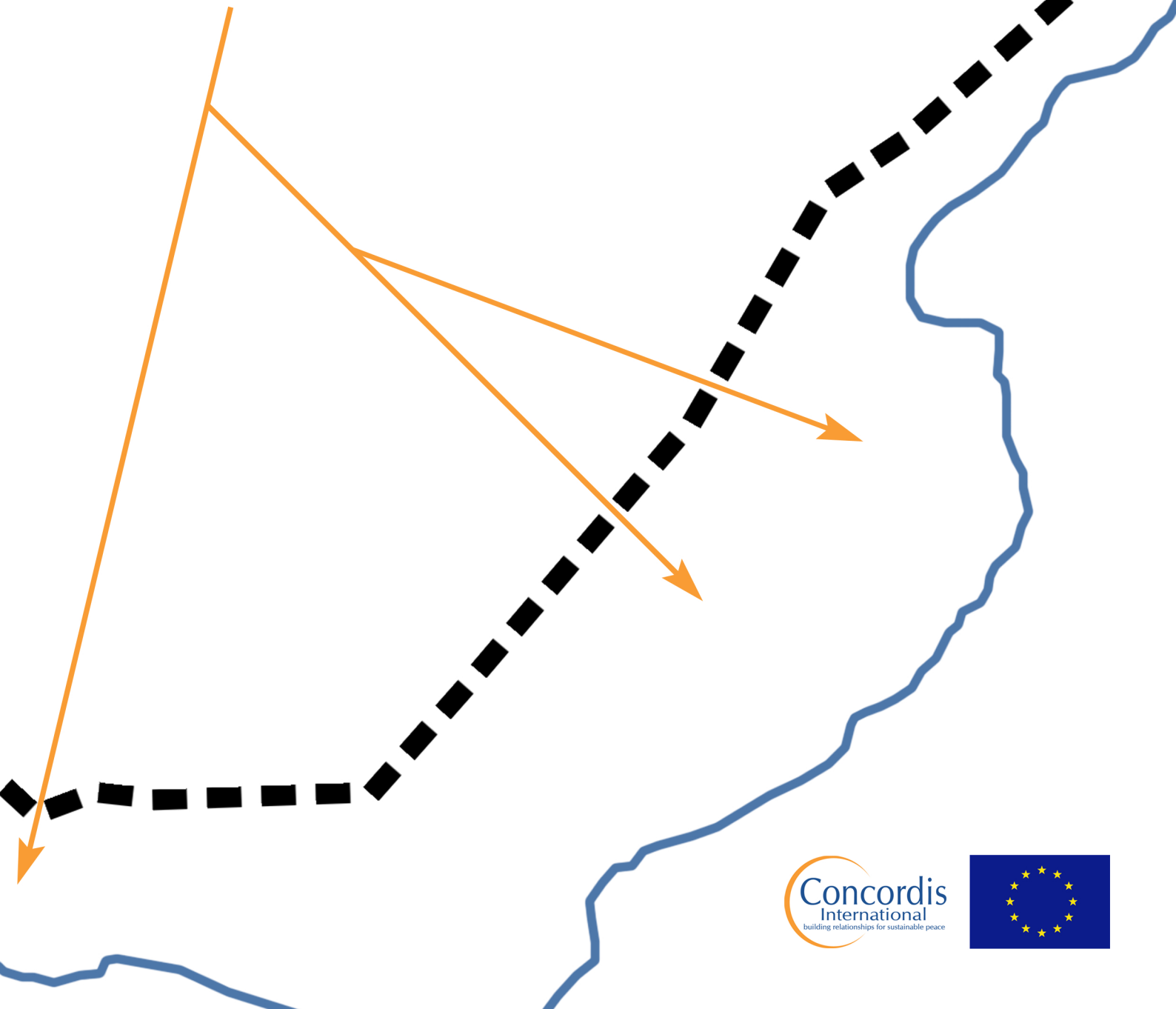


CROSSING THE LINE: TRANSHUMANCE IN TRANSITION ALONG THE SUDAN-SOUTH SUDAN BORDER OCTOBER 2012





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Contents

Definitions	3
Acknowledgements	5
Introduction	5
Limitations	5
Key Findings	5
Western Bahr el Ghazal	11
Peoples	11
Traditional Migration Routes and 2011-2012 Migration Routes	14
Summary of Dry Season Migration 2011-2012	15
Discussion	18
Northern Bahr el Ghazal	20
Peoples	20
Traditional Migration Routes and 2011-2012 Migration Routes	23
Discussion	29
Abyei	34
Peoples	34
Traditional Migration Routes and 2011-2012 Migration Routes	37
Discussion	43
Warrap	48
Peoples	48
Traditional Migration Routes and 2011-2012 Migration Routes	50
Discussion	54
Unity	55
Peoples	56
Traditional Migration Routes and 2011-2012 Migration Routes	60
Discussion	65
Upper Nile	71
Peoples	71
Traditional Migration Routes and 2011-2012 Migration Routes	74
Discussion	81

Definitions

AAA	Abyei Area Administration originally established under the terms of the Abyei Protocol in the CPA.
AJOC	Abyei Joint Oversight Committee; composed of two members from each party; created by agreement between the parties in Addis Ababa in June 2011.
Amir	The highest position in Sudan's Native Administration system; above the office of Omda and Shaykh.
Amirat/ Emirate	Administrative unit headed by an Amir; commonly but not always associated with community land rights.
Baggara	Arabic word for cattle keepers commonly applied to Arab groups along the southern fringe of the Sahel. In Sudan the term refers to a number of cattle keeping groups living in the savannah areas near the border with South Sudan.
CAD	Civil Affairs Department (within a United Nations mission)
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
State/County/ Payam/Boma	Administrative divisions of South Sudan. There are 10 states in South Sudan and between 3 and 13 counties in each state. Counties are sub-divided into a number of payams (districts) which are further sub-divided into bomas (village level units).
Locality	Administrative unit of Sudan, equivalent to county level.
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CSAC	Community Security and Arms Control
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GoS	Government of Sudan
GoSS	Government of Southern Sudan (from 2005 until independence of South Sudan in 2011)
GRSS	Government of the Republic of South Sudan (after 2011 independence)
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
JEM	Justice and Equality Movement
LRA	Lords Resistance Army
MARF	Ministry of Agricultural Resources and Fisheries
Makhrat	Wet-season grazing areas
Murhal	Arabic and local term for a livestock route
NCP	National Congress Party, created out of the National Islamic Front regime in 1997; ruling party of the Government of Sudan.
NGO/INGO	Non Governmental Organisation/International Non Governmental Organisation
Omda	A position in Sudan's Native Administration system; below the office of Amir and above the office of Shaykh.
Omodiya	Administrative sub-division of Amirates headed by an Omda; the term is sometimes also applied to Emirates when they are themselves sub-divisions of a larger unit (for example, the Amirates of Misseriya Humr).
Paramount Chief	Under the system of Local Government and Traditional Authority in South Sudan, the bearer is responsible for a <i>payam</i> elected by the chiefs of each <i>boma</i> and reports to the county commissioner. The term is also widely applied to the heads of Customary Judicial Councils at county and state levels.
PCA Abyei Area	The Abyei Area as defined by the Permanent Court of Arbitration's Final Award on July 22, 2009.
PDF	Popular Defence Force
Ragaba	Seasonal watercourse
RMG	Rebel Militia Group
SAF	Sudan Armed Forces, the army of the Government of Sudan
SDBZ	Safe Demilitarized Border Zone; a security commitment made by the parties on 29 June 2012 to form a 10km buffer zone on each side of the border.
SDG/SSP	Sudan Pound/South Sudan Pound
SPLA	Sudan Peoples Liberation Army
SPLM	Sudan Peoples Liberation Movement
SPS	Sudan Police Service
SSDF	South Sudan Defence Force/s
SSDM/A	South Sudan Democratic Movement/Army; a South Sudanese rebel group formed in Jonglei in 2010 by George Athor.

SSLM/A	South Sudan Liberation Movement/Army; a South Sudanese rebel group formed in Mayom in April 2011 by Peter Gatdet.
SSPC/SSPRC	South Sudan Peace Commission (before independence), South Sudan Peace and Reconciliation Commission (after independence)
SSPS	South Sudan Police Service
SSWS	South Sudan Wildlife Service
Toic	Low lying swampy areas subject to seasonal flooding; providing fish and good dry-season grazing land
UN	United Nations
UNAMID	United Nations AU Mission in Darfur
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNISFA	United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei
UNMIS	United Nations Mission in Sudan
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNPOL	United Nations Police
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WBG/ NBG/ SD/	Abbreviations of states in Sudan and South Sudan; Western Bahr al Ghazal/ Northern Bahr al Ghazal/South Darfur/Upper Nile State/White Nile State/Blue Nile State
SKS/ UNS/	
WNS/ BNS	World Food Program
WFP	

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Introduction

This report, published by Concordis International with funding from the European Union, aims to document the process of nomadic pastoralism across the Sudan-South Sudan border through the dry season 2011-2012 and identify some key factors that affected the nature of this migration. The contents derive from desk and field research undertaken by an international consultant in July and August 2012. In preparation of this report, the consultant visited each border state of South Sudan and the PCA Abyei Area. The Abyei Area was included as part of the report due to its central importance in understanding the regional dynamic of cross-border pastoralism along the Sudan-South Sudan border.

Limitations

The findings are limited by a number of factors. These include; 1) A paucity of reliable data pertaining to the dry season migration and absence of any centrally held records; 2) The short time spent in each field location (an average of 2-3 days per field location); 3) The fact that most individuals with expertise in the issue area and study period are closely connected to one or other political positions; and 4) The fact that fieldwork was exclusively conducted in South Sudan. Of these, the last should perhaps be given most weight. Nevertheless, attempts have been made to cross-verify all information in this report. Where this was not possible, the information has been presented as the perception or opinion of the informant. The study benefited greatly from the involvement of those with a deeper understanding of the context than the author, including Concordis staff in Sudan and South Sudan who have been closely involved in monitoring cross-border pastoralism throughout the dry season 2011-2012; and from comprehensive briefings with UNMISS Civil Affairs Officers in each location. Important information was also received from partner organisations, notably AECOM. The structure of the report, organized by South Sudanese state, also reflects the nature of the field research in South Sudan.

Key Findings

The Migration

Overall the dry season 2011-2012 was characterised by lower levels of pastoralist movement into South Sudan than occurred prior to independence. This was true in Unity State and to a lesser degree in Upper Nile State, where strong cooperative agreements were made between state and local authorities and various pastoralist groups. The Rizeigat migration into Northern Bahr al Ghazal was an exception, with higher than average numbers estimated by local communities and officials; the result of strong locally managed arrangements and the closure of the border with Western Bahr al Ghazal.

Western Bahr al Ghazal State	No/Extremely limited migration of Habbania and Rizeigat
Northern Bahr al Ghazal State	Large migration of Rizeigat No migration of Misseriya
Warrap State	No migration
Unity State	Migration proceeded but limited to select groups (notably Misseriya Awlad Omran)
Upper Nile State	Large migration of numerous Arab and Fellata groups but limited due to conflict in neighbouring states, uncertainty as to policy framework, and perceptions of high levels of taxation. But some staying longer.
Abyei	Large migration of Misseriya through the eastern and western corridors and via the central corridors as far as Dokura (north of Abyei town)

The adaptive strategies employed by pastoralists in 2011-2012 represent temporary solutions to specific circumstances, not new patterns of pastoralist movement for the post-secession period. Nevertheless, they are important factors, which in some cases demand new frameworks to manage them – such as in the case of longer

stays in South Sudan by pastoralists entering Upper Nile State. Pastoralist response to the breakdown in relations between the two countries and the wider insecurity took a number of forms. For example:

Response	Example Groups and Locations	Result
Alliance building based on historical interactions and shared interests	Awlad Omran Misseriya groups and Unity State Rizeigat and Northern Bahr al Ghazal Various Fellata groups in Upper Nile State	Working grazing and trading arrangements
Changed migration routes	Rufa'a moving through Blue Nile State and into Upper Nile State	Tensions between pastoralist groups
Short duration grazing visits	Habbania in Western Bahr al Ghazal	Livelihood losses minimised
Staying longer in South Sudan	Suleim and Fellata groups in Upper Nile State	TBC
Not migrating into South Sudan	Misseriya Fayareen and Northern Bahr al Ghazal Rufa'a groups and Upper Nile State Suleim groups and Upper Nile State	Conflict between pastoralists Herd losses

Policy Frameworks

There was no overarching cross-border policy framework to govern cross-border pastoralism across the Sudan-South Sudan border through 2011-2012. A number of high-level agreements were intended to shape management of the border, notably provisions for establishment of corridors for movement of people, animals, goods and services through a Safe Demilitarised Border Zone (SDBZ)¹ and a commitment to peaceful coexistence². However, due to the deterioration in relations between the two countries, official cross-border coordination between adjacent states along the border was non-existent. In practice, South Sudan's border states approached requests for permission to enter on an ad hoc basis based on local considerations, historical relations and contemporary strategic interests. In the PCA defined Abyei Area, UNISFA established and managed the framework which governed nomadic pastoralist movements.

State	Summary Position on Migration 2011-2012
Western Bahr al Ghazal State	State policy opposed migration
Northern Bahr al Ghazal State	Strong state support and security guarantees for cross border pastoralism
Warrap State	No migration agreement. State policy and community opposed migration.
Unity State	Strong state support and local arrangements for unconditional migration by specific pastoralist groups
Upper Nile State	State support and local arrangements for migration by most pastoralist groups

The Strategic Imperative

In the context of contestation between the two countries, strategic competition for influence among important constituencies in the border areas is of national importance. Approaches to the management of dry season pastoralism during 2011-2012 reflected this, with security the overarching concern for South Sudanese authorities. In some locations, such as Western Bahr al Ghazal and Warrap State, the security risks associated with pastoralism were considered too high to entertain. In other areas, such as Unity State and parts of Upper Nile State, the presence of RMGs accentuated the value of establishing cross-border cooperation with groups considered friendly (even if they increased the risks). Restricted cross-border trade and economic austerity also made cross-border cooperation attractive to state authorities and communities as a means of improving local livelihoods, particularly where popular frustration at conditions was growing and where RMG recruitment were initiatives a possibility. It is also possible that cross-border migration represents a tool being used by communities and governments to help shape the context in which border delineation and demarcation takes place; part of the longer strategic interplay between state and community taking place on both sides of the border over territorial claims.

This politicisation of local cross-border cooperation derives from international contestation over border delineation and related issues. This problem can, therefore, be expected to ease with the successful development and implementation of recent high-level arrangements, leading to a wider normalisation of cross-border relations along the border. It is important to acknowledge, however, that high-level resolutions also have potential to disrupt cross-border

¹ Agreement on Border Security and the Joint Political and Security Mechanism: 29 June 2011

² For example, Memorandum of Understanding on Non-Aggression agreed at an extraordinary meeting of the Joint Political and Support Mechanism: 10 February 2012

relationships if they are in opposition to one, other or both local positions; particularly where emerging relations have been built on strategic short-term interests.

Components of Models for Managing the Migrations

In 2011-2012, broadly functional frameworks for dry season pastoralism were established in Northern Bahr al Ghazal, Unity and Upper Nile States. These were characterised by a number of key factors, including:

1. A strong system of existing local practices in place for managing migration;
2. A strong security guarantee in place and communicated to pastoralists from the government of South Sudan at state level;
3. Strong political will and leadership from the host state government to communicate and enforce the security guarantee;
4. Strong local agreements to govern the day-to-day organisation of the migration;
5. Historical relations present that formed the basis for establishing working relations between South Sudanese authorities and specific pastoralist groups;
6. Presence of an opportunity for mutual advantage, particularly through cross-border economic cooperation and trade;
7. Strong community leadership and traditional authority structures among pastoralist groups committed to facilitating the migration, sometimes in contravention of home state policies;
8. Effective communication between host government and pastoralist groups;
9. Effective dissemination of host state policy frameworks and agreements;
10. Recognition of relationship building as a process and sufficient state capacity to facilitate, implement and monitor agreements, commonly with the assistance of UN agencies and NGOs.

The Role of NGOs

The UN and INGOs in South Sudan helped to facilitate the peaceful progress of cross-border cooperation during the dry season 2011-2012. Though existing frameworks for migration are well established in the border regions, implementation is sometimes not proactive, well resourced or well disseminated. The UN and INGOs in South Sudan helped provide the necessary capacity for migration frameworks to become established, for example, through funding conferences, facilitating dialogue, providing transportation, and supporting the dissemination of agreements or the implementation of resolutions. As impartial facilitators or observers to dialogue, their presence also lent weight, credence and profile to agreements, increasing the perceived costs of implementation failure. Their involvement in cross-border migration was characterised by a high degree of coordination, information sharing and cooperation. This was in part due to the manageable number of organisations involved, but also as a result of clear attempts to implement best practice, responsive and reflexive approaches to peace building.

Challenges and Opportunities

Outstanding Issues between Sudan and South Sudan

Tense relations due to outstanding issues between the two countries represented the greatest barrier to building cooperative relations along the Sudan-South Sudan border at state and local levels. The high level contestation imbued peaceful coexistence with political and security dimensions that, coupled with changing and competing local authority structures, belied many attempts to improve inter-community relations and tainted even those deemed most successful. If the economic and security agreements signed on 27 September 2012 are implemented, a window may open for initiatives to improve community relations and establish frameworks for peaceful coexistence that have a good chance of working. In reality, underlying contestation over Abyei, border delineation and challenges in community security could make such a significant opportunity some way off, particularly if negotiated settlements on these issues change the basis for emerging cooperation.

Absence of Cross-Border Administrative Coordination

The breakdown in relations at national level led to outright armed conflict during the study period. Since early 2011 it has also spelled the end of administrative coordination across the Sudan-South Sudan border. The result was a central imbalance in attempts to organise cross-border pastoralism in which state authorities in South Sudan negotiated with community representatives from Sudan. Resulting agreements, therefore, did not have the guarantee of state sanction by Sudanese authorities and this led to implementation challenges. On a more administrative level, the lack of information flows across the border and the collapse of pre-July 2011 systems severely diminished attempts to govern key issues, notably animal health.

Administrative Capacity and Governance

The management of cross-border migration is essentially an administrative issue. However, it requires intensive

coordination between local and state authorities, animal health specialists, agricultural planners and security forces. This is a challenging task for emerging institutions in a politically tense environment. An UNMIS CA official interviewed for this report argued that in 2009, when UNMIS Civil Affairs began monitoring and engaging with cross-border migration in Upper Nile State, they found that in terms of process, the administrative framework of the migration was close to best practice.³ The contents of local agreements at that time did not differ vastly from those today. What was missing was proactive and timely implementation by local authorities. The administrative capacity of the state to do so has been greatly enhanced by the UN and NGOs who have provided support in the form of transportation and facilitation of dialogue along the border. They have also provided resources for monitoring, facilitation of peace committee activity and the organisation of review conferences, particularly in Northern Bahr al Ghazal, but also in Unity State and Upper Nile State.

However, key issues remain poorly administered. Foremost amongst these is the taxation of nomadic pastoralists. Taxation of grazing promotes cooperation in so far as it incentivises host communities and establishes the contract of exchanging security, grazing and water for a fee. However, in 2011-2012, taxation also became a source of conflict due to a perceived lack of accountability and transparency in the management of revenues. The systems are complex at best and rely upon documentation of payments. However, in Unity State, for example, no one interviewed in preparation of this report had ever seen such a tax receipt. A lack of accountability and transparency, regardless of real cash flow, enabled both host community and dry season pastoralists to claim that agreements have been violated⁴ and created not only tension between host communities and pastoralists but also between host communities and their local authorities. The issue is serious and contains the potential to derail future cooperation as layers of grievances accumulate annually.

Multiple Authorities and 'Hope-Lines'

In order to function cross-border pastoralist frameworks require an alignment of interests among multiple authorities, including traditional, local state, military, and national actors. More importantly, they are based on an idea of how these authority structures work in practice. For example, the assumption that traditional authorities exert strong influence over the behaviour of individual members of their community. Such assumptions may fail due to lack of resources or capacity invested in implementation, erroneous or insufficient conflict analysis, inappropriate or inadequate participation or a lack of understanding around how authority is communicated to populations. These kinds of failures in peaceful coexistence agreements, if not acknowledged, create 'hope-lines' linking an initiative to the change in the world it is intended to facilitate. The assumptions may not be wrong, but their limitations have a great effect on how implementation is perceived and, therefore, on the trajectory of inter-community relations. This permits the behaviour of small groups to affect perceptions among larger communities and is one key explanatory factor in understanding how local disagreements can spark broader conflict.

Source of 'Hope-line'	Example
Traditional authorities control community behaviour	Youth in Unity State refusing animal health care even on express request of traditional authorities Community members in armed forces and militia groups follow command and control of military not traditional leaders
State authority controls military actors	Alleged harassment of nomadic communities by members of the security services in Upper Nile State
State authorities control local government and community behaviour	State government instructed county government to facilitate migration in Pariang County, Unity State. The community appeared to reject this decision

Policy 'Blindness' to Pastoralism

South Sudan has no clear strategy for managing or developing dry season pastoralism. None of its State Strategic Plans contain meaningful statements on how to manage or develop pastoralism of any kind, despite this often representing a central livelihood activity for a majority of the host population. This situation may be linked to a broader pattern of attitudinal change among South Sudanese officials that appears to increasingly question the value of cross-border migration, accelerating due to the combined pressure of: 1) Loss of oil revenue and the associated necessity of extracting rents from other resources – seen by officials as primarily agricultural potential; 2) The sense of full land ownership entailed by the independence of South Sudan; and 3) The related dominant capitalist development paradigm that focuses on exclusive rights. In this context, the importance of historical relations is diminished and policy decisions become increasingly based on economic cost-benefit. Whilst taxation of cross-border pastoralists appears to deliver some revenue to county governments, revenue to state coffers is negligible. Plans for agricultural

³ Verbal briefing, UNMISS Civil Affairs Officer, Malakal, 31 July 2012

⁴ A Unity State government official said 50,000SSP was rumoured to have been collected by the Commissioner of Pariang from dry season pastoralists and clearly stated that it was not clear where the resources had been absorbed. The information was 'rumour' however and it was not clear if this example referred to 2010-2011 grazing season or 2011-2012.

development abound but attempts to integrate pastoralism into the proposals – cross-border or other – are absent. Similar issues apply to the development of national parks and game reserves, seen as potential sources of revenue through tourism, and to areas rich in gum Arabic.

Economic Interdependence

Mutual economic benefit improves and necessitates cross-border cooperation. Just as the peace markets of the early 1990s established jointly managed trading relations across front lines, markets and trade routes established were the backbone of cooperation in 2011-2012. This was perhaps most true in Mayom County where, by May 2012, over 150 Misseriya traders had become active following an agreement with the County Authorities endorsed by the Governor, but it also played an important part in improving livelihoods and reducing prices for South Sudanese wherever migration proceeded. Economic cooperative initiatives offer major potential to help drive trust and relationship building.

Historical Inter-communal Relations

Conflictual histories are commonly cited as barriers to trust building. However, the long-term proximity of South Sudanese and Sudanese nomadic pastoralists also provides emotional resources for the rebuilding of relations. A history of cooperation and co-hosting between certain tribes, sections and sub-groups goes back at least to the Mahdiya. These should be disaggregated beyond the level of tribe. For example, special relations exist between *particular* Amirates of Misseriya and *particular* Ngok Chieftoms according to geographical proximity along western sector migration routes,⁵ and between various 'Fertit' groups and the Nuwaiba Rizeigat along the Western Bahr al Ghazal/South and East Darfur stretch. Geographical counterparts would historically each have specific arrangements and relationships for managing their interactions. These partnerships represent very real (active or latent) leverage points for building improved relations in the future. Indeed, such historical interactions shed much light on the parameters of dry season migration in 2011-2012.

Climate Change and Changing Transhumance Practices

Along the length of the border there is a perception that the dry season has extended in recent decades and that the availability of water is becoming increasingly problematic. There is little easily available data on this phenomenon but the perception is particularly true along the Bahr al Arab/Kiir River - within the PCA Abyei Area, Northern Bahr al Ghazal and Unity States. The outcome is later planting by host populations and decreased productivity of herds which both affect inter-communal relations by increasing competition over natural resources and extending periods of proximity. At the same time, official estimates of Sudan's herd sizes have ballooned, with remarkably large growth rates in the 1990s.⁶ Local officials in South Sudan indicate a tension between the spirit of existing negotiated agreements and contemporary realities. In this interpretation, models of rights to access grazing lands by both communities are outdated and romanticised by the international community.

Data Poverty

There is no accurate data on the numbers of dry-season pastoralists that have entered South Sudan in recent years or during the 2011-2012 dry season. MARF officials provided some estimates, saying for example that, in recent years 5 million head of cattle have annually entered Upper Nile State and between 1 and 2.5 million entered Unity State. However, livelihoods experts interviewed for this report suggested these were overestimates. Data scarcity is reinforced by the ongoing lack of communication between authorities in Sudan and South Sudan and the collapse of old systems that were in place prior to independence. The situation makes planning extremely difficult, especially with regard to management of trans-boundary disease and assessing options for the use of natural resources. It also allows rumour and speculation to shape the policy environment.

The Challenge and Opportunity of Communication and Dissemination

Communication played as large a part as negotiation in the course of arranging the dry season migration 2011-2012. In Northern Bahr al Ghazal, Unity State and Upper Nile State a key to the process of administering the migration was adequate and timely communication of government policy. In Northern Bahr al Ghazal this took place primarily through high profile and well-disseminated migration conferences, as well as through systematic follow up and good day-to-day communication between the peace coordinator, commissioners and pastoralists. In Unity State a personal visit to the counties by the State Security Advisor, the Governor's personal endorsement of local agreements, and follow-up dissemination conferences were important to establishing working relations between a group of Misseriya and Unity State. In Upper Nile State a public articulation of state policy at a migration conference did much to build trust in security guarantees and reduce misunderstanding and suspicion. Local arrangements and crisis management

⁵ For example, the Awlad Kamil had good relations with Abior through the central route and the Awlad Omran and Fadliya with the Mareng and Alei along the eastern route.

⁶ Although estimations are likely to be inaccurate they all point to an ever larger national herd. The Economics of Pastoral Livestock Production and Its Contribution to the Wider Economy of Sudan, Behnke, R, Feinstein International Center Working Paper, 2012, p.3.

followed these exercises in messaging. A better understanding of how information is disseminated through local networks could provide improved communication of state policies and understanding of local agreements.

Western Bahr el Ghazal

Introduction

Western Bahr al Ghazal's 93,900 square kilometres border Northern Bahr al Ghazal and Warrap to the east, Western Equatoria to the south, the Central African Republic (CAR) to the west and South Darfur (Sudan) to the north. Administratively the state is divided into three counties: Wau, Jur River and Raja. Of these, Raja County traditionally hosts nomadic pastoralists from Sudan, mainly Rizeigat, Habbania and Fellata, and is therefore the area of primary interest. Raja County is geographically vast and extremely sparsely populated, with just 0.9 persons per square kilometre.⁷ The contested area of Kafia Kingi, known also as Hofrat al Nahas, lies to the northwest of the current administrative border to the Umbelacha River and CAR. The territory contains deposits of copper, uranium and gold of unclear commercial value, though drug cultivation is an important economic activity in the area.⁸

Environment

Raja County, and the contested area of Kafia Kingi, sits on the ironstone country that slopes down from the Nile-Congo divide. The undulating land lying between 400 and 800 metres above sea level is covered with shallow and sandy soils (stream erosion and low water holding capacity combined with poor source materials to produce a low fertility environment).⁹ The north eastern tip, along and to the east of the Shalleikha River, joins the western flood plains and is suitable for grazing. The northern limit of the tsetse fly passes roughly through a point around Hofrat al Nahas and runs southeast to the Boro River a few kilometres northeast of Raja town, and east into southern Northern Bahr al Ghazal.¹⁰

Livelihoods

Raja County is home to skilled hand-cultivators whose techniques were necessitated in part by the high levels of taxation demanded by the British administrators and in part by the poor soils.¹¹ Inhabitants supplement farming with small-scale cattle rearing and petty trading. At the onset of the dry season in 2011, the WFP determined that the county faced acute food insecurity. However, it was not as affected by increased prices and insecurity as were the Unity or Northern Bahr al Ghazal states.¹² Improvements in security, particularly the perceived diminished threat from the Lords Resistance

Army, contributed to a good harvest in September and October 2011.

Border

The Kafia Kingi area is claimed by Sudan and South Sudan. The area is currently administered from Al Rodom Locality in South Darfur. Before 1960 it was administered as a part of Greater Bahr al Ghazal. The Addis Ababa accord of 1972 provided for a referendum to decide its status but this never happened; the government cited opposition to the initiative from South Darfur. The Governor of Western Bahr al Ghazal, Rizik Zakaria Hamis, belongs to the Kreish ethnic group – known as Kreish Hofra, which was reportedly moved from the area by the British in 1930.¹³ He has publicly expressed a desire to claim the area for South Sudan and has been supported by the President of South Sudan

Security Situation

Relations between seasonal transhumance and southern communities suffered as a result of increased militarisation of the border area on both sides following signing of the CPA. On 24th April 2010 Rizeigat and SPLA clashed at Balabla village in Erre Payam. There are differing accounts of the reasons for this clash. The Rizeigat Al Shilu Council confirmed during the research of this report that the Rizeigat had been involved and that it was a response to an SPLA aggression against migrating Rizeigat at Timsah in 2009. The council also claimed that, since the CPA, harassment of migrating Rizeigat by SPLA was ongoing. Communities and authorities in Western Bahr al Ghazal interpreted the event as Rizeigat conducting proxy warfare on behalf of the government of Sudan. Other reports indicate there may have been problems with SPLA harassment of Rizeigat women. This illustrates the problems caused by different perceptions of the parties; not just about what has occurred in the past, but about the motives and intentions of others. Conditions at the onset of the dry season in 2011-2012 were not conducive to building cross-border relations. Rumours about fighting in the Kafia Kingi area between SPLA and SAF circulated in April-August 2012 and Raja County officials offered their narrative about attacks and counter attacks between the armed forces in the area. However, none of this could be verified as there have been no independent groups allowed outside of Raja town to investigate and verify the security situation on the ground.

Peoples

The following chart lists the groups of people involved in the seasonal cross-border migration. It should be noted that statements about previous or current allegiances in the table below are intended to highlight the current

⁷ 5th Sudan Census 2008, Population Density per County

⁸ Thomas, E, The Kafia Kingi Enclave: People, politics and history in the North-South boundary zone of western Sudan, RVI, 2010

⁹ Western Bahr al Ghazal State Strategic Plan, 2012-2015, p.5

¹⁰ Ibid. p.11 The tsetse fly area is particularly significant to cattle herders because unless the cattle has been vaccinated the fly can cause significant losses to herds.

¹¹ Interview with Abdallahi Tamim Fartak, Paramount Chief of Feroqhe and Head of Traditional Authorities, Raja County, 11 August 2012 at Raja town

¹² South Sudan Food Security Outlook Update, August 2011, USAID

¹³ Thomas, E, The Kafia Kingi Enclave: People, politics and history in the North-South boundary zone of western Sudan, RVI, 2010, p.126.

perceptions of other groups and are made for the purpose of understanding how such perceptions affect the dynamics of the relations between groups and the impact of such perceptions on approaches to seasonal migration. In circumstances such as this, the perception

is as important in determining future behaviour as the actuality.

Listed in alphabetical order, blue shading indicates the South Sudanese host communities and white indicates the Sudanese pastoral groups.

Peoples	Summary Information
Fellata	A catch-all term for non-Arab groups speaking Fulbe/Fulani. Fellata may be nomadic, farmers or urbanised, illiterate or in high office and are found in some concentration in Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon. Fellata groups were particularly responsive to the NIF promise of modernisation and inclusivity – despite a presence in Sudan for centuries they were not granted citizenship before 1989†. According to some commentators Fellata groups coordinated closely with the Government of Sudan and Sudan Armed Forces during wartime (for example, see Osman, E.I, 2009). Since the CPA, a number of Fellata/Mbororo have been transferred out of South Sudan to Sudan, particularly to Blue Nile State.
'Fertit'	This is a "collective term for all non-Dinka, non-Arab, non-Luo, non-Fur groups of Western Bahr al Ghazal [South Sudan]".* The broad ethnic designation embraces 22 ethnic groups extending over Wau to Raja County, including Sere, Ndogo, Gollo, Bal, Balanda, Boor, Balanda-Bviri, Bongo, Feroqe, Binga, Yulu Aja, Shatt and Kreish. In the 1980s, relations between the Fertit groups and the Dinka were conflictual. 'Fertit' populations formed the backbone of the Army of Peace/Peace Defence Forces, led by Al Tom al-Nur and incorporated into the PDF in 1989.
Habbania	An Arab tribe with land in south western Darfur, based in Buram Locality where they spend the rainy season. They are unified under one Nazir and have low literacy rates. They are reliant on cattle and carry small arms to protect their herds, but in recent years trade has formed a larger part of the dry season transhumance. The Habbania were reluctantly drawn into the Darfur conflict after attacks by the SLA on Buram targeted civilians. Commentators have stated that the Habbania responded by accepting government support and that they conducted retaliatory attacks in Buram Locality, notably in October 2006 (see for example, Flint and De Waal, 2007).
Jur	Luo farmers living in the southwest of Northern Bahr al Ghazal State, Western Bahr al Ghazal and Warrap. The Jur Luo largely sided with the SPLA and local Dinka in conflict with 'Fertit' groups in the 1980s. In recent years, the Nilotic identity of Jur groups has become a pivot for political mobilisation.
Mbororo	A nomadic non-Arab group speaking Fulbe/Fulani moving through the Sahelian region. They can be found across the length of the Sudan-South Sudan border. Mbororo are probably best classified as Fellata practicing a purely nomadic form of lifestyle - 'Mbororism'††rather than as a sub-tribe of Fellata. Due to their limited engagement with the state, they are politically weak and often perceived as a threat or used as a scapegoat; Salva Kiir publicly associated them with the LRA in a March 2010 speech in Raja. †††
Southern Rizeigat	A large Arab tribe, related but distinct to the Rizeigat of North Darfur, based around El Daein in East Darfur State, Sudan. The tribe is unified under one Nazir, Saeed Mahmoud Ibrahim Musa Madibo, and is heavily dependent on cattle with low levels of literacy. The general population carry small arms to protect their cattle. Commentators have reported that the southern Rizeigat largely fought for the government during the war first as 'Fursan' militia and then as PDF though some Rizeigat have supported the SPLM (e.g. Khalafallah, 2004). A number of Rizeigat fighters reportedly joined the SPLA in 2006 (see for example, Small Arms Survey, 2008).

*This description is taken from Thomas, E, "The Kafia Kingi Enclave", RVI, 2010, the most authoritative history of the area.

†Khalafallah 2004, 119, cited in Salmon, Militia Politics: The formation and organisation of irregular armed forces in Sudan (1975-1991), 2006.

††Elhadi Ibrahim Osman, The Funj Region Pastoral Fulbe: From 'Exit' to 'Voice', 2009, p.4

†††Speech of President Salva Kiir, Freedom Square, Raja Town, Raja County, 23 Mar 2011

Historical Interactions

The northern areas of Raja County are geographically closer to Al Daein (East Darfur) than to Wau (Western Bahr el Ghazal). This has created enduring links between its peoples and those of Darfur, and inter-marriage between Rizeigat, Fertit and Dinka groups has been common (though less so with the Fellata¹⁴). The British administration is reported to have cleared the Kafia Kingi area of its diverse population since 1930, broadly moving more Arabised and Islamic groups to Darfur and Blue Nile. Those classified as 'Fertit' groups are reported to have been moved along the Boro-Medina-Raja-Deim Zubeir road.¹⁵ However, it is reported

that some Arab groups were also moved or lived south of the area and eventually joined the Fertit community, many of whose descendants are known to now work in the administration at Wau.¹⁶ People interviewed in Raja cited this as an example of how peaceful coexistence is part of the history of Western Bahr al Ghazal, and possible in Sudan and South Sudan.

Better known for its impact on the Northern Bahr al Ghazal-East Darfur border, the Munro-Wheatly agreement of 1924 also governed the southern Rizeigat's grazing and hunting rights in the western district, now Raja County. Rizeigat and other Arabs were given permission to graze their cattle west of the Shalleikha River and twenty miles south of the

¹⁴ Racial purity is a common principle in the informal Fellata moral code *pulaku* (Fulbiness or Fulaninity) discussed in Elhadi Ibrahim Osman, The Funj Region Pastoral Fulbe: From 'Exit' to 'Voice', 2009

¹⁵ Thomas, E, Kafia Kingi Enclave, RVI, 2010, p.91

¹⁶ Interview with Abdallahi Tamim Fartak, Paramount Chief of Feroqhe and Head of Traditional Authorities, Raja County, 11 August 2012 at Raja town

Umbelacha River. In practice, the southern limit of the migration was the Boro River. The British prevented the Fellata from accessing drinking water, as they were perceived to carry lice and diseases.¹⁷ The Mbororo traditionally moved through Kafia Kingi, where their cattle keeping skills and conscientious approach to veterinary medicine allowed them to cope with the tsetse flies avoided by other, more politically influential groups.¹⁸ Other Fellata groups entered from the north, particularly from Buram Locality where there is a substantial settled population. Mbororo and Fellata were known to move past Raja, to Dum Zubeir and on into Western Equatoria and further afield.

Since the independence of Sudan, the Rizeigat have crossed the Boro River to graze particularly along the northwest of Raja town but no further south than it, bringing their produce of meat and milk to market. Some Rizeigat groups have then moved from Raja to toich in eastern Northern Bahr al Ghazal. Habbania groups would enter from Buram Locality and move through Rodom and southeast towards Raja. In more recent years the Habbania, reaching as far as Raja, are traders, not cattle keepers and the Rizeigat have increasingly undertaken seasonal farming in northeast Raja County in addition to bringing their cattle. There is no toich in Raja County. This, together with its sparse populations, contributes to the absence of specific migration routes.

In Western Bahr al Ghazal the principal militia during the second war was the 'Fertit militia'. It was active at least from 1986 defending small towns from SPLA attack. This dynamic ensured that the area did not experience the same pattern of raiding from Baggara militias as was experienced in Northern Bahr al Ghazal, Warrap and Abyei. After fighting around Wau through 1987 and a massacre of Dinka civilians in the town in August of that year, the situation was defused by peace agreement, sanctioned by the new Commissioner and finalised in July 1988. This involved an amnesty, re-acceptance of militiamen into communities, power sharing between Dinka and Fertit and was made possible when the army and government in Wau had interest to support it¹⁹. After the 2005 CPA, a reconciliation conference was held in Mapel, which further normalised relations between the Jur, Dinka and Fertit.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Kafia Kingi Enclave, p55

¹⁹ This is an interesting lesson for contemporary challenges. It is also interesting to note that the report claims many traditional leaders had opposed militia activities but had failed to prevent them. Denying the horror of living, Africa Watch Report, March 1990, p.101

Traditional Migration Routes and 2011-2012 Migration Routes

Migration Routes

There are no demarcated routes. The table outlines general routes in traditional dry season migration into Western Bahr al Ghazal from areas now in Sudan for different pastoralist groups and indicates the status of the migration during the dry season 2011-2012.

There were no verified reports of dry season migration along traditional migration routes into Western Bahr al Ghazal during 2011-2012. The Rizeigat who usually enter Western Bahr al Ghazal reportedly travelled along the Bahr al Arab/Kiir river and entered Northern Bahr al Ghazal directly at Kiir Adem. Some Habbania and Rizeigat groups did practice 1-4 day temporary grazing into the state, moving within 30-50 kilometres of the border up to Al Togga and Faragh in Western Bahr al Ghazal. Witnesses in Northern Bahr al Ghazal also say that groups of Rizeigat arrived in Aweil West from Western Bahr al Ghazal and it is therefore likely some limited through-migration did take place.

Routes	Groups	2011-2012
Asalaya Locality (SKS)-Timsaha (WBG)-Boro River*-Raja-Marial Baai (NBG)	Rizeigat	X No reported Migration
El Ferdous (SKS)-Timsaha (WBG)-Boro River-Marial Baai (NBG)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mahameed • Althouthah • Rizeigat • Naiwaba • Rakhosa • Shattiya • Mahmoud • Mahmoudi • (El Ferdous) 	(Groups of Rizeigat were reported to have joined with Habbania. See below)
Buram-Hofrat al Nahas-Radom-Raja	Habbania	X No reported Migration
i) Buram (SD)-southwest through El Rodom Locality to Rodom-crossing the border southeast to Faraghi (WBG)-south to Timsah-Raja ii) Buram-Hofrat al Nahas-Radom-Sirri/Ed Dein (WBG)- southwards along River Shallaikha to Boro Medina-eastwards to Raja. iii) Buram-south to cross border just south of Qoz an N'am just inside El Rodom Locality-southwards to Balbul-Timsah-Raja	Fellata	(Habbania – joined by some Rizeigat – modified route iii) and undertook 2-4 day temporary visits into the tip of Raja County)
Kafia-Kingi-Along Boro River-Raja-Dum Zubeir-up to Western Equatoria†	Fellata	X Extremely limited.
Kafia-Kingi-Along Boro River-Raja-Marial Baai or Arroyo (NBG)	Mbroro through western routes	

* Traditionally, in colonial times, they would stop here at Boro

† Interviewees described the route reaching into 'Zande'. This large group is not limited to Western Equatoria and actually spans the borders of South Sudan, Democratic Republic of Congo and Central African Republic.

Summary of Dry Season Migration 2011-2012

Administrative Developments	Conflict/Tensions	Comments
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dec: South Darfur authorities instruct nomads not to migrate unless clarification is received from central authorities. Dec: Raja Commissioner accuses Government of Sudan in Khartoum of arming populations at the border. Dec-Mar: Strong messages from the Government of WBG to Fellata and Habbania that their migration is unwelcome without prior agreement. East Darfur authorities say this was particularly true for the Fellata. Dec-Mar: Security Committee in place at Wau involving UNHCR and UNMISS to assist in coordinating movement of last Mbororos from Lkoloko Boma to Tulus (250) and Buki in CAR (17). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 21 Dec: Raja Commissioner says clashes occurred at Siri Malaga between SAF and SPLA. 8 SPLA killed. 26 Dec: Unverified report that unidentified armed group attack north of Boro Medina (Bahr Tombak) killed 13 civilians. 28 Dec: Unverified report that SAF air raids at Bahr Tombak killed 17 civilians. Apr-May: Governor decides to expel Mbororo from Western Bhar al Ghazal after a perceived association with LRA groups. Ongoing harassment of the group by SSPS is reported and health conditions are poor. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SPLA and Raja Commissioner deny access to UNMISS to verify the incidents.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jan: South Darfur State Minister of Animal Resources says there is a large concentration of livestock along the north bank of Bahr al Arab/Kiir River from Al Rodom to As Sumayh. 10 Jan: East Darfur State is created. Governor not yet appointed after Kasha, a Southern Rizeigat, turned down the job. Mid-Jan: Native Administration from El Daein meet NGB authorities in Aweil and make progress on arrangements for dry season migration. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jan-June: Unverified reports of Rizeigat entering Western Bahr al Ghazal. SPLA forces reported at El Faraghi and Samaha (30-50km south of river). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unverified reports of Rizeigat in Western Bahr el Ghazal
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feb: Still no formal communication reported between Western Bahr al Ghazal and South Darfur State authorities. Feb: Impact of 23 Jan agreement between Malual and Rizeigat in Aweil facilitates dry season migration into Northern Bahr al Ghazal. Mid-Feb: Hon. Hammad Ismail Hammad appointed Governor of South Darfur. New officials are appointed at all levels of administration. Mid Feb: General Mohammed Hamid Fadlallah appointed Governor East Darfur. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Large concentrations of cattle remain along Bahr al Arab/Kiir River. Pressure growing for crossings. Rizeigat groups usually migrating into Western Bahr al Ghazal move eastwards along the Bahr al Ghazal/Kiir river and enter Northern Bahr al Ghazal at Kiir Adem. Feb: Unverified reports of low level clashes between JEM and armed militia south of Abu Matriq on the Bahr al Arab/Kiir 12 Feb: GRSS allege bombing of Balbala (50km west of Raja). Reports of SAF troops movement in Kafia Kingi, Radom. SAF and SPLA clashes also rumoured. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Militarisation of area restricts access for UNAMID patrols to monitor situation. Insecurity reinforced division and raised concerns around migration of Rizeigat. Still no negotiation over dry season migration.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mar: Governor of East Darfur is sworn in and immediately announces construction of 7 water reservoirs at Abu Matariq, El Ferdous, and Abu Jabra to reduce reliance on South Sudan. 30 Mar: Governor confirms his intention to organise a community dialogue with Rizeigat. Concordis, NGB State, and UNMISS to support. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mar: Habbania&Fellata graze along north-bank of Kiir/Bahr al Arab. Mar: SPLA Commander of the 43rd Brigade alleges: 1) Rizeigat kills 3 SPLA soldiers at Timsah; and 2) SAF arming Rizeigat at Balbala, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> All reported incidents undermine momentum for cross border discussions.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1-14 Apr: A 10 member Rizeigat delegation assembles in Al Daein for the Cross Border Migration Conference planned for 1st week of May 2012. End Apr: Preparations for conference continue but outbreak of conflict between Sudan and South Sudan along the border, including reportedly at Kafia Kingi, undermine progress. May: Cross Border Migration Conference is officially postponed. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Apr: Fellata moved southwest to swampy soils around Goz Dango encroaching on Habbaniya and Ta'isha land. Habbania families rest on north bank of river. Young members take majority of cattle across river up to 30km inside, reportedly reaching Altogga and Samaha. Some Rizeigat clans are grazing with the Habbania. No incidents reported. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New pattern of migration by Habbania and Rizeigatto cope with changed circumstances.

[illegible]

Summary of Administrative Initiatives

This table summarises some of the key historical and contemporary administrative initiatives pertaining to

management of the dry season migration into Western Bahr al Ghazal State.

Initiative	Aim	Key Actors	Outcome	Impact and Lessons
Munro-Wheatly Agreement 1924	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish hunting and grazing rights of Rizeigat and other Arabs in Bahr al Ghazal 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Anglo-Egyptian P. Munro (Gov. Darfur) Maj. Wheatley (Gov. Bahr al Ghazal) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Munro-Wheatly Line (23km/14m) south of Kiir/Bahr al Arab River 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Munro-Wheatly Line later becomes provincial administrative border of NBG-South Darfur. Rizeigat grazing permitted between Sopo and Sheleika up to 20km south of Umbelacha in the western district.
Migration Committees Pre-1939-?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To manage relations between 'Fertit' and dry season pastoralists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Committees formed from traditional authorities from <i>host</i> communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Central Committee Rural Committees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compensation generally paid by Fellata and Rizeigat. Main committee not active for decades. Committees disbanded when local authorities took over. Local committees now exist in rural areas for day to day management.
'Fertit-Bai' Reconciliation Conference Wau, 2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To restore free movement and peaceful relations in the State 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Lou Fertit' 'Sudanic Fertit' Dinka Riek Machar 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ceasefire between communities Arrangements for returns to home areas 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Established basis for unified administration of Western Bahr al Ghazal
Border Cooperation Conference 2009 (proposed)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To facilitate cross border cooperation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Riek Machar Gov. Mark Nypouch 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preparations made No conference 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Focus shifted to elections and increased competition between NCP and SPLM.
Involvement in regional initiatives ongoing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To inform WBG officials and leaders of models for cooperation along the border 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Governor CC Raja Conference organisers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> WBG delegates to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aweil 2010/2012 Kadugli I Border Management Technical Workshop 2011²⁰ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Raja officials and traditional authorities well informed of models in place along the border, notably in Northern Barh al Ghazal. Increased momentum/pressure to hold border cooperation conference in Raja County.
Borders Conflict Conference 7-8 Dec, 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To establish challenges and options for border management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> WBG Gov. WBG SSPC 3 counties Traditional Authorities 150 participants Concordis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consensus on principles Governor Press Statement Call for a two-state meeting and, no arms policy, SAF withdrawal²¹ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased momentum for a 2-state cross border conference to involve Governors. There is an absence of any framework to manage migration. Gov emphasized SAF militia recruitment at border in press statement
'SPLA Rizeigat'-South Darfur dialogue ²² Jan-Mar 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To open dialogue on trade issues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rizeigat in 5th and 6th Divisions South Darfur authorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> South Darfur rejected negotiation with Rizeigat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Government of South Darfur reportedly asked for negotiation with 'the Fertit'. The situation requires a state-state framework.
Border Conference 2012 May 2012 (postponed)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To establish migration framework with Rizeigat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> WBG Gov NBG Gov WBG Community Rizeigat Concordis UNMISS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Postponed due to insecurity along length of border 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Political initiative appears to exist to resolve the issue. A local arrangement will be difficult unless high-level arrangements are made. A community initiative would be limited without two-state backing.

²⁰ This High Level Symposium on Border Management and Security took place in June 2011 with delegations from the five border-states and Abyei and the SPLM negotiation teams. The meeting was informed by independent experts with experience with the African Union Border Program, the European Union and regional initiatives such as ECOWAS. A significant delegation participated from Western Bahr al Ghazal, including the Governor, SSPC coordinator, Commissioner of Raga and traditional authorities. The meeting was organised and facilitated by Concordis International.

²¹ Western Bahr al Ghazal Border Conflict Conference Report, Raja, Concordis International, 7-8 December 2011

²² Interview, Darfur Traders Union, Darfur Association, Raja County, 11 August 2012

Discussion

Overarching Framework: 2011-2012

In this study area the overarching policy framework was clear throughout the 2011-2012 season; dry season migration into Western Bahr al Ghazal State without an updated agreement with the state government was prohibited. In some cases it went further, with some reports that the Fellata, in particular, had been instructed by the Governor not to come. In December 2011, the government of South Darfur also instructed pastoralists not to enter South Sudan until the central authorities in Khartoum provided clarification on whether border crossings were permitted. In January 2012, the Raja County Commissioner said that given the increasing militarisation of the region, only an agreement between Khartoum and Juba could facilitate cross-border cooperation. In the absence of such a national framework, the state government decided not to pursue a potentially unworkable and dangerous arrangement. Without security guarantees, pastoralists broadly complied.

Strategic Factors

Security

In 2011-2012 security risks associated with dry season migration over-ruled the potential benefits. Tension along the stretch of border between Western Bahr al Ghazal and South and East Darfur was high. The increased militarisation by SAF, SAF aligned militia and SPLA, together with the effect of recent security incidents, precluded the possibility of an agreement on migration. A number of security issues are particularly pertinent:

Firstly, the SPLA-Rizeigat clashes of 2009 and 2010; the presence of Darfuri IDPs in Boro Medina, and the alleged February 2012 bombings remained fresh in the minds of officials and communities and destroyed the emerging trust in Rizeigat. Secondly, cross-border attacks from the LRA and their perceived association with Mbororo pastoralists reduced incentives for cooperation. Thirdly, proximity to the wider Darfur nexus increased the stakes of cooperation and expanded the list of stakeholders to include groups allied more closely with the Government of Sudan.²³ In January 2011, a critical moment in the cycle of dry season administration, an intensive period of fighting between JEM and GoS involved a lock-down of roads and transport to and from Nyala. This closed the space for cross border initiatives. Lastly, competition over border delineation and related issues led to deteriorating relations between Sudan and South Sudan and subsequently to fighting along the border, including reportedly within the Kafia Kingi area.²⁴

²³ For example, the Abbala section of Nuwaiba who move South from North Darfur, or those smaller Baggara tribes armed by the government in the face of increasing neutrality from the Southern Rizeigat. Habbania and Fellata militia groups have also variously been materially supported by the Government of Sudan.

²⁴ SAF presence in Kafia Kingi, Apertiath, Amut al Alzar was cited

This last dynamic ultimately undermined attempts to facilitate a framework for dry season migration. At the Borders Conflict Conference of December 2011, participants from Raja County also complained of armed Fellata, and the "presence of SAF affiliated militia along the border".

Fighting at Balbala, in Erre Payam, on 24 April 2010 was quoted by sources in Western Bahr al Ghazal as being a major factor in shaping relations between communities and officials in Raja county and the Rizeigat. As noted above, Rizeigat tribal leadership saw it as a response against SPLA aggression against migrating pastoralists in 2009.

The strategic value for SPLM/A of alliance building with the Rizeigat and Habbania is nevertheless real. Attempts by the Habbania and Southern Rizeigat to build stronger cross-border relations with the SPLM/A have reportedly been subject to spoiling actions alleged to have been taken on behalf of the Government of Sudan.²⁵ However, in 2011-2012, the strategic imperative to maintain security over-ruled that of attempting to expand SPLM/A influence among Baggara groups such as the Rizeigat.

Economics

Throughout the dry season the border was mostly open for the movement of goods until March 2012 and the outbreak of widespread conflict along the Sudan-South Sudan border. The closure of the border led to price rises and widespread hardship in Raja County. For example, the cost of fuel increased from 240SSP to 300SSP per jerrycan²⁶ (though this is less than half the rise seen in other border states such as Bentiu) and goods needed to be sourced from as far as Kampala. The amelioration of the economic situation in Raja County would need a cross-border mechanism to facilitate the movement of goods by wholesalers, overwhelmingly Darfurians (organised in Raja market into a traders union called the Darfur Association). The Director General of the Tax Office in Raja confirmed that his office is still waiting for guidelines to govern the administration or taxation of cross-border trade.

The restriction of dry season pastoralist migration from Sudan also played its part in rising prices. Without the produce of nomadic pastoralists, the price of meat and milk rose tenfold as compared to last year, from 1SSP per litre of milk to 10SSP. Between November 2010 and May 2011, Rizeigat were reportedly selling meat at 10SSP per kilo at Raja market. This year, cows were being sourced from as far afield as Aweil at double the price. Smuggling took place but at such a limited extent that contraband would be sold out at settlements close to the border, such as Timsah or Boro Medina, rarely reaching Raja. The situation is compounded by the

as a major grievance at the December 2011 Raja Borders Conference.

²⁵ Flint, p.26

²⁶ One jerry can is 18 litres.

onset of the rainy season, a natural border guard with roads joining South Darfur or East Darfur and Raja County not viable. Smuggling is carried out by foot or donkey from Timsah.

Border Delineation

National contestation over delineation of the border, and its relationship to other issues being negotiated at high level, is ultimately the source of militarisation in the area. Since the signing of the CPA, the SPLA has sought to establish its dominance in the area and the two armies have been in close proximity. One interviewee argued that poor relations between the Rizeigat and host communities are a result of impatience on the part of a previous commissioner, who was anxious to obtain and assert territorial sovereignty and caused acts of aggression against groups perceived to stand in its way.

Management Models

Cross Border Cooperation

There were no cross-border initiatives between communities or authorities of Western Bahr al Ghazal, South Darfur and East Darfur during 2011-2012. However, participants from Raja, Wau and River Jur counties did produce a set of consensus statements at the Concordis facilitated conference of 7-8 December 2011. These included the call for a "peace conference to be organised between Western Bahr al Ghazal and South Darfur to discuss border management and allow free movement of communities along the border". However, no follow up was possible due to the deteriorating security situation and security considerations outlined above.

Authority

Officials and community leaders in Raja are sceptical that a meaningful agreement can be secured without the participation and sanction of both the government of Sudan and the government of South Sudan at the gubernatorial level. The 2010 clash in Balabla is commonly cited as justification for this position. The Head of Traditional Authorities for Raja County stressed that such a formal inter-state agreement involving both governments and armies is a necessary condition for traditional authorities to be able to manage the day-to-day interactions of communities. The establishment of East Darfur State and the appointment of General Mohammed Hamid Fadlallah as its Governor is seen as a positive development by some in Raja, and one that increases the chance of successfully convening a cross border meeting involving both states in advance of the 2012-2013 dry season.

Historical Relations

Host communities say positive historical associations persist and represent a resource for building future cooperation. For example, the Feroqhe Paramount Chief and Head of Traditional Authorities in Raja County spoke of a strong bond with Rizeigat leader Mahmoud Musa Madibo, going back a generation to their fathers who

signed a friendship covenant between the two tribes.²⁷ The Paramount Chief explained how Nuwaiba Southern Rizeigat will exercise a duty of care towards Feroqhe in East Darfur and vice versa for Nuwaiba in Raja County. Communications between the two groups over the period 2011-2012 has been limited to the passing of greetings via traders, but the Paramount Chief believes that relations can easily be re-established as soon as the political and security conditions might allow.²⁸ Other groups have their own special relations. Historical relations with Habbania and Fellata have also been good and, according to the Paramount Chief, both groups would pay compensation more swiftly and with less pressure than the Rizeigat.

Security Actors

In January-March 2012 soldiers from SPLA Divisions in Western Bahr al-Ghazal, led by a Rizeigat colonel, reportedly communicated informally with the South Darfur authorities over trade issues. The contact was not successful. The reason for this given by the leader of the Darfur Association in Raja County during the researching of this report was that the authorities in South Darfur expressed a preference for talking with the civilian government of Western Bahr al Ghazal. Rizeigat in the SPLA may nevertheless be potential interlocutors for government officials in East Darfur State.

Coordination

Since 2007 proposed cross border conferences have fallen by the wayside of larger political events. The 7-8 December 2011 conference in Raja and the subsequent decision from the Governor to convene a grassroots conference was thus an important step to building a process of cross-border cooperation. Organisation of the planned cross-border grassroots conference was proceeding well prior to its postponement, with good coordination between Concordis, the Northern Bahr al Ghazal Peace Coordinator, the Western Bahr al Ghazal Peace Coordinator, and UNMISS.

²⁷ The previous Nuwaiba leader, Mahmoud Madibo's father, was Khalid Mohamed Al-Nur.

²⁸ Interview with Abdallahi Tamim Fartak, Paramount Chief of Feroqhe and Head of Traditional Authorities, Raja County, 11 August 2012 at Raja town

Northern Bahr el Ghazal

Introduction

Northern Bahr al Ghazal State was created from the north eastern section of Greater Bahr al Ghazal in 1994 and maintained its status in the post-CPA period. Transhumant migration of Rizeigat from southeast Darfur and Misseriya from south-western Kordofan traditionally takes place into Aweil East (344 921 inhabitants), Aweil North (143 127 inhabitants) and Aweil West (177 417 inhabitants) counties, with some reaching Aweil Centre (45 327 inhabitants). The region has been affected by massive population movements, first through slaving in the 19th century, and then through the Sudanese civil wars, with an estimated 400000 IDPs and refugees having returned to the State since the signing of the CPA.²⁹

Environment

Raqaba patterns are found on the northern side of the Bahr al Arab/Kiir and on both sides of the Loll River that cuts across Northern Bahr al Ghazal State. Waterlogged depressions in the rainy season provide good grazing and toich for the dry season. Cracking clays in the same belts also offer good potential for small-scale traditional agriculture. Land between the Loll and Bahr al Arab is higher but creeping floods and toich are also common. The west and southwest of Northern Bahr al Ghazal is cut by the transitional ironstone, which offers the potential for traditional land rotation farming but also, in contrast to the western plateau proper, extensive toich for grazing.³⁰

Livelihoods

In the summer of 2011, food security in all counties of Northern Bahr al Ghazal was at crisis levels due to increased prices, lean season shortages and increased demand due to over 65 000 recent returnees.³¹ The pressure was eased for established communities by the main sorghum harvest in October but nevertheless remained stressed across the state.

Border

The Malual assert an historic ethnic territory that extends north of the River Kiir/Bahr al Arab, some saying as far as Abu Matariq. After the fall of the Darfur sultanate in 1916, in part due to the military assistance of the Rizeigat, the British Governors of Darfur and Bahr al Ghazal eventually agreed a new boundary 23 kilometres/14 miles south of the river which guaranteed the Rizeigat grazing lands in the dry season. This emerged as the administrative boundary claimed by Sudan. In September 2012 the Governor of East Darfur

warned of war unless the SPLA retreated to the Munro-Wheatly line.³²

Security Situation

Northern Bahr al Ghazal has largely been peaceful since 2003 as a result of the progress on peace talks between NCP and SPLM/A, but since the mid-1980s to 2002-3, the region was subject to attacks by Misseriya and Rizeigat tribal militias - later PDFs - and the SSDF militias of Kerubino Kuanyin Bol. These conflict histories shape perceptions today. The area along the train line from Babanusa to Aweil was particularly insecure, as trains moved with protection from armed militia. More recently, conflict between Rizeigat IDPs and other Darfuri IDPs created an explosive situation in 2005 and Misseriya clashed with the SPLA in 2007 and 2008. Isolated incidents have also taken place within Northern Bahr al Ghazal. For example, a 2010 attack by a former SPLA soldier forced all non-southerners out of Marial Baai for 18 months. At the onset of the dry season in 2011-2012 the area was heavily militarised with SPLA holding positions on the north bank of the River Kiir/Bahr al Arab River. Some interviewees also said JEM rebels were using the Safaha/Samaha area to move between Darfur and South Kordofan.

Governance

The area is a traditional stronghold of the SPLM/A. There are few internal conflict challenges in the state, in part due to the lack of major ethnic divisions (roughly 10% of the population are Jur Luo/Chol but relations are good with the Dinka Malual). Political divides exist, as emerged around the disputed 2010 elections, but public opposition is not openly expressed. Citizens report perceptions of corruption and government unfairness which is magnified by poor service delivery throughout the state.³³ However, strong control over the state apparatus facilitates stability, security and the implementation of state endorsed agreements.

Peoples

The following chart lists the groups of people involved in the seasonal cross-border migration. It should be noted that statements about previous or current allegiances in the table below are intended to highlight the current perceptions of other groups and are made for the purpose of understanding how such perceptions affect the dynamics of the relations between groups and the impact of such perceptions on approaches to seasonal migration. In circumstances such as this, the perception is as important in determining future behaviour as the actuality.

Listed in alphabetical order, blue shading indicates the

²⁹ Northern Bahr al Ghazal Strategic Plan 2012-2015, p.9

³⁰ Purnell, M.F and Venema J.H, Agricultural Potential Regions of The Sudan, Soil Survey Administration, Technical Bulletin No.28, Wad Medani, 1976

³¹ South Sudan Food Security Outlook Update, August 2011 and July 2012, p.2

³² As reported on www.sudantribune.com, 15 September 2012

³³ See for example DRC/DDG, Promoting the Peace: Ensuring conflict-sensitive development in Northern Bahr el Ghazal State, and NDI, Governing South Sudan, 2011.

South Sudanese host communities and white indicates the Sudanese pastoral groups.

Peoples	Summary Information
Awlad Kamil	This Misseriya Amirate is the largest sub-section of Ajaira Misseriya, predominantly from around Muglad but also from Al Mogodama village area in Sudan. Awlad Kamil traditionally use the central murhals through the PCA Abyei Area and into Warrap and Unity State. A number of Khashm al Bayt also enter Northern Bhar al Ghazal down the western murhal. The paramount leader of Misseriya Ajaira comes from this section (at times he will also represent and lead the Zuruq, such as happened during the Babu Nimr period). Since 1990 Awlad Kamil have undergone a process of urbanisation, and livelihoods have adapted to include farming and small-scale business. Pastoralism, however, remains the dominant livelihood activity for a majority. The Awlad Kamil are fairly united and follow the Amir Mukhtar Babo, however the native administration does not control the entire community, and some youth are seeking satisfaction of their aspirations in their own way. It is widely believed by border populations in South Sudan, international commentators and Misseriya interviewed for this report that youth from Awlad Kamil are strongly connected with the PDF.
Dinka Malual	Large agro-pastoralist Dinka group based in Northern Bahr al Ghazal, South Sudan. Strong influence in SPLM/A affairs. The group was heavily affected by the slave raiding of the 18th and 19th centuries and underwent large-scale displacement during Sudan's civil wars.
Fayareen	This Misseriya Ajaira sub-section is predominantly from around Meiram and Al Mogodama in Sudan. They practice both farming and pastoralism and migrate to Aweil East in Northern Bahr al Ghazal State down an eastern murhal. As compared Awlad Kamil and Awlad Omran, the group is small but well educated, historically providing Islamic scholars to the Misseriya. Fayareen are unified under one administration and, in 2011, they elected a new Amir. Statements by Fayareen leaders at peace conferences and interviews with Misseriya representatives to the Warawar joint peace committee suggest that some youth groups do not follow the decisions of the native administration and traditional elders and that they have been recently been involved in PDF activities. The general population carry small arms for protection from cattle raiding.
Jur Chol	Luo farmers living in the southwest of Northern Bahr al Ghazal State, Western Bahr al Ghazal and Warrap in South Sudan. Linguistically related to the Shilluk, Pari, Acholi and Anyuak, they comprise about 10% of the population in Northern Bahr al Ghazal State. In recent years, the Nilotic identity of Jur groups has become a pivot for political mobilisation.
Southern Rizeigat	A large Arab tribe, related but distinct to the Rizeigat of North Darfur, based around El Daein in East Darfur State, Sudan. The tribe is unified under one Nazir, Saeed Mahmoud Ibrahim Musa Madibo and is heavily dependent on cattle with low levels of literacy. The general population carry small arms to protect their cattle. Commentators have reported that the southern Rizeigat largely fought for the government during the war first as 'Fursan' militia and then as PDF though some Rizeigat have also supported the SPLM (e.g. Khalafallah, 2004). A number of Rizeigat fighters reportedly joined the SPLA in 2006 (see for example, Small Arms Survey, 2008).

Historical Interactions

In the 19th century slaver Zubeir Pasha's strong alliance with the Southern Rizeigat pitted them against the Dinka Malual, who were forced to vacate their settlements north of the river. Despite the displacement, Rizeigat could only extend their grazing to the river until new arrangements were forged under the hand of the Anglo-Egyptian regime.³⁴ The first, made in 1912 after a significant conflict two years earlier³⁵, proffered hunting rights to the Rizeigat of still-independent Darfur. Following the 'Munro-Wheatly' agreement of 1924, which set the grazing boundary 23 kilometres/14 miles south of the river, and until the onset of the first civil war, relations were broadly managed peacefully with regular conferences held at Safaha, now Samaha.

Relations between Dinka Malual and dry season pastoralist communities suffered during the civil wars. Rizeigat raiding throughout the first war intensified in the second war, with full blown implementation of 'militia strategy'³⁶ and the eventual formation of the Abu Matriq Forces. In January and February 1987, for example,

Rizeigat militia undertook a series of raids into Aweil District. Amnesty International documented attacks on Gok Machar and Mayom Adhel, north of Nyamlell, involving the killing of civilians, burning of villages and theft of cattle.³⁷ The raiding led to widespread displacement south of the River Loll.

On 28 March 1987 over one thousand Dinka were killed at Al-Daein by a group of Rizeigat armed with guns, spears and other weapons. Over 700 people were burnt alive in the railway station and the police station. The atrocity broke a cycle of tit-for-tat attacks by SPLA and Rizeigat by its scale and location away from the front line. A National Commission of Inquiry into the Al Daein incident was announced. This exonerated Rizeigat militia from wrongdoing. A second commission was also announced to look into the relations between Dinka Malual and Rizeigat, to be comprised of the Regional governors of Darfur, Kordofan and Bahr al Ghazal. However, it is not clear what became of it.

The memory of these events and the perceived lack of accountability for attacks committed by both sides during wartime remain important factors in community relations

³⁴ Johnson, D, When Boundaries Become Borders, RVI, 2010, p.43

³⁵ Discussed at the 2010 Dinka Malual-Rizeigat Conference held in January 2012.

³⁶ Flint, J, De Waal, A, Short History of a Long War, 2007, p.16

³⁷ Sudan: Human Rights Violations in the context of Civil War, December 1989, AI Index: AFR 54/17/89, p18

today. For example, in 2004 an influx of IDPs from Darfur generated tension in the state. This was because one of the displaced groups comprised Rizeigat alleged to be associated with attacks on Northern Bahr al Ghazal in wartime. Conflict between this group, other IDP groups and host Malual Dinka in Ninboli (Aweil West) threatened to explode until security forces intervened in March 2005 and an alternative distribution of pastures was arranged.³⁸

Recently peace conferences in 2010 and 2012 between Malual and Rizeigat have cemented working relations between the communities. However, relations with Misseriya remain more problematic. Continued deterioration of the position of Misseriya in the post-CPA period has increased pressure on Misseriya (primarily Fayareen and Awlad Kamil Amirates) to use pastures in Northern Bahr al Ghazal. However, heavily armed as militia, these groups have not been willing to cross into South Sudan without arms, citing fear and experience of SPLA harassment. Two significant clashes occurred between Misseriya and SPLA, in December 2007 and March 2008.

In early 2008 Fayareen, Awlad Kamil and Dinka Malual established committees sanctioned and attended by high level officials from NCP and SPLM/A to facilitate arrangements for grazing. A number of exchange visits occurred in 2008 and a Misseriya-Malual conference finally took place in November. The process kindled relations and led to a re-opening of the road but follow-up implementation has been poor. Compensation, return of abductees, disarmament and border demarcation remain outstanding issues and it is difficult to see their resolution without a high-level agreement between the two countries.

Despite the conflict histories touched on above, stories of cooperation are threads that bind the communities together. For example, during the wars, civil administrators attempted to implement migration arrangements according to the Munro-Wheatly line, with some success, and SPLA commanding officers made pragmatic arrangements according to the time and place. These included the establishment of Peace Markets jointly managed by a Misseriya and Dinka Malual Joint Peace Committee with its seat at Warawar since 1991. A Rizeigat and Dinka Malual peace committee was also established in Gok Machar, formally enshrined in 2001.

Longer historical narratives of cooperation also represent a resource that is being drawn upon during peace processes today. For example, during the 1873 invasion of Zubeir Rahma al-Mansur - the regional slaving chief for Western Bahr al Ghazal - Rizeigat who could not flee to the Darfur Sultanate took refuge with Malual Dinka. Similar periods of inter-community hosting under political

pressure took place during the Mahdiyya.³⁹ According to at least one report, after Anyanya II operations began to affect Northern Bahr al Ghazal in 1964, the Sultan of Marial Baii reportedly fled with his people and animals and was accorded land and welcome by Rizeigat Nazir Mahmoud Musa Madibo in South Darfur.⁴⁰ Many Malual have lived for decades in Al Daein (not as IDPs) and intermarriage has been common in both directions (including famously with the Al Mahdi family). One Rizeigat elder at a recent peace conference estimated that 30% of the Rizeigat have Dinka ancestry.⁴¹

³⁸ Sudan Transition and Recovery Database, Aweil West County, 2005, p.5

³⁹ Kocjok, 1991, p.74

⁴⁰ <http://news.sudanvisiondaily.com/details.html?rsnpid=203395>

⁴¹ Analysis of nine conflicts, 2003, p.41. Omda El Haj Ahmed Gadim spoke at length of intermarriage and racial ties at the Dinka Malual-Rizeigat Dialogue of February 2012, saying: "Those red skinned people amongst you are offspring of those children and women abducted by Dinka from their raid to Rizeigat."

Traditional Migration Routes and 2011-2012 Migration Routes

Misseriya

Officials at the Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries (MARF) in Northern Bahr al Ghazal say 1,390,000 cattle gathered at War Guet, Mar Jart and Adovark and stress that this is small percentage of the usual number. Unusually, there were no goats and sheep this year.

The migration into Northern Bahr al Ghazal is a final leg on the western *murhal* and undertaken predominantly by six Khashm al Bayt from each of two Misseriya sections: Fayareen and Awlad Kamil. In recent decades, these groups would cross the River Kiir/Bahr al Arab by March and move up to toich along the Loll River. In very dry years they have crossed the Loll River.

In 2011-2012, for the first time in many years, Misseriya pastoralists did not cross into Northern Bahr al Ghazal. Persistent suspicion between the two communities and a wider deterioration in security – in which members of Awlad Kamil and Fayareen played a part – help explain the absence of migration, despite an agreement made at Aweil in February 2012. The pastoralists, gathered at Grinti on the north side of the River Kiir/Bahr al Arab, were allowed by SAF and SPLA to water at the river in cover of darkness once every 3 or 4 nights, but those interviewed for this report said the result was a disaster; with the loss of 70 in every 200 cattle.

Migration routes planned for 2011-2012 were developed at the peace conference of February 2011-2012 and at subsequent follow up meetings. The routes lead pastoralists primarily to the grazing lands of Rup Dier, Rang Awai and Waragai and are shown schematically on the map overleaf. In previous years an eastern route would also take Rizeigat to the vicinity of Warawar through Rang Awai. Today the railway represents an informal boundary between grazing areas, with Rizeigat to the west and Misseriya to the east of the tracks.⁴²

Rizeigat

MARF in Northern Bahr al Ghazal reported that 2,750,000 head of cattle entered Northern Bahr al Ghazal between November 2011 and March 2012.⁴³

A number of Rizeigat crossed the river at Kiir Adem early in January 2012 in advance of the Rizeigat-Dinka Malual peace conference that took place 20-22 January. They

proceeded to Jiach and Makuei, grazed along the Kiir Adem-Gok Machar road. Reports were also heard of Rizeigat in Omoro Payam, three hours west of Arroyo, alongside Fellata/Mbororo who had entered from Western Bahr al Ghazal.

Following the January 2012 peace conference a large influx of Rizeigat entered the state, including those who traditionally would move into Raja County but were unable to do so this year. By 19 February, the East Darfur State Director of the Farmers Union announced that 60% of the livestock of East Darfur was in South Sudan. By March, he estimated the figure at 70%, with the remaining grazing along the north side of the river.

The pastoralists followed grazing routes towards Aweil Centre and Aweil West through March and April, though a smaller number than usual reached as far south as Arroyo. Traditionally, Rizeigat enter from Western Bahr al Ghazal at Baddaliet and it seems likely that a small number followed this route in 2011-2012 but this is not confirmed. Rizeigat pastoralists did not follow their traditional routes across and down to Rang Awai and Warawar, east of the railway, though their traders did visit those places. The last Rizeigat exited the area around June 28th 2012.

Local and state authorities say that the tax (50SSP per cattle camp of 300-400 cattle) was generally paid. However, during the seasonal review conference of 21 to 23 June, Dinka Malual participants claimed that Rizeigat had failed to honour the agreement in three other central ways; 1) Some pastoralists had carried firearms forbidden by the agreement; 2) Some pastoralists had failed to abide and adhere to agreed Entry Points and Migration Routes; and 3) Some Rizeigat exceeded the agreed duration of stay (January 15 to May 15 each year).

⁴² Rizeigat entering the state from War Guet would now split from Misseriya at Rum Akeer and move west towards Aweil North.

⁴³ This is the number that the MARF state were vaccinated and given documentation. Dr Peter Ajok, Director of Animal Health, Northern Bahr al Ghazal, Aweil, 9 August 2012

Summary of Dry Season Migration 2011-2012: Misseriya

Routes ⁴⁴	Groups ⁴⁵	2011-2012	Administration	Conflict/Peace
Eastern Route/s: Adama-Wak Agor-Yinh Pabol-Angot 2011-2012 sub-routes agreed with community: i) Kiir-kou/Grinti-Malek Gumel-Majak Wuoi-Tom Kiau-Majok Yinh Thiou-War Ayen-Malith Alec Yai-Rup Dier ii) Wak Agor on the Kiir/Bahr al Arab River-Yinh Pabol-Maker Jiel-Angoon-Riang Awai	Misseriya Awlad Kamil in 6 Khashm al Bayt: Dar Salam Fadala Dar Shegi Kamil Zurga Fadilia Um Ja'la		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 19-20 Dec: Dinka Malual (Aweil East) Preparatory Meeting in Warawar. Position paper developed. 14-15 Feb: Misseriya preparatory conference in Meiram. 19-22 Feb: Dinka Malual-Misseriya Peace Conference (150 Misseriya Fayareen, no officials from South Kordofan) 'weapons free' migration agreed. 19-29 Mar: 1st Peace Monitoring Activity undertaken by the joint Miss-Riz-Dinka peace committee. 8-22 May: 2nd Peace Monitoring Activity June: 3rd Peace Monitoring Activity (2 days). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ongoing clashes in East Darfur between SAF and JEM. Some groups of Misseriya supported the trade blockage of road from Meiram and attacks on returnees in 2011. 6 Feb: 3 Misseriya reported killed in Meiram by other Misseriya following arguments about how to approach the migration season. 9 Feb: 3 Misseriya killed by SPLA near Kiir/Bahr al Arab. Large number of cows stolen. GRSS compensated families. Some reports suggest it started with a Misseriya thief killing 1 Dinka and stealing 130 cows. 22 Jan: Exchange of fire reported between SPLA and Misseriya civilians. Late Feb: Disruption of trade routes by Gos. Ongoing availability of water and grazing north of river. Trade disrupted by Heglig war. April: SAF/SPLA clashes at War Guet. SAF bombing of War Guet reported on 17-18 April. 16 May: Commissioner of Aweil East offered an ox each to Misseriya and Rizeigat on the occasion of SPLM/A Day in Wanyjok.
Central Route/s: Kiirkou-Makar Akoon-Rumchol 2011-2012 sub-routes agreed with community: i) Wak Agor-Yinh Pabol-Maker Jiel-Rumaker-Angoon/Rang Awai ii) War guet-War Adol Bul-Agok-Rum Her-War Agany-Marial Jong Ngeth-Adool Kuol Bol iii) Galama (on Kiir/Bahr al Arab River)-Majok Rak-Riang Acom-War Adhot-Majok Mamer-War Pac-Macar Lung-War Ngaap-Maluel Kuel-Malek Biet-Marial Adal	Misseriya Fayar in 6 Khashm al Bayt: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awlad Awana Walad Ogala Walad Neim Walad Kamil Amsatang Walad al Hamami 	X No migration on any routes. Dec 2011: Misseriya arrive at grazing grounds 10km north of river Kiir/Bahr al Arab at Grinti.		
Western Route: Warguet-(Samieh)-Agok-Rumaker-Riang Awai	Nb/Traditionally Um Dhahiya Rizeigat also. 2011-2012 they split at Rumaker to west of railway. Fellata			

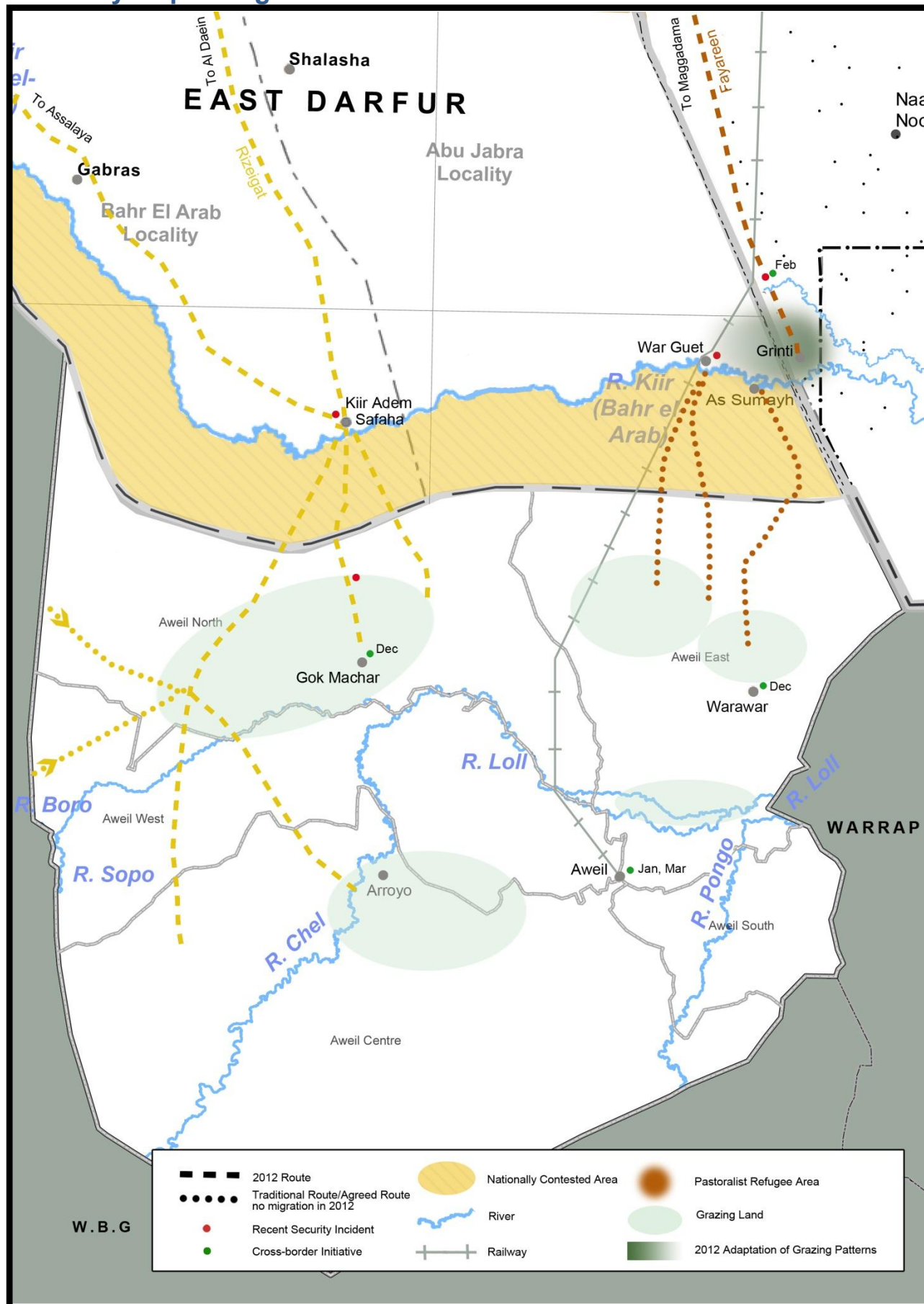
⁴⁴ From peace agreement 2012 Dinka Malual-Misseriya and sub-routes from Seasonal Migration Security Program Report, Northern Bahr al Ghazal State, Aweil East County, committee report on March 19-29 trip.

⁴⁵ This information about the Misseriya groups migrating into Aweil East was given by Misseriya and Dinka Malual members of the Warawar Peace Committee, Warawar, 9 August 2012

Summary of Dry Season Migration 2011-2012: Rizeigat

Routes	Groups	2011-2012	Administrative Developments	Conflict/Tensions
Matarik (Bahr al Arab Locality)- Gok Machar (Aweil North)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rizeigat Um Ahmed • Rizeigat • Um Dhahiya • Rizeigat Um Ahmed 	✓ - Migration proceeded In: small groups from 1 Jan. Larger groups after 24 Jan. Out: 1 Jul.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dec 2011: GoS Minister of Defence reportedly visits Abu Matariq to request cooperation. Rizeigat reject cooperation with SAF. Rizeigat inform NBG by phone. • Dec 2011: SPLA deployed on river. Reports of SAF/PDF approaching their positions. • Dec 2011: Rizeigat trade ongoing, including with SPLA at Safahah market, now 1km north of river. • SPLA move with nomads for security • Feb: Aweil North authorities say Rizeigat refuse to pay taxation at Kiir Adem despite agreement. Governor instructed collectors not to jeopardise security. • Feb: 20 lorries daily crossing to Aweil N. • 16 Mar: 80 Rizeigat cows stolen near Abouth (80km north of Gok Machar). SSPS/SPLA caught 2 thieves and returned 36 cattle. • Mar: 50 Rizeigat checkpoints from Abu Matariq-Kiir Adem/Safahah. • 2 Apr: 45 calves stolen from Rizeigat in Aweil North. Recovered. Thieves jailed. • Late Apr: Rizeigat nr. Gok Machar had fled north of river in face of rumour of attack from Dinka Malual in response to treatment of Dinkas in Meiram. No attack. • 1 June: Two Dinka men killed by Rizeigat. • 3 Jul: All Rizeigat crossed Bahr al Arab/Kiir and moving northwards. No reports of intimidation by SAF or PDF. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 14-15 Dec: Dinka Malual (Aweil West and North) preparatory meeting in Nyamlell town and position paper. • Jan 1: Aweil North Commissioner visits Rizeigat at Kiir Adem and introduces tax collectors. • Jan: Proposed high level political peace conference in Nyala postponed. • 21-24 Jan: Dinka Malual-Rizeigat 'Grassroots' Peace Conference in Aweil (Rizeigat Nazir and senior community leaders are in Khartoum). • Establishes 5 grazing routes • 7 member joint court in Gok Machar • Clear penalties for offenses • 4 Mar: Tax issue resolved: Joint Tax Collection Committee established. • Migration to Raga rejected by WBG • 09 April: UNISFA/AJOC delegation to NBG request Governor to pressure Warrap to accept migration. • Late April: Joint Peace Committee toured area to calm situation after rumours of planned attacks. • April: SAF/SPLA clashes at Kir Adem. SAF bombing reported on 17-19 April. • 8 May: Rizeigat man gunned down in Rup Aker. Legal process in place. • Early June: Two day reconciliation meeting following killing of two Dinka. • 29-30 Jun: Dinka Malual-Rizeigat Migration Review Conference.
Matarik-Khiir Adem/Galama-Makuei-(50km West of Gok Machar)				
Matarik-Achana				
Matarik-Abuoth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Um Dhahiya 	✓ - Migration proceeded to Aboul???		
El Daein-through Marial Baai-Jiac(70km east of Gok-Machar)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Um Dhahiya • El Nawaiba 	✓ - Migration proceeded		
Other routes not in agreement:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rizeigat • Fellata/ • Ombororo • El Nawaiba • Mahameed-Althouthah • El Nawaiba 	✓ - Extremely limited ✓ - Limited X - No migration ✓ - Migration proceeded		
Raga (WBG)-Ajak (Omoro Payam/Arroyo) (this routes is also followed in reverse, but not in 2011-2012)				
Raga-Marial Baai-Gok Machar				
Traditional movement from Elfardous Locality-Aroyo				

Summary Map of Migration Routes



Summary of Administrative Initiatives

This table summarises some of the key historical and contemporary administrative initiatives pertaining to

management of the dry season migration into Northern Bahr al Ghazal State.

Initiative	Aim	Key Actors	Outcome	Impact and Lessons
Khartoum Peace Effort , January 1988	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Peace between Baggara and Malual 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rizeigat Dinka Malual 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreement achieved on compensation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Traditional leaders did not appear able to enforce payment of the diya or control militia activity.
Greater Aweil Dialogue June 2003, in Mabil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved relations, including with Miss. and Riz. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Four counties, SPLA, Rizeigat & Miss. traders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 14 resolutions inc. - Joint committee on local resource sharing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Laid basis for well-regulated peaceful relations within NBG and for post-CPA conferences with Misseriya and Rizeigat.
Dinka Malual and Misseriya Peace initiative January-November 2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To reach agreement on: grazing, abducted persons, compensations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SG SPLM Gov. SKS Malual Misseriya Fayareen - A.Kamil 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Joint Final Communiqué between Fayareen, Awlad Kamil and Dinka Malual 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> April 2008: Road reopened May 2008: Exchange visits 11-14 Nov: Dinka Malual and Misseriya Grassroots Dialogue Poor support to implementation of dialogue
Dinka Malual and Rizeigat 'Grassroots Conference' , Aweil, January 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreement on peaceful coexistence. To agree rights/responsibilities of each group in each territory. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Malual (Aweil N&W) Rizeigat Nawaiba Um Dhahiya Um Ahmed Mahameed-Althouthan GoSS (NBG) USAID, PACT 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Joint Communiqué Very public and well shared in media/demonstration effect. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strong support of Government of NBG added weight to resolutions. Public dissemination supported sense of stability and confidence. Donor support to dialogue processes with strong political support justified.
Malual Preparatory Conference 2012 , Gok Machar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop position paper on Rizeigat migration. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aweil (W&N) authorities and Malual communities USAID 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Position paper (proposed between Dinka and Al Fayareen). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Use of position papers is a strong model to strengthen dialogue process.
Malual Preparatory Conference 2012 , Warawar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop position paper on Rizeigat migration. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Aweil East authorities and Malual communities USAID 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Position paper. Nb/ position papers for Miss and Rez have same contents. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitated communication process, demonstrated commitment, spurred Misseriya to organise a preparatory meeting
Malual-Rizeigat 'Grassroots' Conference , 20-22 January, 2012, Aweil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To agree modalities for management of the seasonal migration. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gov. NBG Aweil N&W Rizeigat 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Communiqué (+ resolutions) 5 routes approved 1st Jan-end-May Strong publicity Cultural activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ensure both sides equally supported to prepare position papers and papers shared Agreement well known by all. Clandestine trade continuous Diyas paid by both sides though outstanding cases remain
Preparatory Conference , Meiram, 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop position paper on migration to NBG 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Al Fayareen Misseriya Awlad Kamil 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Position paper 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conflictual. Consensus in preparatory stage not possible. Conflict preceded meeting. Important in communicating commitment of certain groups.
Dinka Malual-Misseriya Conference , 19-21 February, 2012, Aweil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To agree modalities for seasonal migration and trading relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Gov. NBG Aweil East Misseriya Fayareen also A.Kamil Mezigna, Omran, Fadliya NSRSG 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Joint Communiqué⁴⁶ and resolutions No guns; grazing along 3 routes from Feb 15th-end May; Joint Court in Majok Yinh Thiou 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Major problem to make peace with one section of Misseriya Major imbalance. 'South Sudan' talking just to communities 'not to Sudan'. Removed Fayareen from paper. Useful input of poetry/art to make political point.

⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that the wording of this joint communiqué is exactly the same as the wording for the 2008 joint communiqué. The only difference being the deletion of any reference to the authorities of South Kordofan State under the "Inspired and encouraged by" section.

Dissemination and Follow Up Activities February-June, 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To “sensitize and educate”⁴⁷ communities on the resolutions and promote its discharge. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> USAID 8 member committees NBG and in SKS. USAID 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Three major activities: 1) 10 day tour in Mar; 2) 15 day tour in May; 3) 2 day tour in June 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local peace committees formed SKS committee limited due to working context Huge marginal benefit of additional resources available to this stage of process
Seasonal Review Conference 29-30 June, 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To review impact of seasonal migration agreements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NBG State ministers Misseriya Rizeigat USAID 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Confirmed 2012 conference resolutions Established gains/unresolved issues. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First conference of kind - useful model established. Equal participation important Momentum and trust building Risk of grievance accumulation reduced

⁴⁷ First Seasonal Migration Security Program Report, Sylvester Madut Abraham, Wanyjok, 3 April, 2012, p.1

Discussion

Overarching Framework: 2011-2012

In the absence of a national framework, the Government of Northern Bahr al Ghazal instituted a high profile policy of guaranteeing security to Rizeigat and Misseriya dry season pastoralists subject to conditions. The latter were to be agreed by traditional authorities at migration conferences. These were held in January and February 2012, involving the Rizeigat and Misseriya respectively.

Strategic Factors

Security

The primary factor influencing the position of Northern Bahr al Ghazal towards the dry season migration is competition between Khartoum and Juba for influence over the Misseriya and Rizeigat. Governor Paul Malong made this clear in his visit to Warrap State in April 2012 during which he argued on its basis for Warrap to also approach an agreement with the Misseriya. Cross-border cooperation represents a strategic alliance building exercise aimed at weakening the incentives of Baggara groups to participate in conflict along the border. A softer presentation of this policy, as outlined by the former Peace Coordinator⁴⁸ is its framing in terms of solidarity. In which case, the stated objective becomes empowering the marginalised pastoralists of Sudan.

Supporters of the policy in South Sudan see this as a national security imperative. In Northern Bahr al Ghazal, it may also be linked to local border claims that exceed even further north than the River Kiir/Bahr al Arab. The situation is explosive; statements made by the Governor of East Darfur, General Mohammed Hamid Fadlalla, on 12 September 2012 warned of an outbreak of war should South Sudan fail to withdraw from the disputed 'Mile 14' area. The positions of Rizeigat and Misseriya pastoralists, caught between dependencies on both governments, are critical to the opportunity frontiers for resolution of this heated issue. The Rizeigat made their choice, at least for 2011-2012, when they reportedly rejected a request for security cooperation made in person by Government of Sudan Defence Minister on his visit to Abu Matariq in December 2011.

The security imperative was waged aggressively using both peace conferences and open warfare: The Governor of Northern Bahr al Ghazal reportedly told the Rizeigat at private meetings: "you can have peace but we are ready for war" and a heavy presence of well equipped SPLA was stationed just north of Kiir Adem and near War Guet. During the clashes at War Guet and Rum Akeer in April 2012, Division 3 of the SPLA, under the leadership of Santino Diing Wol,

reportedly engaged with SAF and associated militias⁴⁹ particularly fiercely. The intention was to demonstrate that the strategies of the 1980s will not work in the context of an independent South Sudan. The combination of soft and hard approaches is an attempt to provide a clear choice to pastoralist groups.

Economics

Economic factors also contributed to the position of Northern Bahr al Ghazal's government. 90% of goods sold in Aweil usually come from Sudan. Deterioration in the relationship between the NCP and SPLM has led to road blockages, particularly along the road to Meiram, and also from July 2012 on the road to Safaha from Al Daein - a major source of frustration and contention among the population of Northern Bahr al Ghazal. Nevertheless, cross-border smuggling was pervasive during 2011-2012 with goods brought to Safaha by donkey and collected by trucks moving to and from Aweil. The whole situation was made worse by the devaluation of the South Sudan Pound making imports even more expensive. Traders are, however, proving adaptive and an increasing number of goods are arriving from Kampala, via Juba and Wau. The economic imperative for cooperation with Sudan may therefore reduce in future years, especially with infrastructural improvements. Today, it remains strong.

As in other places along the Sudan-South Sudan border, the possibility of local taxation raised from the migration is welcome, particularly so under current austerity measures. Broadly, the Rizeigat pastoralists are reported to have paid in accordance with their agreements. One group of Rizeigat refused to pay the tax until they reached the Munro-Wheatly Line 14 miles south of the Kiir/Bahr al Arab River⁵⁰. In this case the Governor instructed the motorcycle bound tax collectors not to pursue the case in order to avoid any unnecessary security incident; a further indication that security was the primary factor of concern to the government at this stage, with economics a contributory factor.

Through the season, Rizeigat made clandestine trade routes into Aweil East through Rup Aker, Maluel Kuel and War Land Garam in Aweil East. They also traded in Aweil North and West counties in similar ways. Trading relations were good in most cases, with some exceptions: In May, foreign traders had vacated Malual Kon market due to perceptions of insecurity. A January 2012 attack, which killed a number of Rizeigat, also led to an abandonment of Peth market. Economic interaction promotes trust building (the

⁴⁹ These included members of the Awlad Kamil and Fayareen Amirates.

⁵⁰ The January Rizeigat-Malual agreement delinked taxation from border demarcation by specifically including Kiir Adem in the tax zone for 2011-2012 regardless of the position of the 1/1/56 border. This was agreed by all participants at the conference.

⁴⁸ Interview, Lino Adub, Minister of Local Government, Northern Bahr al Ghazal, 9 August 2012, Aweil

absence of Misseriya traders in 2011-2012 contributed to suspicions). The Misseriya in Warawar in late June 2012 said they also hoped to establish good trading routes like the Rizeigat but cited concerns about security at the border.⁵¹

SAF and SPLA made an agreement to protect the market at Safaha (now on the north side of the river following a bombing at Kiir Adem in December and its subsequent relocation by SPLA) and trade with Rizeigat is ongoing. The market is working well between Rizeigat, Dinka Malual and the two armies.

Management Models

Participation and authority

Cross-border migration arrangements were possible because the close control of the Governor of the state and the army as clear and strong authority lines which are so often absent in other contexts, made implementation a practical possibility. The agreements were possible, remarked a senior government official in Aweil, because the “governor could ensure everything was connected, from economics, security, to livelihoods”. This logic was also outlined clearly by Executive Chief Deng Lual, Deputy Chairman of the Warawar peace committee: “As for peace, it needs to be strengthened. This can be done if the army is strong behind us. If we are not strong, then peace will not be accepted by the other side”.⁵²

The Government of Sudan prohibited cross-border pastoralist migration through the 2011-2012 season. This precluded any possibility of cross border coordination between the administrations of Northern Bahr al Ghazal, South Darfur and East Darfur and produced an imbalance in attempts to manage cross border movements of people and livestock. The Aweil conferences of January and February were ostensibly held between traditional authority leaderships. The sanctions inherent in the resultant agreements were upheld by the state and this was key to their success.⁵³ The problem was that in order to satisfy the conditions laid out by the Malual at the conferences, the Misseriya needed to gain the guarantee of their state authorities and this was not possible. Indeed, the Government of Sudan appeared strongly to discourage migration and cross-border cooperation and legal action was taken against members of the cross-border peace committee formed in 1991, with courts sentencing those found guilty to terms of imprisonment. Executive Chief Deng Luol Akuei, told the Misseriya delegation at the Aweil conference: “We consider you to be all Misseriya. We shall hold you responsible for anything that is occurring in your entire Dar Misseriya”. The visiting delegation could do little

but undertake this responsibility, despite the impossibility of guaranteeing its implementation.

The February Misseriya-Dinka Malual agreement also failed because traditional authorities were unable to control all members of their ethnic groups, particularly youth without cattle. Members of Al Fayereen and Al Kamil, the Amirates directly involved in signing the February agreement, were armed by the government and took part in the April 2012 conflicts at Kiir Adem and War Guet. Misseriya members of the Warawar peace committee explained that the primary reason for their participation is economic. Whilst an Omda may be in a position to provide some limited benefit, the government supplies incentives of a different magnitude entirely. Once under the sway of the military, traditional authorities have little influence over these groups.

Nevertheless, the Governor of Northern Bahr al Ghazal pursued a policy of cooperation around dry season grazing. The state's responses to emerging challenges included: the arrest of the killers of a Rizeigat in War Guet on 8 May; the capture and return by SSPS of 36 of 80 cattle stolen from Rizeigat in March at Abouth; payment of compensation by the Army for two Rizeigat killed (one at Kiir Adem and one at Rup Aker)⁵⁴; and an urgent reconciliation meeting following the killing of two Dinka in July.

The Southern Rizeigat appear more homogenous in their political positioning across sub-groups. They currently show signs of consensus among their 50 Omdas on the approach to negotiating both dry season migration and their relationship with SAF and the Government of Sudan. The impression of southern officials is that, on average, the Rizeigat migrating into Northern Bahr al Ghazal are less politicised, less educated and more reliant on information and direction from their traditional leaders than the Misseriya, making implementation of a migration agreement more straightforward. Nevertheless, the leader of the Rizeigat delegation at the closing ceremony of the January conference made it clear that traditional authority cannot control military strategies: “Our capacity as community and traditional authority is reduced by the existence of

⁵¹ Peace monitoring report 1

⁵² Executive Chief Deng Lual, Rizeigat-Dinka Malual conference, 20-22 February 2012

⁵³ At least with the Rizeigat-Malual agreement. Technically, the Misseriya-Malual agreement was not tested.

⁵⁴ As reported to the seasonal review conference, in case of the killing in Rup Aker, the payment was made as follows:

1. 31,000 SSP being Diya payment for the dead man
2. 2,000 SSP being payment the value of the dead donkey which the dead man was riding.
3. 3,500 SSP being payment for damages related to the incident.
4. 36,500 SSP being total amount paid to the father and brother of the deceased.

On their part, the Rizeigat had also paid Diya for at least one Dinka death.

the two armies”.

The process not the event

A process of relationship building through dialogue is a sum of parts - all necessary – and not a single event. Those involved in managing the migration season of 2011-2012 in Northern Bahr al Ghazal recognised this basic fact and built a sustained process in which state structures and community governance, both essential for managing dry season migration, had distinct and recognised roles. The skeleton of the process was the preparatory sessions (December), public conferences (January and February)⁵⁵, dissemination and monitoring (three significant dissemination and monitoring tours), and a seasonal review conference (June). The flesh and blood of the process was regular communication, political will and courage.

The government and local populations have long experience and expertise in managing dry season migration – countless local meetings take place over the course of the dry season every year and the latest phase of formal relationship building began perhaps at the 2003 Greater Aweil dialogue.⁵⁶ The benefit of the current partnership with USAID (through implementing partner AECOM) is the provision of sustained support to a government for the duration of the season. As compared to the organisation of a peace conference involving chartered flights and helicopters, the hire of a vehicle to facilitate a monitoring mission is inexpensive. Yet, it is exactly this kind of practical support to peace processes that is often overlooked or cannot be squeezed into narrow organisational mandates. In 2011-2012, for example, the first peace-monitoring mission was *instrumental* in ensuring the committees mandated by the Misseriya-Dinka Malual agreement were established and local migration sub-routes arranged:

⁵⁵ Preparatory sessions building consensus within each side to a peace process is a useful model. In the case of the January Rizeigat-Dinka Malual conference, information and outcomes from the Malual session were not shared with the Rizeigat in advance. The Rizeigat had not held a similar meeting and when the demands made in the position paper were read out on the first day of the conference; it threatened to derail the entire meeting. Though conditions did not necessarily allow for it, symmetry and transparency could have avoided this tension.

⁵⁶ The 2003 Greater Aweil Dialogue involved participation from Rizeigat and Misseriya and explicitly included these relationships in the agenda.

Location	Communities	About location
Majok Yinh Thiou	Ajuongdit (5), Lou Aguer Geng (5), Misseriya (5)	Border post and main border stop on conduit linking and Aweil East to SKS.
Yinh Pabnol	Agur Piny, Misseriya	Entry point close to As-sumayh
Angoot/Rang (Warawar Payam)	Awei Wun Anei	Good grazing land
Rup Aker	Makuac, Misseriya, Rizeigat	Entry point and small market town on railway line. Committee focused on market but also grazing.
Malual Kuel	Apuoth, Akanyjok, Misseriya, Rizeigat	Small town on railway line. Market has traders from S.Darfur and SKS. Branch committee in Wun Lang Garam.
Warawar	Dinka Malual-Misseriya	One of biggest markets in Aweil East. Peace Committee effective since 1991.

At the seasonal review conference of late June, Dinka Malual participants accepted an apology related to the killing of four Dinka men on the condition that the culprits and their accomplices be apprehended and brought to trial in Northern Bahr al Ghazal state. The Rizeigat accepted the condition and will have to meet the condition before preparatory conferences for the 2012-2013 season.⁵⁷ This is an example of how dry seasons are not discrete periods, but run together from one year to the next, as do grievances or social capitals. This makes an emphasis on process over event ever the more important.

The centrality of dissemination and communication

Dissemination and communication were as important to the Rizeigat-Malual process as dialogue and consensus building. International support in the last two years has added value to the existing government-led process by facilitating a raised public profile for migration agreements. Multiple interviewees interpreted the Malual-Rizeigat conference as a performance in which the position of the government was communicated, witnessed and publicly noted. The conference involved good publicity, media coverage and shared activities on its fringe, including music and dancing. These activities increased awareness of the agreement and cemented an understanding among participants that the parameters of a relationship were being established, not just a paper being signed. The importance of communication continues into the implementation phase. In the Second Peace Monitoring Report, 4 of 6 recommendations can be interpreted as calls for enhanced dissemination and awareness raising activities.⁵⁸

A wide variety of communication strategies helped hold the Rizeigat-Malual process together: The Dinka Malual position papers contained statements from the President of South Sudan supporting free movement across the border; the SPLA reportedly provided letters to pastoralists to help provide a guarantee they would be accepted and safe without weapons; and local authorities

such as Wanyjok requested Rizeigat and Misseriya to communicate regularly to Darfur and South Kordofan to report their safety helping to promote trust building and ensure rumours and misinformation did not spread. Critically, these tools communicated the political will of the Northern Bahr al Ghazal government to honour its security agreement. Technologies for information sharing, mobile phones, poetry, recorded music and radio programs all played interesting and important roles in this process. Most notably, critical participants unable to attend the review conference sent messages by mobile phone *in absentia*, thus removing fears, suspicions and questions around participation that can otherwise disrupt entire meetings.⁵⁹

Coordination

The proactive and conscientious work of the State Peace Coordinator, Lino Adub, was key to the progress made with Rizeigat-Malual relations and this was due to a constant line of communication between nomadic pastoralists and his office. Although he remains a supervisor of the new peace coordinator, his recent appointment as Minister of Local Government and Law Enforcement is potentially a loss to the peace process in Northern Bahr al Ghazal. The new Peace Coordinator, William Kong, is very well respected, holds good humanitarian credentials, but does not speak fluent Arabic. It remains to be seen whether this may limit the quality of communication between groups.

Emerging Issues

Climate change and water

Water resources are stretched along certain parts of the grazing routes. In particular, scarcity was reported around Yinh Pabnol⁶⁰. By May, certain groups of Rizeigat had returned to the Kiir/Bahr al Arab from a number of areas due to a lack of water. Rizeigat in Malual Kuel had run out of fuel for their water pumps and were unable to find sufficient water without them.

⁵⁷ Seasonal Rizeigat Migration Review Conference report, Sylvester M. Abraham, 30 June 2012, p3

⁵⁸ Second Peace Monitoring Report, 2012. The recommendations included facilitating further people-people contact, and establishment of a joint awareness raising committee.

⁵⁹ For example, the Chief Omda of Abu Matariq Omda Aamir Sakan Mohamed phoned Commissioner of Aweil North at the beginning of the Seasonal Review Conference of June 2012 to deliver his apologies and explain the reasons behind his absence.

⁶⁰ First peace monitoring report, Sylvester Abrahams, 2012

Agricultural development does not at present represent a concern with regards to managing dry season pastoralism. The population is beginning to plant a greater area of land but agriculture remains almost exclusively smallholder-led and entirely rain-fed. Irrigation would be required to overcome the creeping floods and facilitate broader agricultural development and this is not as yet forthcoming (though a paddy development on the northeast edge of Aweil town is substantial in size). Improved infrastructure and reliable access to affordable fuel is required to assist the bringing of crops to market. As a result, productivity is low, and is likely to remain so for some time. Of course, the integration of pastoralism (cross-border and otherwise) into strategic planning for agricultural development and broader land use planning is a simple, sensible and fair precaution.

like full residential status and the same protection as full citizens.

The potential for competition or conflict around other local resources should also be monitored. The Malual Akwong Gum forest near Rup Rol Ajuang, a small town east of Warawar market, offers potential for commercial gum Arabic exploitation. Local authorities are keen on developing the opportunity. The region lies on the traditional migration route to Lieth, and though the community is happy with the migration of pastoralists, they do not wish it to interfere with the development of their Gum activities. The situation may require monitoring.

Lack of a pastoralist strategy

There is no strategy for managing dry season pastoralism outlined in the Northern Bahr al Ghazal state plan for 2012-2015, though at least it is mentioned as a conflict factor.

MARF officials said that the supply of vaccines is adequate, provided by Food and Agriculture Organisation. Officials at the Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries said that, although Veterinaires Sans Frontiers (VSF) is providing some drugs, but there is a shortage for Tsetse, Anthrax⁶¹, Blackwater, CBDP, and Sheepox.

Other concerns of MARF officials are controlling the northern spread of foot-and-mouth disease and the need for basic concrete vaccination points at the border, where animals could be vaccinated, taxation and documentation arranged, and security guaranteed for pastoralist and official alike.

Climate change and water

The question of citizenship for northern Sudanese permanently resident in South Sudan will grow in importance. In Rup Yol (Omdurman), far from the migration routes, some Rizeigat petty traders are active. They told the peace-monitoring mission that they should

⁶¹ Nine cattle died of Anthrax the day before this interview took place. Interview, Dr Peter Ajok, Director of Animal Health, Northern Bahr al Ghazal, Aweil, 9 August 2012

Abyei

Introduction

For the purposes of this report, the Abyei Area is identified as that area defined by the July 2009 PCA ruling made at The Hague. The status of the area is not settled but is included here due to its central importance to understanding Sudan-South Sudan cross border migration. The PCA area is that of the nine Ngok Dinka chieftoms that were transferred from Bahr al Ghazal to Kordofan in 1905, though in reality the ruling was an attempt at political compromise following the failure of CPA processes to secure lasting agreement on its boundaries. Misseriya transhumant pastoralists, primarily of the Ajaira section, traditionally move through the area via three main migration routes, the eastern, central and western *murhals*.

Environment

Part of the area southwest of the river Kiir/Bahr al Ghazal and north of the ironstone is one of creeping floods and toich but soils deficient in mineral nutrients. The complex alluvial system of channels draining into the Kiir/Bahr al Arab, known as *raqaba*, is found north of the river. This area offers cracking clays (vertisols) suitable for small scale traditional cultivation and water for grazing. North of the *raqaba*, from around coordinates 10°10', there begins an undulating zone of stabilised sand dunes characterised by a low level of surface water, poor water-holding capacity and soil erosion⁶²; quite unsuitable for dry season grazing.

Livelihoods

Ngok Dinka are agro-pastoralists who traditionally graze cattle south into Twic County during the dry season and northwards to around coordinates 10°35' in the rainy season.⁶³ At the onset of the dry season 2011-2012, the vast majority of Ngok were displaced to Agok or Twic County. Prior to the May 2011 displacement, a WFP assessment showed 45% of Ngok in the Abyei Area possessed cattle. By June 2011, the figure was 20%. Food security was at crisis levels with populations relying on kinship support and on their traditional relationships with the host community.⁶⁴

Border

The Abyei Area is contested locally and nationally. The CPA promised a referendum on its status but this has not taken place. There is heated debate about who should be eligible to vote and reports of NCP officials having promised the wider Misseriya community that they will be included. Locally, Misseriya fear grazing access could be restricted if Abyei Area is transferred to South Sudan⁶⁵.

In a survey undertaken in preparation of this report, members of all Ajaira Amirates claimed Abyei Area as part of Dar Misseriya. The Government of Sudan is currently benefiting from oil production at Diffra and has little incentive to change the status quo, especially if one of its largest marginal constituencies was to lose out. At the same time, Ngok are well represented in high level positions within the SPLM/A. The question of Abyei's future status is of fundamental importance to both parties in post-secession arrangements.

Governance

The collapse of the Abyei Area Administration following the May 2011 displacement of Ngok from Abyei left a vacuum of authority that largely persists. This is a major impediment to the administration of migration, particularly the lack of a civilian police force, as well as in animal health and the provision of basic services. The absence is a local manifestation of the national contestation that prevents any process of moving forward and raises tensions between communities. Since May the majority of the administration continued work at Agok, with 1500 employees in 5 secretariats on a staff salary sheet using Chapter 1 funding from Juba. The administration is a hugely political issue and both sides have an incentive to delay. For Sudan, successful administration is a step towards a referendum on the status of the area. For South Sudan and the Ngok, the Abyei Joint Oversight Committee (AJOC) as mandated by the agreement on Abyei temporary administration and security arrangements on 20 June 2011, is seen by some as recognising rights of the Misseriya and Sudan over the area. Major areas of contention are the presence and composition of a police force, appointment of officials, such as the speaker of the legislative assembly, and local issues, such as the position of Abyei market.⁶⁶

On 27 June 2011 the UN Security Council passed resolution 1990 which established the United Nations Interim Security Force for Abyei (UNISFA), composed of 4,200 military personnel all of whom came from Ethiopia. These troops remain in Abyei at the time of the writing of this report and were provided with a Chapter VII mandate and a broad scope for engaging in monitoring, training, facilitation of aid and mine action services and direct security provision. Since their deployment the leadership of UNISFA has taken an active role in engaging with leadership of the Ngok Dinka and Misseriya communities, as well as AJOC. The mission took a particular interest to ensure that migration during the 2011-2012 dry season occurred peacefully.

Peoples

The following chart lists the groups of people involved in

⁶² Agricultural potential regions of the Sudan, Punell, M.F, Soil Survey Administration, No. 28

⁶³ According to the Abyei Boundary Commission findings, 2005

⁶⁴ South Sudan Food Security Update, August 2011, p.3

⁶⁵ This was broadly the case following the Addis Ababa agreement and the signing of the CPA.

⁶⁶ The Deputy Chief Administrator of the local authorities in Agok (called locally the Abyei Area Administration) said that South Sudan's representatives to AJOC reportedly requested that the market be moved 1km northwards. The Sudanese representatives could not agree this. Interview, 9 September 2012

the seasonal cross-border migration. It should be noted that statements about previous or current allegiances in the table below are intended to highlight the current perceptions of other groups and are made for the purpose of understanding how such perceptions affect the dynamics of the relations between groups and the impact of such perceptions on approaches to seasonal

migration. In circumstances such as this, the perception is as important in determining future behaviour as the actuality.

Listed in alphabetical order, blue shading indicates the traditional Southern communities and white indicates the traditional Northern pastoral groups.

Peoples	Summary Information
Awlad Kamil	This Misseriya Amirate is the largest sub-section of Ajaira Misseriya, predominantly from around Muglad but also from Al Mogodama village area in Sudan. Awlad Kamil traditionally use the central murhals through the PCA Abyei Area and into Warrap and Unity State. A number of Khashm al Bayt also enter Northern Bhar al Ghazal down the western murhal. The paramount leader of Misseriya Ajaira comes from this section (at times he will also represent and lead the Zuruq, such as happened during the Babu Nimr period). Since 1990, Awlad Kamil have undergone a process of urbanisation, and livelihoods have adapted to include farming and small-scale business. Pastoralism, however, remains the dominant livelihood activity for a majority. The Awlad Kamil are fairly united and follow the Amir Mukhtar Babo, however, some youth may be seeking satisfaction of their aspirations in their own way outside of traditional authority structures. It is believed by southern border communities, international commentators and Misseriya interviewed for this report that youth from Awlad Kamil are strongly connected with the PDF and armed militias.
Awlad Omran	Misseriya Amirate predominantly from Debab area but also present in Babanusa in Sudan. Well known for being cattle keepers with a high degree of illiteracy, the group takes the eastern Murhals through Abyei Area and the contested area of Heglig to Abiemnom, Mayom and Rubkhona Counties of Unity State. Members of this group had good relations with Nuer and Dinka during the war, engaging in trade and peaceful coexistence. Since the CPA, a number of former PDF fighters known as the Debab Forces joined the SPLA. The Awlad Omran Amirate, led by Amir Ismaeil Hamdein, also administer the Fadliya sub-section of Misseriya Ajaira. They carry small arms for protection from cattle raiding.
Fadliya	The small sub-section of the Misseriya Ajaira is based in Babanusa in Sudan and around Debab and is administered by the Awlad Omran Amirate of Ismaeil Hamdein. The group is relatively well educated, and engages in both farming during the rainy season and nomadic pastoralism. An internal debate is ongoing about separating from the Awlad Omran Amirate. Youth do not all adhere to the decisions of the native administration. They carry small arms for protection from cattle raiding.
Fayareen	This Misseriya Ajaira sub-section is predominantly from around Meiram and Al Mogodama, Sudan. They practice both farming and pastoralism and migrate to Aweil East in Northern Bahr al Ghazal State down an eastern murhal. As compared with Awlad Kamil and Awlad Omran, the group is small but well educated, historically providing Islamic scholars to the Misseriya. Fayareen are unified under one administration and, in 2011, they elected a new Amir. Some youth groups do not follow the decisions of the native administration and traditional elders. Statements by Fayareen leaders at peace conferences and interviews with Misseriya representatives to the Warawar joint peace committee suggest that Fayareen youth have recently been involved in PDF activities. The general population carry small arms for protection from cattle raiding.
Gerafeen	One omodiya from the Awlad Sirur sub-section of Misseriya Fellaita from Fula and villages along the eastern murhal in Sudan. They are a small group relying heavily on cattle. They traditionally migrate to the area around Heglig and in small groups into Unity State. They carry small arms for protection from cattle raiding.
Mazaghna	This medium sized sub-section of Misseriya Ajaira is from Muglad and Seteib village, Sudan. They traditionally migrate through the central murhal under the administration of the Awlad Kamil (with the Mazaghna leader as Deputy Amir). Educational levels are low and the majority of the group are nomadic pastoralists based in small villages outside of Muglad. In 2011 they established their own independent Emirate under the leadership of Amir Hamadi al Doud but some youths do not strictly adhere to the decisions of the native administration. They carry small arms for protection from cattle raiding. The word 'Mazaghna' is usually used to refer to mixed race peoples, possibly indicating a history of inter-marriage with Dinka.
Misseriya Ajaira	One of two large sections, known as gabily, of the Misseriya Humr. A pastoralist group based in the Western Sector of Southern Kordofan State (formerly West Kordofan), Sudan. The group is split into six Amirates (locally known also as gabily). These are: Fayareen, Awlad Kamil, Mezaghna, Fadliya, Menama and 'Addal. ⁶⁷ Smaller units are the Omodiya, Khashm al Bayt and finally the Surra. The Ajaira are based in the Muglad-Babanusa-Meiram area (Abyei and Babanusa Localities) estimated to have 242 898 inhabitants in 2008. Despite large-scale sedentarisation and increased farming practices, roughly one third of this population is still estimated to use the central migration corridor. ⁶⁸ It is believed by southern border communities, international commentators and Misseriya interviewed for this report that parts of the Misseriya Humr are historically associated with SAF aligned militia and PDF, particularly the Awlad Kamil, and that disaffected persons from all the Ajaira Amirates have engaged in armed activity.
Ngok Dinka	Agro-pastoralist Padang Dinka from Abyei Area comprised of nine Chieftoms. The Ngok's own defence committees joined the SPLA early in its development and are now visible in high positions within the movement.
Ziyud	Misseriya Fellaita Amirate from Babanusa, Birka and Muglad, in Sudan who historically migrate down the eastern migration corridors to Unity State.

⁶⁷ For further information on Misseriya organisation, see Cunnison, 1966, p. 8–13

⁶⁸ SOS Sahel, Assessment of Resource Based Conflict Flashpoints along the Babanusa-Muglad-Abyei livestock corridor, January 2010

Historical Interactions

Historical interactions between Ngok and Misseriya have been both cooperative and conflictual. After defeating the indigenous Shatt communities (from which some of the names of Abyei still derive⁶⁹) and settling in the area along the River Kiir/Bahr al Arab and into the Raqabas, some Ngok sections assisted Misseriya Humr in becoming established around present day Muglad and Babanusa, siding with them against Misseriya Zuruq. The Ngok, targeted by the slavers of Zubeir Pasha – and Rizeigat agents – during the 19th century, allied with sections of the Misseriya Humr to support the Mahdist revolution. Later Misseriya Humr, who no longer supported the government, were subjected to attacks by the state and enjoyed refuge with Ngok communities.⁷⁰

Low-level conflict and raiding was ongoing at the turn of the 20th century and played its part in shaping the 1905 Anglo-Egyptian decision to administer both communities together within Kordofan. Successive chiefs on both sides, most famously Deng Majok and Babu Nimr, broadly managed relations peacefully, facilitating dry season grazing through Abyei until the independence of Sudan. Five years before the independence of Sudan in 1956, the Paramount Chief of the Ngok was apparently offered the choice of remaining in Kordofan or being transferred to Bahr al Ghazal. He chose the former, citing educational opportunities and cordial relations. However, in 1955, the rejection by Misseriya Humr of the appointment of a Ngok executive officer in Abyei began a process that ended Ngok support for remaining in Kordofan.⁷¹ However, it was too late to successfully campaign for a reversal of the decision when the first civil war broke out.

When Anyanya I attacked Gogrial in 1965 a large number of Misseriya were reportedly killed. The Humr retaliation was severe and involved clashes with Ngok on the Ragaba el-Zarga/Ngol and in Babanusa town. These attacks created a first wave of displacement that drove many Ngok out of their villages and included the assassination of Abdalla Deng, successor as Paramount Chief.⁷² The attacks hardened the emerging position of the Ngok as wanting to rejoin Bahr al Ghazal.

The Addis Ababa peace agreement of 1972 failed to deliver a promised referendum for the Ngok people on whether to be administered by the Southern Region. At this time, de-legitimisation of traditional leadership and the growth of mechanised agriculture were damaging the political and economic status of Misseriya in Sudan. They feared a referendum could further damage

economic conditions through the loss of dry season grazing and this was born out in clashes with southern police along the border during the early 1970s. Widespread conflict between communities broke out in May 1977, the army occupied the region and the Abyei Liberation Front formed.

A partnership between struggling pastoralists and the Government of Sudan defined relations over the next decade, with Misseriya politicians (mainly Zuruq) and military figures arming local militia (mainly Humr) desperate for comparative advantage. Amnesty International reported attacks by militia on Malual, Ngok and Twic Dinka from Aweil and Gogrial Districts and Abyei, claiming that tens of thousands of civilians were deliberately killed between 1985 and 1989, when the Government and the SPLA agreed a ceasefire. Although looting was a primary motivation, the organisation reported a “savageness that suggests the aim was to destroy the communities of those being raided” pointing to firsthand accounts of killing people fleeing, burning houses, and destroying grain supplies.⁷³ In 1989, Misseriya militias were incorporated into the PDF.

From the widespread displacement of the 1980s until 2003, the Abyei Area was relatively unoccupied with those remaining in the area mostly living within Abyei town. It is not clear how many Ngok remained in the region but the land was therefore largely available for dry season grazing and Misseriya also settled in parts of the northern areas. Following the signing of the CPA, the Abyei Protocol mandated a reconciliation process between communities but this has not happened. In 2008, national politics and local frustrations boiled over into clashes between SAF and SPLA units in Abyei town that led to its destruction and the displacement of the Ngok population.

In 2010-2011 the joint AAA was responsible for security. It attempted to close the central migration corridor to avoid confrontations between communities and to facilitate the ongoing returns process. There were some attacks, notably at Tajalei, but the Misseriya also struggled with an aggressive police force, essentially military and locally known as ‘Juba Police’. At the same time, Misseriya groups were involved in blocking roads northwards and preventing trade with Abyei. This was a major factor in the deterioration of relations between the communities in 2010. A planned migration conference for March 2011 was cancelled and, in May, military action by SAF (which the Ngok population believe to have been supported by Misseriya militia) caused significant damage to the town for the second time since the CPA was signed, and left many Ngok displaced to the south⁷⁴.

⁶⁹ For example, the river Nyamora is said to be of Shatt origin with neither Ngok nor Misseriya understanding its meaning.

⁷⁰ Johnson, D, When Boundaries Become Borders, RVI, 2010, p.32

⁷¹ <http://www.fou.uib.no/fd/1996/f/712001/backevid.htm>

⁷² Johnson, D, Why Abyei Matters, African Affairs, 107/426, 2007, p.5

⁷³ Sudan: Human Rights Violations in the context of Civil War, December 1989, AI Index: AFR 54/17/89

⁷⁴ The number displaced has been estimated to be 110,000, although this cannot be verified for the purpose of this report.

Traditional Migration Routes and 2011-2012 Migration Routes

Migration Routes

UNISFA estimates that a total number of 3.4 million cattle, 400,000 other livestock and 120,000 Misseriya entered the Abyei Area during December 2011 and March 2012 and remained until July 2012.⁷⁵ The number is disputed by local authority figures in Agok who say the size and quality of the land could only sustain some hundreds of thousand cattle.⁷⁶

Dry season pastoralists moving through Abyei have traditionally been Misseriya Ajaira. Since the CPA this has widened to include various Fellaita groups from Babanusa and Al Fula. In 2011-2012 the migration proceeded down all three migration corridors, with the largest concentration of pastoralists and cattle in the eastern and western corridors. In the central corridor, UNISFA restricted movement at Dokura, north of Abyei town, and directed pastoralists to join the eastern or western routes. The migration began with male only

migration but families joined as the season progressed. By March, the pressure to migrate further south into South Sudan was growing intense and large concentrations of Misseriya were found in the southeast corner of the Abyei Area and southwest of the Kiir around Luffong, southwest of the Kiir/Bahr al Arab River. Trade from South Kordofan continued through the season dry season with trucks through Abyei reaching Agok and goods proceeding from there to Warrap and Unity State.

The context for the migration season was the widespread displacement of Ngok from Abyei south of the Kiir/Bahr al Arab River and the onset of their returns from January 2012. The position of the Ngok was that there should be no migration until they had returned to the area, especially since Misseriya land ownership claims have hardened considerably, possibly based on the perceived ease of their capture of the territory⁷⁸. Misseriya leaders told the UNISFA Force Commander on a visit to Muglad in December "this is our land and the Ngok should not be allowed to return until they recognise this". In a survey conducted in preparation of this report, respondents said that all Misseriya Humr are unified in claiming ownership of Abyei Area.

Routes	Groups	2011-2012
Western Mural: Three parallel routes from Um Betikh-Mogadama-Meiram-NBG State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fayereen Awlad Kamil Mazaghna 	✓ Migration proceeded
i) El Gantore (Babanusa Locality)-Semoa-Um Betikh-El Mogadama-east and west of Abu Jabra-west of Meiram and west of the railway to South Darfur-Grinti/Kol Aruth-War Guet and routes into Aweil East (NBG)		This migration route falls largely outside of the PCA Abyei Area.
Central Murhals: Babanusa-Muglad-Abyei-Toj/Twic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awlad Kamil Mazaghna Awlad Omran Fayereen (may join route iii to Shegei/Kinisa) 	✓ Migration proceeded
This comprises three broadly parallel main routes that remain within roughly 20km of each other along the following routes. ⁷⁷		In 2011-2012, groups from the central murhals joined after Dokura
i) Um Osh-Tab (north of Babanusa)-Muglad (Abyei Locality)-Nainatain-Siteib/Naam/Noong-Al Agad-Antela-Abyei-Toj/Twic (Warrap)		
ii) Tab-El Magareen-Kech/Diffa-Mabek/Abu Gazala/Mabek/Ngol-Abyei-Toj/Twic		
iii) Abu Khabob-El Wadi-El Foda-Shegai/Kinisa-Abyei-Toj/Twic		
Eastern Murhals: Babanusa-Debab-Nyama-Dembaloya-Unity State	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awlad Omran Fadliya Mazaghna Misseriya Fellaita <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ziud (from Muglad, Debab, Babanusa) Gerafeen (from Fula join at Nyama) 	✓ Migration Proceeded
i) Babanusa (Babanusa Locality)-along the Muglad Junction to Debab (Abyei Locality)-Dakjur/Dembaloya-Awarpiny (Abiemnom)-Bentiu		In 2011-2012, groups from the central murhals joined after Dokura.
ii) Bababusa-Nyama-Heglig/Panthou-Tishwin-Managala (Rubkhona)-Bentiu		
iii) Babanusa-Nyama-Pandang/Bedheni-Rum Ameer/Marial Achak-Toj/Twic (Warrap)		

⁷⁵ UNISFA reported in February that 110 000 Misseriya pastoralists and 2 million livestock (1.8 million cattle and rest sheep and goats) were in the area. By mid-March, UNISFA reported a still southward movement along the central corridor to the southeast and a total of 3.4 million cattle and 120000 Misseriya in the area.

⁷⁶ As with all areas of the Sudan-South Sudan border, there are no reliable statistics of the numbers involved in nomadic cross-border migrations. In this case, it is also worth noting that representatives of INGOs in Abyei and Agok claimed that inconsistencies had been encountered with a range of data produced by UNISFA since its deployment.

⁷⁷ Outlined by community representatives in SOS Sahel, Assessment of Resource Based Conflict Flashpoints along the Babanusa-Muglad-Abyei livestock corridor, January 2010

⁷⁸ A new sense of superiority is perhaps misguided. It is likely the Ngok withdrew strategically in order to avoid jeopardising the soon to be independence of South Sudan.

Summary of Dry Season Migration 2011-2012

County	Summary of Migration	Groups	Conflict issues/Tensions	Management of Migration
Western Central Route ⁷⁹	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feb: Awlad Kamil, Mazaghna, Gerafeen at Shegei Mar: At Raigork and Alal. Apr: At Luffong southwest of Kiir May: Reverse migration via Debab/Dahalob, Shegei/Kinisa, Tadhama/Maper Amaal/Tajiel 3 Jul: 50% vacated Abyei Area* 	Main groups: Awlad Kamil Also - Mazaghna - Gerafeen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Apr: Pressure to move further South grows in intensity. May 30th 2012: SAF/SPS withdrawal from Abyei. Up to this point, 4-500 SAF and SPS at Abyei, Goli, Diffra, Baloom. SPLA withdrew on 9 Nov 2011. 10 May: SSPS withdraws from Abyei Area (700) After 30th May: Increase in returning IDPs to Abyei/Mulmul (1550). In July, UNISFA estimate 10000 in Abyei Area. 19 Apr: 45 SAF near Dahalob redirected by UNISFA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jan: Joint Security Committee in place in Agok to coordinate returns Joint Security Committees established in all TOBs UNISFA work to restore water pumps 9-12 Apr: UNISFA Force Commander visits Warrap/NBG/Unity States to request permission for Misseriya to cross into their territory. Jan-: UNISFA severely limit SAF movement
Central Routes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dec: Um Kheir-Alal, Goleh/Langar-Dokura and grazing at Tajalei. Jan: At Todach moving South. Feb: Large concentration Mazaghna and Gerafeen up to Dokura. Mar: Still southwards movements. Apr: Concentrations in Diffra, Goli, Todach, Wut goc, Dokura. Apr: Grazing still at Todach, Goli May: Reverse migration begins. At Shamam, Diffra, Al Haza. 	Main Group: Mazaghna Also - Awlad Kamil - Gerafeen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 20 Nov: 160 nomads, 30 armed and on motorcycles, travelled from Diffra to SAF barracks in Abyei and back same day. Dec: Ngok returns reach Marial Achak/Rum Ameer Jan: Misseriya in Noong plan to move south of Abyei to Banton bridge. Concerned about clashes with Dinka. Jan: IDPs 'visit returns' north of Kiir. E.g. Mading Acheung, Leu 11 Jan: Armed Miss arrive at Leu with 6000 cows. Feb: IDP returns: Tajalei (100), Leu (100) and Dungop (1000). Apr: Returns and nomads separated only by UNISFA. E.g Leu 15-17 Apr: 6000 PDF militia gather northeast of Diffra. 2 May: 75 sheep stolen in Marial Achaak. Close to UNISFA⁸⁰. 9-10 May: 550 cattle/38 calves stolen from Leu at gun point 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dec/Jan: 4 meetings by UNISFA and Misseriya in Muglad (Dec), Abyei (Dec, Jan) and Khartoum (mid-Jan). Agreement: 1) Migration stops at Dokura and will be split to east and west corridors (Abyei off limits) until AA formed; 2) UNISFA to provide protection. 16 Jan: UNISFA-Ngok agreement: unarmed returns 16 Feb: Joint meeting of community leaders at Abyei town by UNISFA. Ngok do not attend second. Apr: Inter-agency assessment of returns to Abyei April 15: UNISFA negotiate withdrawal of PDF⁸¹ April: 80 patrols per day/night. Spoiler identification with communities in advance of returns

* Text in bold signifies relevance to all of the study area.

⁷⁹ This route was described as one of three within the central migration corridor into Abyei Area. A western route proper runs parallel and slightly to the west of it, ending in Northern Bahr al Ghazal. Outlined by community representatives in SOS Sahel, Assessment of Resource Based Conflict Flashpoints along the Babanusa-Muglad-Abyei livestock corridor, January 2010

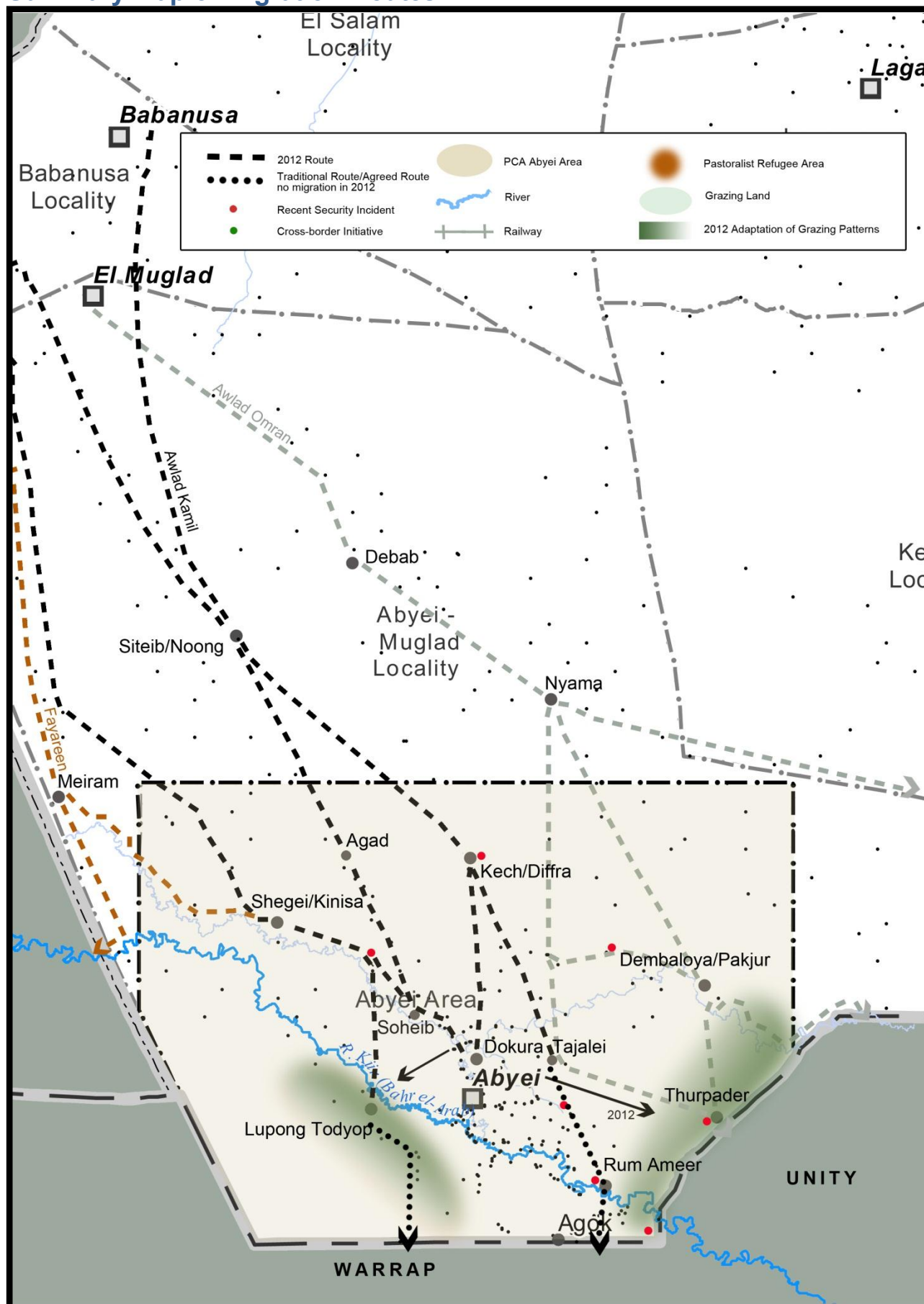
⁸⁰ Abyei Civil Society Organisations, Letter to UN Security Council, May 22nd 2012

⁸¹ UNISFA also report that a number of the gathered PDF returned to villages within the Abyei Area.

Eastern Route	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mid-Jan: Misseriya reach Thurpader (border Unity State) • Feb: Awlad Omran, Mazaghna and Garafeen at Tajalei, Wut Goc, Demboloya/Dakjur, Um Khariet, Thurpader • Feb: Awlad Omran into Unity State • Apr: Concentrated along border with Unity. Crossed Kiir southeast of Rumameer at Cwein. • May: Return migration begins. Cattle kept at Al Radiah, Meknes, Diffra and Danga awaiting rains. 	Main Group: Awlad Omran Also Mazaghna Gerafeen Zeyod	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Feb-May: 4000 IAbiemnom IDPs arrive in Rum Ameer • 13 Feb: Unknown armed group kill 11 Miss. cows at Cwein • 22 Feb: UNISFA prevented Miss with 12 000 cattle in Cwein moving to river. SSPS arrived from Agok with heavy machine guns and threatened nomads. • 31 Mar: Aircraft circles Tajalei, 4 bombs nr. Um Khariet. • 13 Apr: 1800 SPLA soldiers enter Abyei Area at Thurpader from Unity State en route to Heglig • 19 Apr: UNISFA sight 77 youths with new AK-47 rifles at border with Unity/Warrap • Apr: Pressure to move further south is very high. Miss threaten UNISFA they will have to use force. • 4 May: 111 Ngok cows stolen at Rumameer (UNISFA-1km) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jan: Joint Security Committees formed: Tajalei-Thurpada • Feb: Border crossing managed by Unity State officials and UNISFA; UNISFA facilitate agreements. • Feb: Misseriya had not informed Joint Security Committee of movement to Cwein. • Mar: Awlad Omran in Unity State say they left their guns with UNISFA before entering South Sudan. • Apr: UNISFA stopped SPLA south of Um Khariet. Head of Mission went to Juba to request withdrawal, which was complete by 14 April. UNISFA also redirect 22 SPLA near Cwein on 19 April. • 14 May: UNISFA recover cattle from 46 suspected raiders at Rhadiya, Um khariet, Danga⁸².
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⁸² Field Interviews; Report of the Secretary General on the situation in Abyei, 24 May 2012, S/2012/358, p.3.

Summary Map of Migration Routes



Summary of Administrative Initiatives

This table summarises some of the key historical and contemporary administrative initiatives pertaining to

management of the dry season migration into Abyei Area.

Initiative	Aim	Key Actors	Outcome	Impact and Lessons
Traditional Authority Meeting, February 1986 ⁸³	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To reduce conflict 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ngok Misseriya 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreement on compensation achieved 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Compensation not paid. Traditional elders did not appear able to control militia. Government authorities did not appear to support them to do so.
Peace Markets 2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate trade 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Ngok SPLM/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Joint markets at Annet/Agok and Turalei 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased informal dialogue and normalised relations at local level Recognised authority of SPLA in region
Peace Committees 2000-2004	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved security 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Ngok SPLA UNDP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Joint Peace Committee, Abyei town 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Secured opening of bridge for civilians Secured agreement with SPLM/A on grazing and protection of property
'People to People Process' 2000-2004 ⁸⁴	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improve security Improve returns Reduce poverty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Ngok SPLA Twic Dinka UNDP Netherland GoS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Neighbourhood Agreements': ('Abyei Peace Agreement, Muglad, 2001; and agreement in Abyei, 2002) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Movement across river increased Awlad Kamil important due to Nazirship. Process did not include Fellaita or Zuruq Raised interest in - and informed - regional peace process Limited by dependence on SPLM/A/GoS Recommitted at Kiir river in 2003
Ngok of Abyei People's Conference Agok, 2003	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Build consensus and articulate Ngok positions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ngok PACT ACAD 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Resolutions on peace process, grazing, delegation to SPLM/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Difficult to evaluate impact on national talks SPLM/A accountability towards Ngok positions increased.
Migration Committees UNDP, PACT, ACAD, 2005-6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Peaceful migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ngok Misseriya UNDP 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High committee, Village/Cattle camp committees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dialogue and problem solving aspects worked well but could not counter influence of national processes
"Ensuring Stability" Conference Jul 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved relations and capacity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> NGOK/Miss GoS/GoSS Concordis/ USAID 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A matrix of proposals for cross-border initiatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Some evidence contributed to positive initial reactions to PCA Award. Follow up on ground diluted.
Kadugli Agreement I 13 January 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Address concerns (compensation, grazing, returnees) of Ngok and Misseriya following attacks of 7-9 Jan 2011 and 2010 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ngok Misseriya WBG, Unity, Warrap SK officials 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreement: Compensation for 2010 Weapons agreed (e.g. 5 rifles/1500) Rough agreement on grazing routes Central route to be closed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 22 Feb: Follow up meeting failed to agree on implementation. Follow up meetings cancelled after further attacks and the perceived complicity of Misseriya. Questionable support amongst Ngok (e.g. the Abyei Ngok Dinka Consultative Conference in November resolved to refuse migration unless PCA recognized). Impossible to separate security from wider political issues⁸⁵.
Kadugli Agreement II 17 January 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To form high level security arrangements for the territory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SKS Gov SAF SPLA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreement: Road open to Abyei. SAF accompaniment of returnees in SKS, JIUs in Abyei, SPLA from 1/1/56 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Police redeployed but roads not opened and civilian disarmament not feasible. Further undermined UNMIS's reputation as a neutral party among Ngok after SKS Gov arrived in UNMIS helicopter. Many Ngok felt the meeting was inappropriate with attacks ongoing. JIU formation involved groups perceived responsible for 2008 attacks or members

⁸³ This reconciliation meeting is briefly mentioned in Amnesty's 1989 report: 'Human Rights Violations in the Context of Civil War, December 1989, p.21

⁸⁴ The best description of this process is found in Local Peace Processes in Sudan: A Baseline Study, Bradbury, Ryle, Medley, Sansculotte-Greenidge, Rift Valley Institute, 2006. Preceding the meetings listed in this table were conferences at Malwak Agak, 2000, Wanyjok 2000 and Akur/Abu Nafisa, 2001.

⁸⁵ See analysis by Joshua Craze in Small Arms survey HSMA Working Paper 26, p.30

of SSUM. This hardened conflict divide.				
Temporary Arrangements for the Administration and Security of the Abyei Area 20 June 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To agree on administrative and security bodies and functions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> GoS SPLM UNISFA 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreement: Pastoral nomads enjoy rights of migration and access to pasture and water according to traditional migration routes UNISFA mandate 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> UNISFA deployed after UN Security Council resolution AAA not formed but AJOC formed for oversight
UNISFA Migration Agreement December 2011, January 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To agree migration routes and arrangements to reduce risk of insecurity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> UNISFA Misseriya leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreement: Migration to proceed. UNISFA to provide security Central corridor closed from Dokura. Abyei town off limits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Migration proceeded without major security incident or outright conflict. UNISFA ensured security of nomads Ngok say that UNISFA did not consult them but informed them the migration would proceed on this basis. The perceived role as 'protecting' Misseriya, so soon after conflict, opened questions of the force's neutrality
AJOC Agreement⁸⁶ July 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To build trust between community leaders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ngok Misseriya UNISFA AJOC 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreed 5 principles affirming <i>inter alia</i>: Continuity of dialogue Mutual respect Need to sensitise populations in advance of reconciliation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trust building value in bringing communities together face to face after long period of no contact. Limited by political situation and current situation of Ngok in displacement Limited by capacity for follow up Ajaira said they cannot make agreement without other groups (Misseriya from Fula and Lagawa).

⁸⁶ Reported in the press, for example, <http://news.sudanvisiondaily.com/details.html?rsnpid=213326>

Discussion

Overarching Framework: 2011-2012

There was no community dialogue in advance of the dry season migration of 2011-2012 and no civilian administration in the Abyei Area. The framework for managing the migration of 2011-2012 was therefore developed and administered by UNISFA with an overarching focus on maintaining security during two key processes; 1) The dry season migration of Misseriya into Abyei Area; and 2) The return of displaced Ngok Dinka to Abyei Area.

Strategic Factors

Migration routes

Following three preparatory meetings in Muglad and Abyei, UNISFA made an agreement with Misseriya in December 2012. UNISFA would provide security for the nomadic migration but the central corridor would be closed south of Dokura, with nomads diverted to the eastern and western routes from there. Abyei town would be off limits until a joint administration could be established. This plan was broadly implemented and enforced.

Demilitarisation and control of armed groups

Despite the non-operationalisation of its Chapter VII mandate due to a delay in the signing of a Status of Forces Agreement, UNISFA took a firm line to control or reduce the presence of other security forces in the Abyei Area in line with the 20 June 2011 Temporary Arrangements for the Administration and Security of the Abyei Area, the African Union Peace and Security Council Roadmap of 24 April 2012 and Security Council resolution 2046 of 2 May 2012. Following the withdrawal of SPLA on 9 November 2011, UNISFA heavily restricted the movement of SAF in key locations using strategically positioned checkpoints, artillery deployment, and strong defensive positions. The force did not shy away from demonstrating its operational strength in negotiating the exit of: a) SPLA from the Abyei Area during its April incursion; b) the PDF's retaliatory gathering of 6000 fighters two days later at Diffra; and c) the incursion of 700-800 SSJA through Dembaloya to Kadama in May 2012. The force also lacks a mechanism for civilian disarmament but has broadly succeeded in implementing a zero-tolerance policy on the public carrying of weapons by civilians, though it is widely known that members of both communities have guns out of sight.

UNISFA worked to ensure that other armed groups were no longer operational in Abyei and by the end of the dry season the Shahama, Abyei Liberation Front, PDF, SAF, SPLA are no longer present. Members of SSIM/NDF commanded by Thomas Thiel were reportedly present in the northern parts of Abyei Area, from where they engaged in the fighting in Heglig in April 2012.

The latest report of the Secretary General on the

situation in Abyei states: "[Sudanese oil police in the oil complex at Diffra] are armed with small weapons and have never conducted, and do not possess the capability to conduct, operations outside of the oil complex. Their only task has been to secure the oil installations within the complex".⁸⁷ Despite this, the Ngok Dinka express anger at the presence of this force, perceiving it to be a violation of the 20 June 2011 agreement.

Separation of communities

UNISFA's strategy for dealing with the return of Ngok Dinka was to create buffer zones between the communities. Spontaneous returns had reached 2000 in December 2011 and slowly increased throughout the next three months to around 5000 in March, mostly to villages in the central corridor. At this stage, returns were accompanied by SSPS who would camp with the community – for example, at Wunruock, Marial Achak, Leu, and Tajalei both south and north of the river. In March, returns to Abyei/Mulmul were observed. By April over 5100 were estimated to be north of the River Kiir/Bahr al Arab. The two communities were by then in very close proximity to one another, particularly at Noong, Leu and Tajalei, and grass and water depletion was fast becoming a problem. UNISFA's response was to deploy Temporary Operating Bases (TOBs) to twenty locations, in many cases positioned directly between the two communities. Following the withdrawal of SAF on 30th May, returns accelerated to around 10 000 in July 2012 with an estimated 150 000 Dinka livestock north of the river, including around Awolnholm, Mijak, Duop, and Mabek.⁸⁸

Despite the frustrations of communities, the strategy of separation of communities was broadly successful in preventing major security incidents. The task was eased, however, by the limited presence of Ngok Dinka returnees who were only present in a small number of locations, and mainly south of the River Kiir/Bahr al Arab. The majority of Ngok also remained displaced south of the Kiir/Bahr al Arab (in April 2012, 112 000 displaced persons were provided with a monthly food ration by the World Food Programme (WFP) and its partners in the Abyei Area and Warrap⁸⁹). Higher numbers of returns are expected when the rainy season ends, the first harvest is collected (August/September), and the school year ends. The most stressed routes will be eastern-central (Tajalei and Leu) and central routes (through Todach and Dokura) due to the high returns expected to these areas. The least stressed routes will be the western routes. The combination of large scale returns and migration will make implementing the 2011-2012 strategy of separation of communities much more difficult in 2012-2013.

⁸⁷ Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Abyei, 25 July 2012, p.2

⁸⁸ FAO Abyei Mission report, July 2012, p.4

⁸⁹ Report of the Secretary General on the situation in Abyei, 24th May, 2012, p. 5

UNISFA-Community Relations-Civilian Administration

Extensive efforts were made by UNISFA to engage and secure the cooperation of Misseriya for the migration season, including preparatory meetings in Abyei town, Muglad and Khartoum. This was particularly important in the absence of a working administration. During the dry season UNISFA established joint-community liaison committees in more than twenty locations. In theory, these decentralised weekly meetings were supposed to be tripartite, to include members of Misseriya and Ngok communities. In practice, each community would meet with UNISFA separately. Every Thursday, the Force Commander also meets with the Ngok Dinka traditional authorities at the UNISFA compound in Abyei. These efforts have yielded some fruit: reducing tension between the Ngok and UNISFA around perceived bias; improving access for humanitarian agencies; and information sharing, notably on potential spoilers to prevent insecurity during the reverse migration. This presence in the community is a commendable break from the past. However, the lack of civilian component to the mission means that, whilst it is very good at maintaining security, it has fallen short at times with managing its relationship with the communities and their relationship with each other. The AJOC meeting of 9 to 10 August 2012 (discussed below) took place when the UNISFA Force Commander recognised the inability to bring the communities together and asked AJOC to consider supporting a process.

On current trends, the lack of a civilian component within UNISFA will grow in importance if the territory remains without an administration. On 9 July 2012, 6000 Ngok reportedly visited Abyei to celebrate the anniversary of the independence of South Sudan. The UN reported minor injuries to Misseriya caused by some stones being thrown at shopkeepers; local Ngok spoke of a comprehensive beating of Misseriya traders. Whatever happened on that day, it is symptomatic of relations between the communities, and law and order will be a growing concern in 2012-2013.

Community Response

Perceived lack of consultation

Many Ngok Dinka were frustrated with what they saw as the protection of Misseriya cattle by UNISFA on their land so shortly after their perceived involvement in the destruction of Abyei in May 2011. The Paramount Chief of Ngok Dinka said there was initially no consultation around the framework for the migration - complaining that the Ngok were *informed* by UNISFA that the migration would proceed.⁹⁰ He said the traditional leaders instructed their communities not to attack Misseriya or raid cattle because it could generate further problems and because of 'respect for the international community'. It was clear, however, that such calls for restraint may not persuade communities again in the

coming dry season if community frustrations are not addressed. In addition to this perceived lack of consultation there is also a perception of bias, expressed in a letter dated 22 May 2012 signed by representatives of Abyei traditional leaders, womens' and youth unions, religious leaders and others and sent to the UN Security Council. The letter alleged that UNISFA had failed to investigate allegations that three civilians had been murdered in separate incidents. The letter also outlined further incidents, which allegedly took place following the publication of the AU Peace and Security Road Map on April 24th 2012. These included; 1) Theft of 75 sheep and goats from Marial-Achaak (2 May) -1.5 km from the UNISFA compound; 2) theft of 111 cows from Rumameer (4 May) - 1km from the UNISFA base; and 3) theft of 550 cattle at gun point from Leu village (10 May). Later incidents reportedly took place at Leu (July) and Wunruock (24 July).

The Paramount Chief of Ngok Dinka confirmed that the incidents damaged community respect for UNISFA and raised questions about the strength of its mandate. In particular, the theft at Leu on the day of SSPS withdrawal from Abyei Area was significant; local officials said that the scale of the raid was the largest ever suffered in the region. A member of the administration in Agok said that a person from Leu village reached the UNISFA compound whilst the incident was still ongoing but that it took three hours before a patrol was launched. Even though UNISFA managed to return some of the cattle from the Leu attack, stories of this kind are reinforcing perceptions that UNISFA has been more supportive of Misseriya interests than those of Ngok.

Management of Migration and the Peace Process

AJOC Agreement

Ngok traditional authorities and local officials welcomed an AJOC convened initiative that led to an agreement on principles between Ngok and Misseriya leaders on 10 August 2012. It is widely recognised by all involved that community initiatives will have limited import in the absence of high level agreement between the parties, but that community dialogue will at least facilitate trust building and the maintenance of contact.

The strength and weakness of the agreement rests on the participation in its creation. The traditional leaders of Misseriya were brought from Muglad and Babanusa. This overcomes a common difficulty of local dialogue within the Abyei Area - the imbalance of senior Ngok leaders attempting to make arrangements with local low level Misseriya. The weakness was that although only the Ajaira were involved (Awlad Kamil, Mazaghna, Omran and some Fayareen), the agreement is made on behalf of all Misseriya. The Paramount Chief of Ngok said his delegation suggested an agreement between Ngok and Ajaira would be a positive step but that this was refused by the Misseriya, who said that the

⁹⁰ There are parallels here with the strong leadership exemplified by the Governors of Northern Bahr al Ghazal and Unity States.

Misseriya of Lagawa and Fula also need to be involved in forming an agreement. Two considerations become clear: First, there is a need for consensus building among Misseriya groups in South Kordofan before a substantive agreement is possible. Second, the poor functioning and low capacity of AJOC leaves follow up steps very uncertain.

There is little appetite among the wider Ngok community to meet with the Misseriya, at least until the returns process is much further along.⁹¹ Officials within the administration in Agok outlined various preconditions for dialogue. These included: compensation for all deaths; compensation for all houses and property taken or destroyed in May 2011; and compensation for all cattle taken in the last two years. These conditions will be difficult to meet, especially with an accelerated hardening of the position of Misseriya towards the border delineation process during 2011-2012. However, the Paramount Chief said that the kernel of genuine dialogue discovered at the AJOC meeting is worth following up.⁹² He is well aware of the strategic imperative of reaching out to the Misseriya to limit future mobilisation and avoid large-scale security incidents in the future. However, he opposed the idea of a meeting in Diffra or Abyei (it would serve to legitimise Misseriya claims to the land) but said the Ngok may be willing to travel to Muglad. The fact that the initial agreement was made under the auspices of AJOC, composed of Sudanese and South Sudanese officials, may allow for the genuine engagement of the relevant South Kordofan and Sudanese authorities if approached transparently about the matter.

Lack of trust and hope-lines

Communities recognize the influence of higher political hands on conflict in Abyei. However, this has not stopped the almost complete erosion of trust held by the Ngok traditional authorities towards Misseriya traditional authorities. Misseriya leaders reportedly explained at the AJOC meeting of 9 to 10 August 2012 that they are not part of the violence. The Ngok response is to reject the statement, making allegations that; 1) SAF support to militia is openly given to groups in Muglad⁹³; 2) Meetings took place in Goleh and Alal between local Misseriya and SAF; 3) Following the destruction of Abyei, a market was opened in Deng, Muglad for the sale of the looted artefacts. Another market was reportedly opened in Lagawa, called Abyei.⁹⁴ Many Ngok find it difficult to

understand how traditional leaders can claim not to be part of violence, but do not appear to take action against such activities. In these circumstances designing a peace process that assures the Ngok that the Misseriya militia, who they believe to be active, can be controlled to their satisfaction, is very difficult, particularly where the authority structures for such militias are difficult to determine.

As a result, members of the Ngok community, officials in the local authorities of Agok and members of the small international and national NGO community in Abyei all express the same catch-22; that it will not be possible to resolve the situation without the cooperation of national actors. However, national actors bring with them all the as yet insurmountable political issues. Thus there continues an old and ongoing debate about the value of community dialogue in such a context; On the one side is the argument that communities do have the capacity, resources and interests to carve a meaningful sphere of cooperation, however small, in the face of national adversarialism. The second group, including representatives of national NGOs involved in past local reconciliation efforts, say that the evidence is that these attempts will always subsumed by the national conflict until it is resolved; "the problem is bigger than the tribes".⁹⁵

Historical relations as resource

Despite the serious problems, the long-term proximity of Ngok and Misseriya still contains emotional resources for the rebuilding of relations. A history of cooperation and co-hosting between certain sections and sub-groups through times of strife goes back at least to the Mahdiya. Special relations exist between particular Amirates of Misseriya and particular Ngok Chieftoms according to geographical proximity along migration routes. For example, the Awlad Kamil had good relations with Abior through the central route, and the Awlad Omran and Fadliya with the Mareng and Alei along the eastern route. These geographical counterparts would each have specific arrangements and relationships for managing their interactions and represent potential leverage points for building improved relations in the future.

Dissemination, communications and the media

The Abyei conflict is also being played out in the media. Sudanese television and radio focuses on presenting the inter-mingling of Misseriya and Ngok and provides a platform for pro-Khartoum Ngok figures. Some Ngok figures are participating in the political campaign to publicise Abyei as, at least, a joint area. These include

⁹¹ A recent UNDP consultation of communities in Rum Ameer reportedly rejected dialogue with Misseriya at least until the displaced persons had returned to Abyei Area. Interview, RSCO, Abyei, 14 August 2012.

⁹² It is interesting to note that the last time the author met the Paramount Chief, in Abyei in 2010, he dismissed any idea of community dialogue due to so many internationally supported initiatives that failed to bear fruit.

⁹³ The Paramount Chief said he had received reports of the delivery of 800 motorcycles and 2000 Kalashnikovs to Muglad in the first week of August 2012

⁹⁴ Some of the goods taken from Abyei were reportedly seen as far away as Port Sudan.

⁹⁵ As it was put by the Director of the CBO ACAD, Interview, August 2012. The view taken by the author is that although community initiatives will not resolve the situation of Abyei, they might if properly designed and pitfalls notwithstanding help: 1) reduce the potential for greater involvement of local communities in emerging and future conflict; and 2) facilitate some continuance of relations which will represent a valuable resource at such time as national context permits meaningful local dialogue.

members of the former AAA appointed by the NCP, such as Zazharia Atem, Amin Kiir, Ayom Matet and Majlith Yak. Their participation is seen by Ngok officials in Agok as a cynical attempt to divide public opinion on Abyei within the South, and thus weaken the resolve of the GRSS to negotiate so firmly on the issue.⁹⁶

These people, and others who have close relations with Misseriya (for example, those living in Goleh village), are denounced by large sections of the displaced community. Indeed, in Mayom-Agok – near Agok – the community held an ‘excommunication’ ceremony for them. Such responses suggest that those affiliating with Khartoum or the NCP sacrifice their very identity as Ngok. Seen in this light, coexistence in Goleh is not between Ngok and Misseriya but between ‘muslim Ngok who were once taken by Misseriya as slaves and have chosen to remain with them’. Such people are seen by the displaced population as somehow separate from Ngok proper. This conflation of ethnic identity with political identity is an important and understandable process during the run up to a referendum. There has been no community engagement with pro-Khartoum leaders since the crisis of May 2011.

Coordination

UNDP is conducting community dialogues in the area as part of its Conflict Reduction Program. This includes an intra-community dialogue with the Ngok held in early August 2012 and a rough plan to bring the communities together in the future. Ngok participants said there was a lack of clarity about the aims and objectives of the last meeting, whether it was intended to prepare for Misseriya-Ngok dialogue or not, and that the presence of facilitators from Khartoum raised suspicions around the process.

Many INGOs are now reconsidering what they can do to support stability in Abyei now that the security situation is considered somewhat calmer. Information sharing around peace building initiatives is extremely important at this juncture to limit the possibility of duplication and confusion. A recent meeting of peace-building NGOs organised in Juba by Concordis is a positive step towards going forward.

Emerging Issues

Humanitarian access

In addition to concerns about security, INGOs based in South Sudan are uncertain as to the legal ramifications of operating in Abyei; visas are required from Sudan and NGOs do not wish to jeopardise operations in Sudan by appearing to support what could be considered as partisan activities in Abyei Area. NGOs are not yet installed and access to water is poor; boreholes are damaged and were blocked with stones and glass to

prevent their use. GRSS provided 500 bags of Dura through the local authorities in Agok (the former AAA) but WFP is not distributing food in Abyei town. UNISFA has provided 30 beds, a generator, some tables and chairs for a clinic, as well as promised a few clinicians to work in the clinic. However, this had not happened as of mid-August 2012.

Climate change and water

Local officials indicate a tension between the spirit of existing negotiated agreements and contemporary realities. In this interpretation, models of rights to access grazing lands by both communities are outdated, romanticised by the international community, and fail to recognise the huge increase in herd sizes that have taken place since the 1960s. They also fail to recognise ongoing climatic change about which there appears a local consensus; that the dry season is longer than it once was. Local officials reported a severe lack of water in Melama, Dembaloya, Tegai, Maper Amal, Fawal and Langor. The perception is also that the River Nyamora/Um Bierro is no longer able to cope with demand and has been affected by regional infrastructural developments, particularly road building associated with the oil industry in neighbouring states. The director of national NGO ACAD said that the River Kiir/Bahr al Arab itself is drying in places as early as December, let alone the smaller Raqaba. Better information may be available on these points among private sector actors.

In 2011-2012, pressure on nomads to move south of the River Kiir/Bahr al Arab began in earnest in January - Misseriya say that the watercourses of Abyei become unhealthy for cattle part way through the dry season. UNISFA worked intensely with IOM to repair water points in the northern parts of Abyei, but substantial investment is required. The rumoured proposal of AU High Level Implementation Panel that the Abyei Area be split into two does not therefore solve the issue of access to local resources. The assumption behind such a proposal must be that with national contestation resolved over strategic resources, local agreements will facilitate dry season migration. However, resistance of the local Ngok community to its implementation could undermine this gamble. The pressure to move further southwards was so high (some Misseriya reportedly warned UNISFA that they may be forced to shoot their way to grazing land)⁹⁷ that by April the Force Commander deemed it necessary to visit the neighbouring states of Northern Bahr al Ghazal, Warrap and Unity to advocate for acceptance of nomads into South Sudan.

Agriculture

The position of the second harvest, predominantly waath⁹⁸ but also maize, around December (sometimes

⁹⁶ If this is not the strategy, then it is one effect. When chatting with young men in Bentiu, they described the Ngok as “complicated people, keeping one foot in Khartoum and one in Juba”, July 2012

⁹⁷ Interview, Clifford Mbizi, UN Coordination Support Office, UNDP, Abyei, 15 August 2012

⁹⁸ A local variety of sorghum. The availability of short term sorghum seeds for the second short growing season is important, particularly

into January) is particularly problematic. Land preparation for the first harvest, beginning around May for the June rains also brings pastoralist and farming communities into conflict. The recent experience of displacement in 2008 and 2011 led to a shortage of food, an increased focus on self-sufficient farming practices and a general consensus among the community that cultivation should be considerably expanded in the future. The administration in Agok have five tractors and plan to loan them to communities, but there is a problem of fuel and maintenance that hinders implementation. FAO provided 140 tonnes of seeds in early September, but it is possible they arrived too late for optimum use during the second season. The emphasis on farming, combined with the increasing presence of Misseriya farms in the north of Abyei Area, is a potential source of conflict and will be difficult for UNISFA to manage.

Animal health

There has been no information sharing between local authorities in Agok and Sudanese authorities on animal health since before the independence of South Sudan. The Secretariat for Agriculture, Animal Resources and Forestry, formerly of the Abyei Area Administration is functioning in Agok, with funding from Juba and some support from NGOs, notably FAO and SNV. There is one operational fridge as part of a cold chain system, 15 active livestock technicians, but no stock of vaccines or medicines.⁹⁹ For the past 1.5 years, no vaccination has been conducted in Agok-Abyei area.¹⁰⁰ Insecurity has disrupted Dinka pastoralist movements and led to concentrations of vulnerable breeds of cattle to locations to which they are not suited.

for those who have returned to Abyei during the first season and missed the opportunity of that harvest.

⁹⁹ Drugs, formerly coming from Khartoum, have not been released for use south of the River Kiir/Bahr al Arab to the administration based in Agok. GRSS has not provided an alternative supply.

Disease control for hemorrhagic septicemia, blackquarter, anthrax and PPR has not been carried out for more than one year. The positive news is that a July 2012 FAO assessment concluded that "the structure for animal health services is.... sufficient for effective response", FAI Abyei Mission Report, July 2012

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Warrap

Introduction

Warrap State borders Western Equatoria, Western Bahr el Ghazal, Northern Bahr el Ghazal, Unity and Lakes States in South Sudan and the Abyei Area. The population is estimated at 972,928 and the main ethnic groups are Dinka, Luo and Bongo. Warrap is divided into six counties: Tonj South, Tonj East, Tonj North, Gogrial East, Gogrial West and Twic Counties. Of these, pastoralists from Southern Kordofan have traditionally sought dry season pasture primarily in Twic County, but have moved southeast into Gogrial East and as far as northern Tonj North. Twic County is one of the most densely populated counties in the whole of South Sudan with 51 persons per square kilometre.¹⁰¹

Environment

Twic County is situated on the western clay plains. Annually up to 70% of the county is flooded and inaccessible in the rainy season from July to December.¹⁰² Toich is widespread providing grazing land during the dry season. On both sides of the Loll River and the Jur River (flowing through Gogrial East and northern Tonj North) repeating Raqaba patterns are found, which provide some good cracking clays for small-scale agriculture and water for dry season grazing.¹⁰³

Livelihoods

The rearing of livestock and subsistence agriculture are the primary livelihoods in Warrap State, with smaller proportions of the population engaged in fishing, forest product extraction (such as gum Arabic, bamboo, and palm products), hunting, and livestock management. In summer 2011 food security was at crisis levels in all three counties of interest, due to increased prices, lean season shortages and increased demand due to the presence of large numbers of IDPs from Abyei who relied on kinship support. The situation was eased somewhat by the sorghum harvest of October but remained stressed through the dry season.¹⁰⁴

Internal Conflict

Conflict with Misseriya is one of three main security concerns of the Warrap State Government. The other two involve the Lakes-Warrap-Unity triangle and the clashes between Ananata and Palal, notably in March 2009. The former is currently being dealt with by an initiative headed by Riek Machar and a special court has been established to try cases related to the latter.

Peoples

The following chart lists the groups of people involved in the seasonal cross-border migration. It should be noted that statements about previous or current allegiances in the table below are intended to highlight the current perceptions of other groups and are made for the purpose of understanding how such perceptions affect the dynamics of the relations between groups and the impact of such perceptions on approaches to seasonal migration. In circumstances such as this, the perception is as important in determining future behaviour as the actuality.

Listed in alphabetical order, blue shading indicates the South Sudanese host communities and white indicates the Sudanese pastoral groups.

¹⁰¹ 5th Sudan Census 2008 – Population Density by County

¹⁰² SRF-SS Joint Programme Document, WARRAP

STABILIZATION PROGRAMME (WSP), 2011, p.7

¹⁰³ Purnell, M.F and Venema J.H, Agricultural Potential Regions of The Sudan, Soil Survey Administration, Technical Bulletin No.28, Wad Medani, 1976, p.27-28.

¹⁰⁴ South Sudan Food Security Outlook Update, August 2011 and July 2012, USAID

Peoples	Summary Information
Awlad Kamil	This Misseriya Amirate is the largest sub-section of Ajaira Misseriya, predominantly from around Muglad but also from Al Mogodama village area. Awlad Kamil traditionally use the central murhals through the PCA Abyei Area and into Warrap and Unity State. A number of Khashm al Bayt also enter Northern Bahr al Ghazal down the western murhal. The paramount leader of Misseriya Ajaira comes from this section (at times he will also represent and lead the Zuruq, such as happened during the Babu Nimr period). Since 1990, Awlad Kamil have undergone a process of urbanisation, and livelihoods have adapted to include farming and small-scale business. Pastoralism, however, remains the dominant livelihood activity for a majority. The Awlad Kamil are fairly united and follow the Amir Mukhtar Babo, however some youth may be seeking satisfaction of their aspirations in their own way outside of traditional authority structures. It is believed by southern border communities, international commentators and Misseriya interviewed for this report that youth from Awlad Kamil are strongly connected with the PDF and armed militias.
Awlad Omran	Misseriya Amirate predominantly from Debab area but also present in Babanusa. Well known for being cattle keepers with a high degree of illiteracy, the group takes the eastern Murhals through Abyei Area and the Heglig area to Abiemnom, Mayom and Rubkhona Counties of Unity State. Members of this group had good relations with Nuer and Dinka during the war, engaging in trade and peaceful coexistence. Since the CPA, a number of former PDF fighters known as the Debab Forces joined the SPLA. The Awlad Omran Amirate, led by Amir Ismaeil Hamdein, also administer the Fadliya sub-section of Misseriya Ajaira. They carry small arms for protection from cattle raiding.
Fayareen	This Misseriya Ajaira sub-section is predominantly from around Meiram and Al Mogodama. They practice both farming and pastoralism and migrate to Aweil East in Northern Bahr al Ghazal State down an eastern murhal. As compared with Awlad Kamil and Awlad Omran, the group is small but well educated, historically providing Islamic scholars to the Misseriya. Fayareen are unified under one administration and, in 2011, they elected a new Amir. Some youth groups do not follow the decisions of the native administration and traditional elders. Statements by Fayareen leaders at peace conferences and interviews with Misseriya representatives to the Warawar joint peace committee suggest that Fayareen youth have recently been involved in PDF activities. The general population carry small arms for protection from cattle raiding.
Mazaghna	This medium sized section of Misseriya Ajaira is from Muglad and Seteib village and has been traditionally administered under the Amirate of the Awlad Kamil (with the Mazaghna leader as Deputy Amir). They are heavily dependent on seasonal pastoralism and migrate through the central murhals. In 2011, they established their own independent Amirate under the leadership of Amir Hamadi al Doud. However, some youths do not strictly adhere to the decisions of the native administration. The word 'Mazaghna' is usually used to refer to mixed race peoples, possibly indicating a history of inter-marriage with Dinka.
Rek Dinka	Agro-pastoralist group from Gogrial East and Gogrial West in Warrap State, South Sudan.
Twic Dinka	Agro-pastoralist Dinka from Twic County, Warrap State. The 5th census estimated Twic County to have a population of 204,905, one of the most densely populated counties in South Sudan. Twic Dinka experienced widespread displacement during the second civil war but have maintained a traditional mode of life with cattle keeping the key economic activity and source of wealth. Those not engaged in cattle keeping are involved in trading and fishing along River Loll. Twic, such as Kerubino Kuanyin Bol and Thomas Thiel also participated prominently as SSDF commanders.

Historical Interactions

In recent decades the relationship between Twic and Misseriya has been poor. Memories from the second war, when Misseriya militia are believed to have regularly attacked Twic County, particularly between 1985 and 1989 (when the Government and SPLA agreed a ceasefire), continue to cast a shadow over relations between groups.¹⁰⁵

In April 2000, under the direction of SPLA Chairman John Garang, a peace conference was organised at Malual Agork, a forest near the Kiir/Bahr al Arab River, to bring together Twic, Ngok (from Abyei), Rek (from Gogrial West and East) Dinka and Misseriya. After a month of debate, the groups signed arrangements for peaceful coexistence. Central to the agreement was commercial interaction and Abein Dau was proposed as the location for a joint market. Due to conflict histories associated with Abien Dao,¹⁰⁶ the market was

established first at Warapatch between the Kiir/Bahr al Arab and Turalei. It moved to Abien Dao in February 2001.

The Misseriya are currently trading across Warrap State but the peace committee of Abien Dao has not operated since the signing of the CPA. The migration of Misseriya nomads into Warrap has not proceeded in the last three years.¹⁰⁷ The Chairperson of the Warrap State Peace Commission said that since 2000 there has been no conflict between Misseriya and Twic communities. However, Twic community leaders say that Misseriya violated agreements made in 2003 and 2005.¹⁰⁸ Since then, the belief that Misseriya groups were involved in conflicts in Abyei in 2008 and 2011 has affected relations significantly, with Twic people generally sympathetic to the Ngok Dinka.

¹⁰⁵ For examples of actions (still remembered), see Sudan: Human Rights Violations in the context of Civil War, December 1989, AI Index: AFR 54/17/89

¹⁰⁶ Misseriya initially refused the location because of heavy fighting there during March 1998

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Honorable James Bol Adiang, Chairperson, State Peace Commission, Warrap State, 13 August 2012, Kuajok
¹⁰⁸ USAID, 2005

Traditional Migration Routes and 2011-2012 Migration Routes

Since 2001 the Misseriya have sent their members of the Joint Peace Committee to negotiate an agreement for migration. This did not happen in 2011-2012. Indeed, there has been no migration into Warrap State for three years. Expectations were therefore low that Misseriya would migrate in 2011-2012, especially with a large SPLA presence at Majin Kol south of Agok and large numbers of displaced Ngok Dinka from Abyei, many of

whom fled to Twic County. The Misseriya who traditionally migrate into Warrap are primarily from the Awlad Kamil Amirate, comprising Awlad Kamil and Mazaghna groups. They enter Warrap around Luffong after passing through the central *murhals* of the PCA Abyei Area.

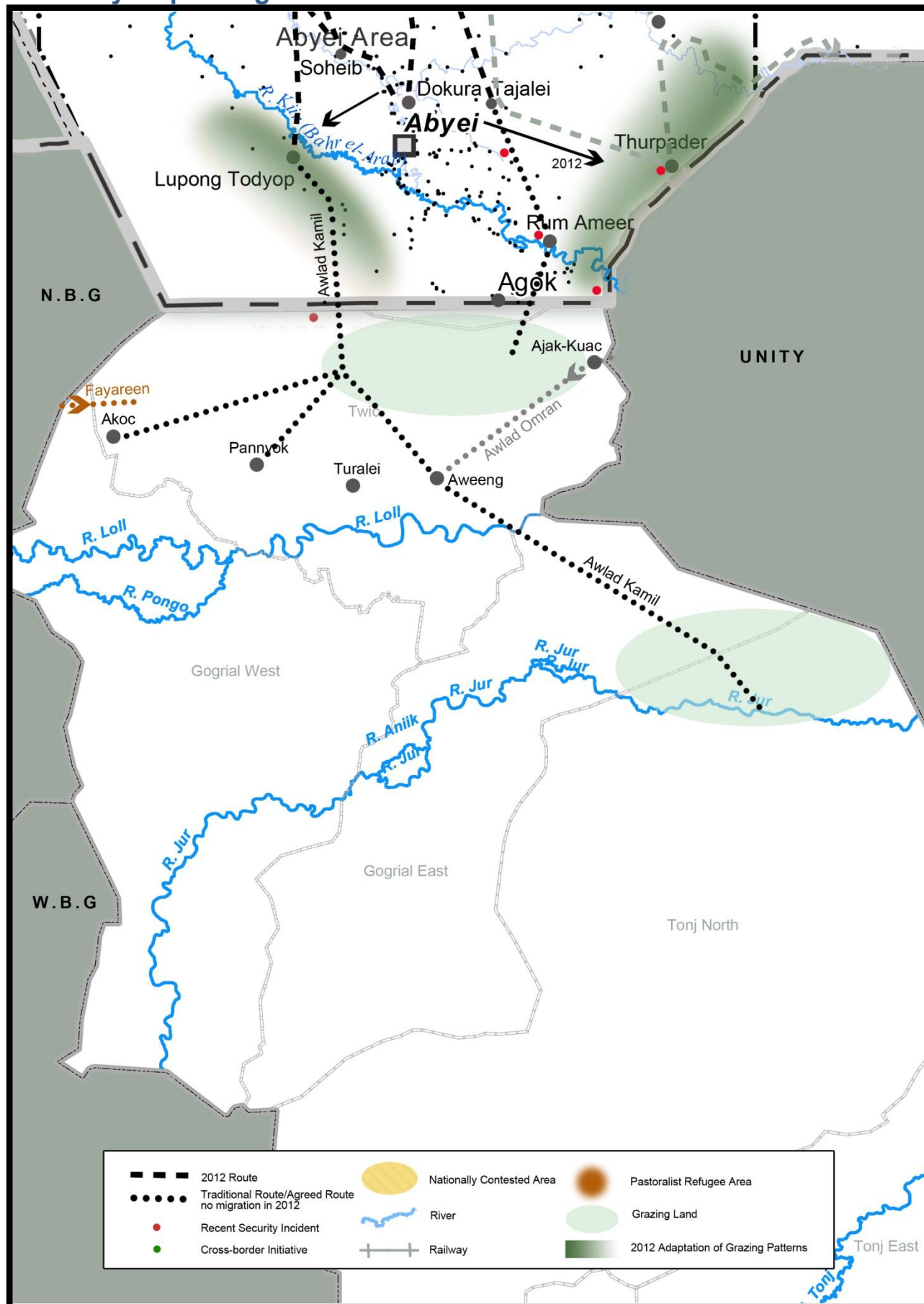
This year the February 2012 Misseriya-Dinka Malual agreement in Northern Bahr al Ghazal opened up the possibility of some seasonal pastoralists entering Twic County via Aweil East. Warrap State authorities made it clear that this would not be acceptable without an additional agreement from the state.

Routes	Groups	2011-2012
Main route/s: Lurpong/Luffong- northern payams (Twic County)- Luach <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Crossing the Kiir/Bahr al Arab River at Luffong-southwards to Twic County grazing in Aweeng Payam (if rains are heavy they move to Akoc and Pannyok to the west and Ajak-Kuac to east)-southeast movements as far as Luach (Gogrial East) between Tonj North and Gogrial East grazing along the River Jur from Mayom Chol to the border of Unity State. 	Main group <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awlad Kamil Also <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mezigna 	X - No Migration (limited migration into Akoch Payam in north western Twic)
Aweil East-(Northern Bahr al Ghazal)- Akoc and Pannyok Payam	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awlad Kamil Fayareen 	X - No Migration
Abeimnom/Mayom (Unity State)-Ajak-Kuac-Main route/s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awlad Omran Mezeigna Awlad Kamil 	X - No Migration

Summary of Dry Season Migration 2011-2012

Administrative Developments	Conflict/Tensions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dec: Twic commissioner says unarmed Misseriya are welcome but no contact yet from Misseriya. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> May 2011-: Presence of Ngok Dinka in the county south of Agok Nov 2011: SPLA moves to Majin Kol Dec: Armed Misseriya without cattle reported in Twic County. Alleged to have abducted girls on 7 Dec at Lurpong Forest.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 19-21 Feb: Dinka Malual-Misseriya conference takes place in Aweil and agrees modalities for migration into Northern Bahr al Ghazal. This opens the possibility of dry season pastoralists reaching the Aweil East-Twic border. 17 Mar: UNISFA Force Commander meets Governor of Warrap Nyandeng Malek at Kuajok with the Governor of Northern Bahr al Ghazal. Governor Nyandeng agrees to propose the migration to four bordering communities. 20-22 Mar: Governor of Warrap delivers request from Misseriya to migrate into Warrap to Pannyok, Akoc, Ajak-Kuac-Aweeng and Turalei. Local communities unanimously reject the migration, citing experiences from recent years. Apr: Requests from Misseriya to migrate into Warrap subside in face of broader conflict. May: Rains begin 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Twic County Commissioner and Ajak Kuac Payam Administrator confirm that Twic is not part of the Malual-Misseriya agreement and any migration into Warrap would be conditional on further agreements. Misseriya Awlad Omran travel for daily grazing to Kiir/Bahr al Arab at extreme northeast corner of Twic County says Biem-Kot Boma administrator (Abiemnom). Feb-Mar: Misseriya pastoralists witnessed along the border with Abyei Area says Akoch Payam Administrator Mar: Pressure rising very high on Misseriya within Abyei area to move southwards for pasture and water. Apr: Conflict on the Sudan-South Sudan border further reduces expectations of Misseriya entering Warrap State. Misseriya reverse migration begins. Tension about possible migration ends.

Summary Map of Migration Routes



Summary of Administrative Initiatives

This table summarises some of the key historical and contemporary administrative initiatives pertaining to

management of the dry season migration into Warrap State.

Initiative	Aim	Key Actors	Outcome	Impact and Lessons
Malual-Agok Conference March-April 2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To build peace between Dinka and Misseriya 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Twic Dinka Ngok Dinka Rek Dinka (Gogrial West and East) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Twic Dinka Ngok Dinka Rek Dinka (Gogrial West and East) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased informal dialogue and normalised relations at local level. Clashes between communities reduced. Authority of SPLA recognised and cemented in the region. Joint peace committee in place. Misseriya members of Abien Dao Peace Committee can negotiate grazing arrangements.
Peace Market 2001-2006	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate trade and build relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Twic Ngok SPLM/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Twic Ngok SPLM/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya members of Abien Dao Peace Committee can negotiate grazing arrangements.
Peace Committees 2001-2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improve security and build relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Twic Ngok 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Twic Ngok 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Joint Peace Committee of Abien Dao not operating since the CPA. Model of peace committees established
'People to People Process' ¹⁰⁹ 2000-2004 Malwak Agak, 2000 Wanyjok 2000 Akur/Abu Nafisa, 2001	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improve security Improve returns Reduce poverty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Ajaira Ngok SPLA Twic Dinka UNDP Netherlands GoS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Ajaira Ngok SPLA Twic Dinka UNDP Netherlands GoS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Movement across river increased and abductees released. Time invested to bring key leaders into the process, particularly militia commanders, is key to success. Awlad Kamil important due to Paramount Chief. Did not include Fellaita or Zuruq Raised interest in - and informed - regional peace process Limited by dependence on SPLM/A/GoS Recommitted at Kiir river in 2003
Regional agreements Aweil 2008, 2010, 2012 Kadugli, 2010 Bentiu, 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To facilitate rules for dry season migration into South Sudan. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Malual Bul Nuer Dinka Alor Unity/NBG SKS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya Malual Bul Nuer Dinka Alor Unity/NBG SKS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Grazing routes to Twic County from Aweil East (NBG) and Abiemnom/Mayom (Unity) could lead to Misseriya attempting to enter Warrap State from those directions.
Involvement in regional initiatives Ongoing-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To inform Warrap leaders of models for cooperation along the border. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Warrap NBG Organisers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Warrap NBG Organisers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Warrap officials and traditional authorities well informed of models in place along the border. Some strong feelings that such agreements are not appropriate given ongoing conflict situation. Very low support for similar initiative in Warrap until wider Abyei issue resolved.
Peace Actors Forum Ongoing-	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To coordinate responses to conflict dynamics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SSPC 24 NGOS Gov Authorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> SSPC 24 NGOS Gov Authorities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Positive coordination and progress on other internal issues such as Lakes-Warrap-Unity triangle and Tonj East. Limited/no recent response to relationships with Misseriya.

¹⁰⁹ The best description of this process is found in Local Peace Processes in Sudan: A Baseline Study Author: Bradbury, Ryle, Medley, Sansculotte-Greenidge, Rift Valley Institute, 2006

Discussion

Overarching Framework: 2011-2012

The government of Warrap State did not engage with Misseriya nomads in 2011-2012. The policy of the government is to wait for a national framework pertaining to movement of peoples and livestock across the border. This is only likely to emerge following agreement between Sudan and South Sudan at high-level negotiations in Addis Ababa. A number of government officials criticised the approach of Northern Bahr al Ghazal towards managing Sudan-South Sudan migration, arguing that South Sudan's newfound statehood demands consistent policies towards border management and not separate deals by individual states. Given the conflict between the two countries during the 2011-2012 dry season, they argue, it is not right for one region of South Sudan to make arrangements that may affect others.

Strategic Factors

Security

The 2011 displacement of Ngok Dinka from Abyei is foremost among factors explaining the position of the government and communities of Warrap State towards the migration. Regardless of other strategic and economic benefits of cooperating over migration, the assessment of the state is that clashes between Ngok Dinka and Misseriya are to be expected if dry season migration proceeds, due to the bitterness of Ngok about their recent dislocation. This risk was not acceptable to the authorities of Warrap State through 2011-2012.

Economics

As argued above, security concerns override economic arguments for cross border cooperation. As the Peace Coordinator noted: "It is still wartime, we don't talk about economic relations right now". Nevertheless, mutual economic advantage can be found in the traditional migration of Misseriya. Twic populations benefit from selling livestock at a higher price due to better markets in Sudan (700SSP compared to a local price of 500SSP) and improved access to commodities. Misseriya obtain grazing, water and markets for petty (and wholesale) trade. It is also believed by the host communities that they benefit from illegal hunting, fishing and large scale honey collection, and this results in host communities expressing frustration.

Officials are aware that dealing with traders could bring many of the benefits of the migration season without the disadvantages of large herds. The potential to separate trade from pastoralism is emerging as a common idea in the vision of southern administrators along the entire border.

Coordination

The Peace Actors Forum, a collection of 24 government agencies and NGOs involved in peace activities in

Warrap State, chaired by the State Peace Commission, meets every two months to coordinate activities and share information. It represents a good network and resource to ensure that responses to tensions between dry season pastoralists and host communities are coordinated and well informed.

The State Plan for 2011-2012 included a policy for creating a new peace committee for each of the six counties. The government, through the Peace Commission, stands ready to implement the project but seek partners to provide the necessary support (motorbikes, radios, construction of peace centres).

Emerging Issues

Climate change and water

There are major problems with water points for host communities during the dry season and a need for the construction of *hafirs* and a strategy for their use. In the past, local populations and Misseriya both accessed dry season pasture at Luach, between Tonj North and Gogrial East and this has been a source of conflict. Strategies for dealing with cross border pastoralism do not feature in Warrap State's 2012-2015 strategic plan.

Unity

Introduction

Five counties of Unity State historically host seasonal transhumance from South Kordofan. These are Abiemnom County (17,012 inhabitants), Mayom County (120,715 inhabitants), Pariang County (82,443 inhabitants), Rubkhona County (100,236 inhabitants) and Guit County (33,004 inhabitants).¹¹⁰ Grazing routes can broadly be divided into two geographical sections: 1) Those entering Abiemnom County from the Abyei Area (primarily Ajaira) or from the contested area of Heglig (Ajaira and Fallaita); and 2) Those entering Pariang County from Keilek Locality - predominantly Fallaita, Fellata and, more recently, Shenabla Arabs.

Environment

The bulk of the study area is in the northern section of the Southern Clay Plain. The plain spans northwards from the Bahr al Arab/Kiir River across the contested international border to the foot of the Nuba Mountains - from where its parent materials derive. The plain is characterised predominantly by dark gray brown and black cracking clays fed by streams flowing from the Nuba uplands, representing good grazing land and, subject to improved drainage, the potential for large-scale mechanised agriculture.¹¹¹

The Kiir/Bahr al Arab River, flowing in Unity State from Abiemnom and Mayom County in the west through Bentiu and onto Tonga in Upper Nile State in the east, provides sufficient water for dry season grazing and is difficult to cross with livestock. It thus broadly frames the extent of southward movement for the majority of nomadic pastoralists practicing seasonal transhumance in the study area. Along the river, moderately well drained soils provide good conditions for agriculture. Wetter, marshier, conditions which provide some dry season grazing are found south of the Bahr al Arab/river Kiir.

Livelihoods

At the onset of the 2011-2012 dry season crisis conditions prevailed in Abiemnom, Mayom and Pariang Counties. This was mostly due to significant population displacements arising in the first half of 2011. 5-10% of the population of Mayom County was displaced into Abiemnom and Rubkhona Counties and an estimated 20-25% of the remaining population did not cultivate due to insecurity and fear of newly laid landmines. Abiemnom itself was hosting approximately five thousand displaced people from Abyei (roughly a 25% increase in the population). In October 2011 Pariang had received some 5000

refugees from South Kordofan¹¹², with this number increasing to nearly 30,000 by April 2012¹¹³.

Host food reserves have been severely stretched due to these influxes, impassable roads in the rainy season exacerbated low grain supplies, and trade restrictions prevented profitable livestock sales to, and access to goods from, Sudan. Fighting between SAF and SPLA along the border badly affected Abiemnom and Pariang and led to massive displacement of farmers from their homesteads.¹¹⁴ This will affect the food security outlook for 2012-2013.

Rubkhona and Guit Counties faced less severe conditions throughout the dry season due to ongoing informal trade with Sudan and river trade from Renk and Juba via Adok and Bentiu ports. However, Unity State previously relied on road transportation through South Kordofan State. These routes were insecure or blocked for much of the 2011-2012 dry season and market prices increased substantially as a result.

Border

The border is not 'Disputed' between South Kordofan and Unity states, as that term is used in the negotiations between GoS and GoRSS.¹¹⁵ There are, however, areas that are claimed by GoRSS to be part of South Sudan, including the strategically important oil installations of Heglig/Miding, Toma, Garaad and Bamboo. Locally, traditional authorities representing Dinka Rueng communities argue that the border should stretch from Lake Abiad/Jaw in a line northwest as far as Lake Keilak (currently administered as Keilak Locality in South Kordofan State) to include the Heglig/Miding oil fields and Kharasana. Conversely, some Misseriya leaders claim that the border should instead sit as far south as the Bahr al Arab/Kiir River.

Security Situation

Clashes between the South Sudan Liberation Movement/Army and SPLA took place in and around Mankien in April and May 2011¹¹⁶ and there was heavy fighting in October 2011 leading both SSLA spokespeople and state officials to claim control of Mayom town.¹¹⁷ In late 2011, the SSLA withdrew to Kharasana and security analysts estimated the force

¹¹² South Sudan Food Security Outlook Update, USAID, August 2011, p.2.

¹¹³ Situation Map, Sudan-South Sudan border areas, 27 April 2012, OCHA

¹¹⁴ South Sudan Food Security Update, USAID, July 2012, p.5.

¹¹⁵ In negotiation 5 areas are agreed to be 'Disputed'. GoS does not recognise there to be a genuine dispute in relation to any other area, but merely a claim by South Sudan to Sudan's territory.

¹¹⁶ South Sudan: Overshadowed Conflict: Arms Supplies and Violations in Mayom County, Unity State, Amnesty International, 2012, p10

¹¹⁷ Death toll of Mayom clashes put at 75 amid mutual claims of victory, Sudan Tribune, October 29 2012, <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article40572>.

¹¹⁰ All population figures from the 5th Sudan Census, 2008

¹¹¹ Purnell, M.F and Venema J.H, Agricultural Potential Regions of The Sudan, Soil Survey Administration, Technical Bulletin No.28, Wad Medani, 1976, p.27-28.

stood around 1800 strong, equipped with heavy weaponry.¹¹⁸ However since then, reports of increased recruitment in early 2012 and the impact of the war for Heglig in May 2012, in which the rebels fought the SPLA, adds uncertainty to this figure. After the contentious death of rebel leader General Gatluak Gai in July 2011 and the defection of Lieutenant-General Peter Gadet in August 2011, James Gai Yoach, Colonel Kol Chara Nyang, Colonel Peter Puol Jang, Bapiny Monytuil, and Philip Bepean have led different parts of the movement. According to state officials and residents of Unity State, all remain active as of August 2012.

Armed confrontations and active warfare between Sudan and South Sudan took place around Jaw/Abiad and Heglig/Panthou during the 2011-12 dry seasons.¹¹⁹

Governance

Reports of citizen perceptions of mismanagement and strong ties between political, economic and security elites have bred opposition in the state and magnified historical disputes. "Rampant corruption"¹²⁰ was the stated justification for formation of the SSLA and the movement's recruitment strategies exploited disgruntlement towards Juba and SPLA core cadres, particularly among the 'unconfirmed'.¹²¹ However, it is difficult to tell the degree to which rebel groups such as the SSLA are motivated by legitimate grievance or personal and political opportunism. The popularity of Governor Taban Deng Gai (publicly supported by President Salva Kiir) is questionable as his election was widely disputed.

Peoples

The following chart lists the groups of people involved in the seasonal cross-border migration. It should be noted that statements about previous or current allegiances in the table below are intended to highlight the current perceptions of other groups and are made for the purpose of understanding how such perceptions affect the dynamics of the relations between groups and the impact of such perceptions on approaches to seasonal migration. In circumstances such as this, the perception is as important in determining future behaviour as the

actuality.

Listed in alphabetical order, blue shading indicates the South Sudanese host communities and white indicates the Sudanese pastoral groups.

¹¹⁸ Small Arms Survey, Issue Brief number 19, April 2012, p5.

¹¹⁹ See for example; ICG, South Sudan: Compounding instability in Unity, 17 October 2011 and Saferworld, People Perspectives on Peacemaking: Unity State, October 2011

¹²⁰ The Mayom Declaration, 14th April 2011

¹²¹ The SPLA produced official lists of its officers that 'confirmed' or 'unconfirmed' ranks and positions. Some informants perceived the process to have been co-opted as a mechanism for cleansing the army of Nuer officers who would later form a pool of recruits for the SSLA. Latent tension and bitterness between Nuer and Dinka does not appear to have diminished. This plays into the dynamics of alliance building at the border, particularly now that the prize of independence has been won.

Peoples	Summary Information
Awlad Kamil	This Misseriya Amirate is the largest sub-section of Ajaira Misseriya, predominantly from around Muglad but also from Al Mogodama village area in Sudan. Awlad Kamil traditionally use the central murhals through the PCA Abyei Area and into Warrap and Unity State. A number of Khashm al Bayt also enter Northern Bhar al Ghazal down the western murhal. The paramount leader of Misseriya Ajaira comes from this section (at times he will also represent and lead the Zuruq, such as happened during the Babu Nimr period). Since 1990, Awlad Kamil have undergone a process of urbanisation, and livelihoods have adapted to include farming and small-scale business. Pastoralism, however, remains the dominant livelihood activity for a majority. The Awlad Kamil are fairly united and follow the Amir Mukhtar Babo, however, some youth may be seeking satisfaction of their aspirations in their own way outside of traditional authority structures. It is believed by southern border communities, international commentators and Misseriya interviewed for this report that youth from Awlad Kamil are strongly connected with the PDF and armed militias.
Awlad Omran	Misseriya Amirate predominantly from Debab area but also present in Babanusa, Sudan. Well known for being cattle keepers with a high degree of illiteracy, the group takes the eastern Murhals through Abyei Area and Heglig to Abiemnom, Mayom and Rubkhona Counties of Unity State. Members of this group had good relations with Nuer and Dinka during the war, engaging in trade and peaceful coexistence. It is reported that since the CPA, a number of former PDF fighters known as the Debab Forces joined the SPLA. The Awlad Omran Amirate, led by Amir Ismaeil Hamdein, also administer the Fadliya sub-section of Misseriya Ajaira. They carry small arms for protection from cattle raiding.
Bul Nuer	An agro-pastoralist group from Mayom County, Unity State, South Sudan. British administrators considered the Bul hard to reach due to the swampy conditions. They formed a core membership of Anyanya II and later movements aligned with the Government of Sudan and the Sudan Armed Forces up until the Juba Declaration of 2006.
Dinka (Alor)	Agro-pastoralist group of Padang Dinka from Abiemnom County, Unity State, South Sudan. The majority of this group was displaced during conflict in the 1960s and 1980s, at which times Abiemnom was administered from Mayom. Since 2003, returns have been steady and ongoing and educational levels are high. The group is small and its sons are not prominent in national politics like those of the Ngok and Malual.
Dinka (Pariang/Awet and Kwil)	Padang Dinka groups in Pariang County, Unity State in South Sudan which, together with the Alor, form the Rueng. The majority of this group was displaced during conflict in the 1960s and 1980s. Since 2003, returns have been steady and ongoing.
Fadliya	The small sub-section of the Misseriya Ajaira is based in Babanusa and around Debab in Sudan and is administered by the Awlad Omran Amirate of Ismaeil Hamdein. The group is relatively well educated, and engages in both farming during the rainy season and nomadic pastoralism. An internal debate is ongoing about separating from the Awlad Omran Amirate. Some youth may not adhere to the decisions of the native administration. They carry small arms for protection from cattle raiding.
Fellata	A catch-all term for non-Arab groups speaking Fulbe/Fulani. Fellata may be nomadic, farmers or urbanised, illiterate or in high office and are found in some concentration in Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon. Fellata groups were particularly responsive to the NIF promise of modernisation and inclusivity – despite a presence in Sudan for centuries they were not granted citizenship before 1989†. According to some commentators Fellata groups coordinated closely with the Government of Sudan and Sudan Armed Forces during wartime (for example, see Osman, E.I., 2009). Since the CPA, a number of Fellata/Mbororo have been transferred out of South Sudan to Sudan, particularly to Blue Nile State.
Gerafeen	One omodiya from the Awlad Sirur sub-section of Misseriya Fellaita from Fula and villages along the eastern murhal in Sudan. They are a small group relying heavily on cattle. They traditionally migrate to the area around Heglig and in small groups into Unity State. They carry small arms for protection from cattle raiding.
Gubarat	Misseriya Fellaita Amirate from Keilek, Fula, and Muglad in Sudan who historically migrate to the now contested areas of Heglig and to Pariang County in Unity State.
Mazaghna	This medium sized sub-section of Misseriya Ajaira is from Muglad and Seteib village in Sudan. They traditionally migrate through the central murhal under the administration of the Awlad Kamil (with the Mazaghna leader as Deputy Amir). Educational levels are low and the majority of the group are nomadic pastoralists based in small villages outside of Muglad. In 2011 they established their own independent Emirate under the leadership of Amir Hamadi al Doud. However some youths may not strictly adhere to the decisions of the native administration. They carry small arms for protection from cattle raiding. The word 'Mazaghna' is usually used to refer to mixed race peoples, possibly indicating a history of inter-marriage with Dinka.
Mbororo	A nomadic non-Arab group speaking Fulbe/Fulani moving through the Sahelian region. They can be found across the length of the Sudan-South Sudan border. Mbororo are probably best classified as Fellata practising a purely nomadic form of lifestyle - 'Mbororism' ¹²² rather than as a sub-tribe of Fellata. Due to their limited engagement with the state, they are politically weak and often perceived as a threat or used as a scapegoat; Salva Kiir publicly associated them with the LRA in a March 2010 speech in Raja. ¹²³
Misseriya Zuruq	Misseriya group predominantly living in the Lagawa and Fula areas in Sudan. Their traditional pastoralist migrations cover an area from North Kordofan to Heglig and Kharasana but also extend into Unity State. Historically, the Zuruq are sufficiently distinct from the Humr to be considered a separate tribe, however,

¹²² Elhadi Ibrahim Osman, The Funj Region Pastoral Fulbe: From 'Exit' to 'Voice', 2009, p.4

¹²³ Speech of President Salva Kiir, Freedom Square, Raja Town, Raga County, 23 Mar 2010

	sometimes shared political frustrations bring the two traditional leaderships closer together, as is reported to be the case today
Nuer Leik	Agro-pastoralist Nuer community in Rubkhona County, South Sudan.
Salamat	Misseriya Fellaita Amirate from Keilek and Fula who historically migrate to the now contested areas of Heglig and to Pariang County in Unity State.
Shenabla	Abala Arabs from North Kordofan and White Nile State in Sudan. Shenabla traditionally spend the dry season in Abu Gebiha and Talodi Localities, in the eastern part of the Nuba Mountains. The group migrates southwards through Dar Misseriya with their camels and have in recent years entered Pariang County in Unity State.
Ziyud	Misseriya Fellaita Amirate from Babanusa, Birka and Muglad in Sudan who historically migrate down the eastern migration corridors to Unity State.

Historical Interactions

Large-scale conflict between seasonal pastoralists and host communities began in the 1960s. Pastoralists formed armed protection units in response to the mobilisation of Anyanya in the south. The civil war and development of oil production in Unity State has caused significant displacement of populations living in Abiemnom and Pariang. Conflict memories from the 1980s remain a significant and present factor in the dynamics of cross-border cooperation. For example, the killing of Paramount Chief of Rueng Kur Kuot in Abiemnom on 16 April 1983, which is attributed to Misseriya, is marked each year in a public ritual and cited by community leaders as a reason in 2011-2012 to reject Misseriya migration.¹²⁴

For a number of years the livestock production system of seasonal pastoralists has been based on the exclusive use of grazing land in Abiemnom County and northern Pariang County and this facilitated increased herd sizes. However, chemical contamination of water and the environmental impact of industrial infrastructure projects linked to oil have reduced the availability of grazing land and exacerbated conflict between Misseriya and agro-pastoralist Rueng communities returning to the area after 2003.

Traditional authorities and officials from the Rueng of Abiemnom and Pariang claim that until 2011-2012 no migration agreements had been brokered in their territories since the 1970s. However, in Mayom County, following the almost complete displacement of the minority Dinka community¹²⁵ and despite grievances stemming from displacement in 1964/5, relations between the Bul Nuer and Misseriya nomadic pastoralists were generally managed peacefully throughout the second war. This reflected the alliance of Bul Nuer leader Paulino Matip's SSDF and the SAF until the Juba Declaration of 2006, local agreements were in place that permitted the Misseriya to move as far as Madiir at the extreme limit of Mayom County. Post-CPA, a 2006 migration conference organised by state authorities in Ruwa failed to establish a working

relationship between the communities, with taxation and disarmament the most difficult issues. Following violence in Wangkei (involving the burning of three Nuer youth), a planned reconciliation conference was disrupted by a surprise attack on Aworpiny and Awila on February 4th 2010. This left 800 families displaced, 38 dead, and relations at an all time low.

Formal economic cooperation flourished intermittently between Nuer and Misseriya throughout the second war. Rubh Ngai market was a weapons-free market active from 1991 after Riek Macher made an agreement with a number of Misseriya sections, including some of the current leaders of Awlad Omran.¹²⁶ The market encouraged trade, particularly of medicine and household goods, between Misseriya and Dinka/Nuer but was destroyed after the Khartoum Peace Agreement was signed in 1997 in fighting between Paulino Matip and Riek Machar's armies. In April 2001 a Peace Market was established in Mankien, governed by a joint peace committee of Nuer and Misseriya. Though not formally dissolved, the peace committee has not been active in the post-CPA period. Prior to the 2012 agreements (see below), the most recently active cross-border market was at Kilo 23, 23 kilometres south of Kharasana (at that time under the auspices of the SPLA following the Juba Declaration).

The market at Kilo 23, a timber and charcoal market jointly administered by Rueng and Misseriya, was destroyed in April 2008 by fighting between Dinka and Misseriya militia from Keilak. This led to the transfer of the area to SAF and the displacement of 4000 civilians to Unity State and was a major factor in deteriorating relations between Misseriya, Dinka and Nuer communities. Following Colonel Gatluak Gai's desertion in May 2010, it is thought by many in Unity State that he was hosted by Misseriya communities around Heglig after attacking SPLA positions in Wangkei Payam, Mayom County. In April 2011, Unity State officials claimed that Misseriya militia fought alongside Peter Gadet's SSLA in attacks on Guong

¹²⁴ Abiemnom Migration Conference Report, November 2011, Concordis International

¹²⁵ Until the CPA, Abiemnom was a part of Mayom County. Further research is needed into the experience of Alor communities who remained in the area.

¹²⁶ Notably, Khir Ismail Khir, who led the delegation of Misseriya to a number of peaceful coexistence meetings throughout the dry season 2011-2012. He was quoted as saying to Governor of Unity State Taban Deng Gai in January 2012 "if we can agree arrangements in wartime when you were rebels, then can't we agree when you are a government?" Taban Deng Gai joined Riek Machar when he broke away from SPLA in 1991.

Payam, Mayom County.¹²⁷ Misseriya did not seem to be directly involved in the 29 October 2011 SSLA attack on Mayom, but their association with the SSLA and SAF hardened local community views against permitting migration in 2011-2012.¹²⁸

The SPLA has in recent years maintained a “no arms policy” which Misseriya have been reluctant to accept, citing security concerns. In 2007, for example, little migration occurred, which led to the loss of herds in southern South Kordofan. In February and March 2010, groups of Awlad Omran, using the eastern transhumance route, were forcibly prevented from crossing into Unity State for carrying weapons and clashes ensued with the SPLA that took the lives of dozens on each side.¹²⁹ Mbororo and Shenabala nomads are increasingly migrating into Pariang County. While relations with the Mbororo have proceeded smoothly beyond localised complaints of hunting and charcoal production, the Shenabala reportedly enter armed and refuse local attempts at dialogue. At the same time, they have also been subjected to cattle rustling by Rueng communities such as occurred in Jamjang Payam in 2010.¹³⁰

Since 2005, community agreements have been made at the local level, such as the 2009 Pariang agreement organised under the auspices of both Pariang County and Keilek Locality. But these have not generally yielded perceived peaceful coexistence. In response to this situation, high level and community delegates from Unity and South Kordofan States attended the Bentiu meeting of March 2010 aiming to agree on security arrangements to facilitate the migration. This produced a set of arrangements covering taxation (‘administrative fees’), location of grazing, joint courts and, importantly, gave nomadic groups the option of carrying a limited number of weapons varying with herd size. However, this and the subsequent Kadugli agreements of January 2011, which agreed the use of the eastern route into Unity, also failed to yield a working system; in large part because SPLA and local officials still implemented a ‘no arms’ policy on the ground. Shortly afterwards relations between Unity and South Kordofan States collapsed and the chance for a two-state endorsed mechanism was over.

¹²⁷ The Misseriya denied having links to the rebels. A spokesman is reported to have said “We attacked an SPLA base to return 1,700 cows that the SPLA had stolen from us”. Radio Netherlands, 21 April 2011, <http://www.rnw.nl/africa/article/soldiers-die-south-sudan-clashes>.

¹²⁸ In December 2011, on a visit by the State Security Advisor, Concordis International and UNMISS to Mayom, residents of Mayom, the Commissioner and the SPLA Division 21 Commander argued that the security situation was too volatile to risk welcoming such uncertain friends as Misseriya nomads, at least without further guarantees from authorities in Sudan.

¹²⁹ Outlined in Craze, J, *Creating Facts on the Ground: Conflict Dynamics in Abyei*, June 2011

¹³⁰ Interview, Commissioner of Pariang, April 2010

Traditional Migration Routes and 2011-2012 Migration Routes

Numbers: MARF officials in Unity State estimate that between 1 and 2.5million head of Misseriya cattle usually enter Unity State in the dry season. They said only

around 10-15% of that number entered in 2011-2012. There is no reliable data to confirm this estimate.

Officials and traditional authorities say there are no delineated or demarcated masaraat entering Unity State. However, some general patterns in the progress of historical seasonal migration can be identified.

Routes	Groups	2011-2012
Abyei (eastern route)-Abiemnom (Aworpiny Payam)-Kaikang - Along Ragaba ez Zarqa/Ngol into Awarpiny - South to graze in Kaikang and Buong Buma	• Misseriya (Awlad Omran, Mezigna Zeyud, Fadilia)	✓ - Migration proceeded (Awlad Omran)
Debek (eastern route)-Abiemnom (Aworpiny Payam)-All Abiemnom payams - South and southwest from Ragaba ez Zarqa/Ngol to graze in Manjoga, Panyang (Awila Boma), Bangbang, Magok and Pathiew Boma to Abiemnom town as far as Bahr al Arab/Kiir river.	• Misseriya (Awlad Omran, Mezigna Zeyud, Fadilia)	✓ - Migration proceeded (Awlad Omran)
Kaikang-Budaang Payam - Southeast to Budaang Payam	• Misseriya (Awlad Omran, Mezigna Zeyud, Fadilia)	✓ - Extremely limited (Awlad Omran)
Kaikang-Rubkhona (via Raqaba Zarqa/Ngol) - General eastward movement or/ - Southeast to Budaang and onto Kaljak - Northeast along Bahr al Arab/Kiir	• Misseriya (Awlad Omran, Mezigna Zeyud, Fadilia)	✓ - Extremely limited (Awlad Omran)
Kaikang-West Pariang (grazing around Toor)	• Misseriya (as above)	X - No migration
Kaikang-Mayom-Twic - Southwest from Kaikang to Mayom - Northwest along Bahr al Ghazal/Kiir river grazing in Ngop Payam. - Enter Twic County at Ajak-Kwach	• Misseriya (Awlad Omran, Mezigna Zeyud, Fadilia)	✓ - Mainly trading route X - Limited X - No crossing
Kaikang-Abiemnom South Payam-Twic County	• Misseriya (As above)	X - No crossing
Fellaita Routes - Eastern route-Keilek-Heglig-Kilo 23-entering near Tishwin-Rubkhona County	• Misseriya Fellaita (Awlad Sirur, Matanin), • Awlad Omran • Misseriya Zuruq	✓ - Small group
- Pariang-entering especially around Lake Abiad/Jaw-grazing along river Naam in northern Pariang.	• Misseriya Fellaita (Gubarat Salamat) • Misseriya Zuruq	X - No migration
- Eastern Cattle Route to Kailek-Pariang-Entering along length of county border to graze as far south as Manga in Guit County ¹³¹	• Fellata (eastern) • Ambororo • Shenabala	X - Migration rejected X - Migration rejected/No migration ✓ - Forced Entry

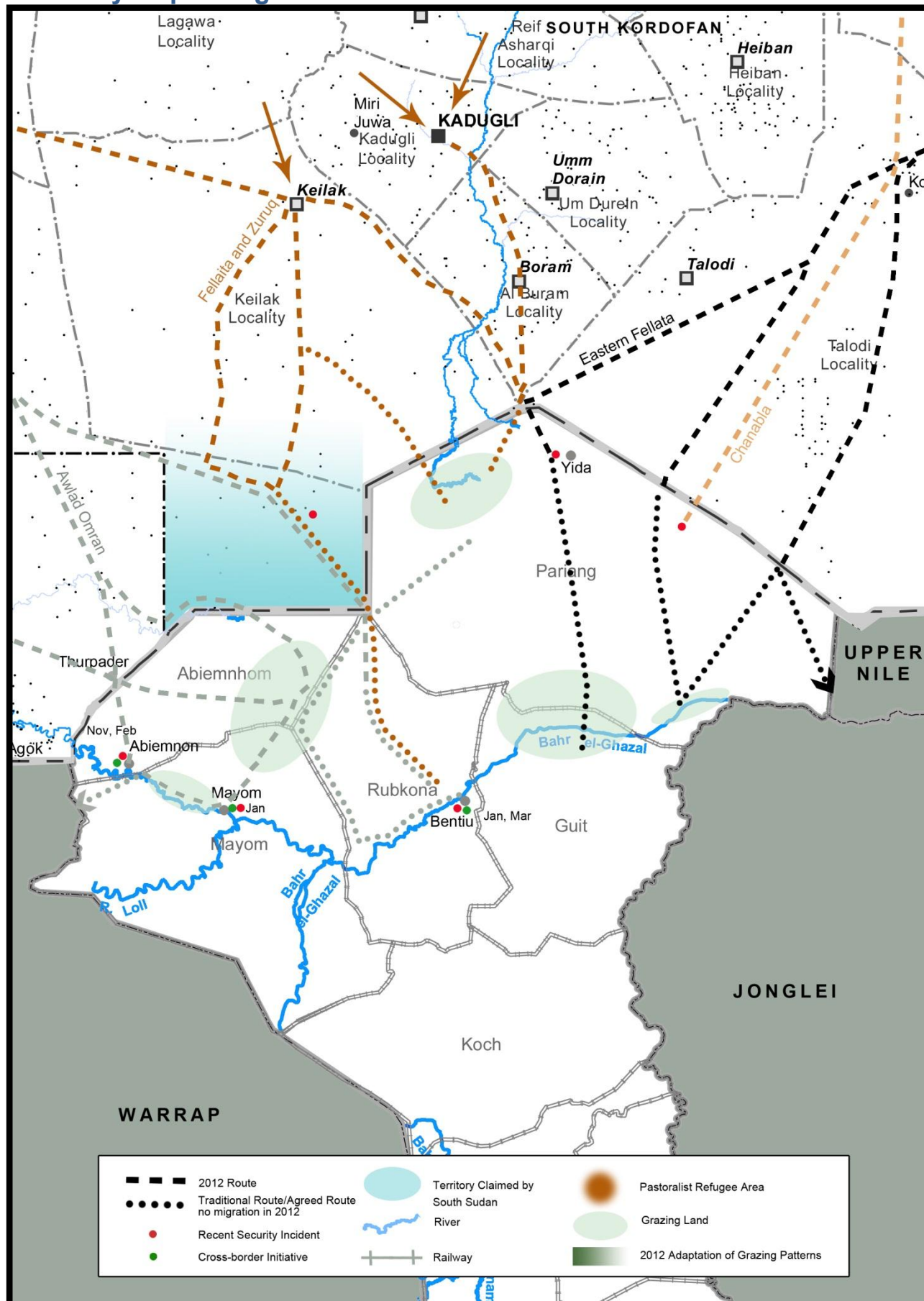
¹³¹ Chanabla and Ambororo are relative newcomers reported to have entered the region only since 2005. The Chanabla appear to cross only to the most northeasterly payams of Pariang County closest to the border with Upper Nile State. Rueng communities report aggressive behaviour. The Ambororo are reported to cross along the length of the border to the east of Lake Abiad/Jaw. Rueng communities do not report any aggressive behavior beyond frustrations at evidence of hunting and charcoal production.

Summary of Dry Season Migration 2011-2012

County	Summary of Migration	Groups	Conflicts 2011-2012	Policy framework and Agreements
Abiemnom In: Jan Out: 28 Jun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Migration proceeded as normal from Gishra in Abyei and Debek in contested areas along Zarqa/Ngol up to northern part of Kaikang grazing areas northeast of Mayom Migration southeast from Zarqa/Ngol to all Abiemnom payams and Abiemnom town proceeded Traders active in Abiemnom Khiir's Awlad Omran move with local authorities. 	Main section <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awlad Omran (2 main groups) Also present <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awlad Kamil Al Mezigna Al Fayareen Al Fadila Fellaita not confirmed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feb: Misseriya sayborder threats from SPLA & SAF Mid-Mar: Host complaints at tree cutting, honey collecting hunting. Mid-Mar: Community demonstration towards Commissioner linked to food insecurity and perceived benefits of migration to Misseriya Pastoralists accused of skipping taxes Darfurian and Misseriya trader tension in Mayom Late May: Dinka claim theft of 51 goats and 39 kids at gunpoint. 6 June: Misseriya raid 200 cows. SPLA returned cows but 3 Misseriya and 2 Dinka killed. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 16-18 Nov: Abiemnom conference and position paper (County & Concordis) 22 Dec: State Security Advisor (SSA) visit 8 Feb: Al Muglad, Al Debab and Babanousa sub-tribes led by Sheik Omer hold preliminary meeting with SSA in Bentiu. 8 Mar: 1st UNMISS Migration Working Group 29 Feb-2 Mar: Cross-Border Migration Conference and 'Harmonised Agreement' (State & Concordis) Mar: Abiemnom dissemination of 'Harmonised Agreement' conference
Mayom In: Jan 18 Out: 28 Jun Nb/ traders remain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Very limited onward migration of cattle from Kaikang. Traders left cattle at Kaikang and proceeded to Mayom with goods. April: Some Miss return to SK. May: Misseriya in extreme north of Abiemnom/Mayom waiting for rain in order to return to South Kordofan.* Mayom refused onward passage to Twic until taxation issues resolved. 	Main section <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awlad Omran Also present <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awlad Kamil Al Mezigna Al Fayareen Al Fadila Fellaita not confirmed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 29 Oct: RMG activity in Mayom. Nov onwards: Multiple taxation (Kaikang, Mayom Market). 10 Mar: 3 Misseriya traders returning to South Kordofan go missing. April (end): Misseriya cite violation of agreement claiming cattle thefts and harassment by SPLA. 11 April: Misseriya say bombed near Kaikang 24 April: Misseriya say bombed returning north May: Misseriya claim 127 cattle stolen by unknown armed group. Commissioner returned 23. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 22 Dec: State Security Advisor/Focal Point for Migration visit to Mayom 1-3 Jan 2011: 'Mayom Agreement' between Awlad Omran and Mayom County 6 Jan 2011: Awlad Omran-Governor meeting 7 Jan 2011: Dissemination to NGOs/Army/UN Mar: Dissemination of 'Harmonised Agreement'
Pariang In: Jan Out: Jan	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'Eastern Fellata' enter Wunkur payam. 'Western Fellata' at Dulalnga Shanabla force entry 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shenabla Fellata 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mid-Jan: Forced entry of Shenabla to Ngebulei 25 Jan: Fellata attacked by 150 'uniformed attackers' at Kualkuei, near Yida (5 killed, 500 cattle looted) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 22 Dec: SSA policy communication phone call 20 Jan: 'Eastern Fellata' informal agreement with commissioner. Mar: Dissemination of 'Harmonised Agreement'
Rubkhona In: Jan 15 Exit: Feb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Group of 40-50 Awlad Omran entered direct from Heglig, not from Mayom. Travelled due South to Kaljak 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Awlad Omran 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local rumour that 600 cows taken from Misseriya in Abiemnom were brought into Rubkhona. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No local agreement.
Guit Entry: N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No migration 	N/A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Potential conflict point due to agricultural development at Manga. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No local agreement

*Asterisked entries apply to all locations or information of statewide importance.

Summary Map of Migration Routes



Summary of Administrative Initiatives

This table summarises some of the key historical and contemporary administrative initiatives pertaining to

management of the dry season migration into Unity State.

Initiative	Aim	Key Actors	Outcome/Dissemination	Impact and Lessons
Local agreements e.g. Pariang-Keilek Agreement Dec, 2009	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To build peaceful coexistence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pariang Commissioner Keilek Commissioner Fellaita/Dinka 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreement: Tax (5ssp per herd), Joint police, joint court, oil employment). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perceived as not implemented by Pariang County authorities, citing damage to crops and settlement to border areas.
Cross-Border Relations Conferences Concordis, 2010, 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Frameworks exist to facilitate peaceful coexistence. Mechanisms exist to implement them 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unity State authorities SK State authorities County, TAs, Governors Dinka Nuer Misseriya 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Position papers/consensus on principles for cross-border relations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Not implemented. However, the initiatives affirmed and clarified a general will for peaceful coexistence if broader security issues can be settled. Agreements not accepted or internalized by Unity State government of community. E.g. SPLA not on board. Relationship between Governors and governments collapsed in January 2011. Commitments no longer hold.
'Bentiu Agreement' 4-5 March 2010			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overturned GoSS 'no arms policy' to allow limited number of weapons per head of cow/size of camp. 	
'Kadugli Agreements' 13&17 March 2010				
Abiemnom Conference Nov, 2011	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Consensus among host communities on how to approach the migration season. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abiemnom, Guit, Rubkhona officials and TAs. Unity State (Dep. Gov, SSA, ministries, SSPC) Community Concordis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Position paper outlining consensus on conditions. Disseminated to all county commissioners, chiefs, Governor (via Dep. Gov), SSA, SSPC, Police commissioner. Peace Committees 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strong messaging component. Host community shifted from strong anti-migration position. Focused county and state governments attention to issue. Limited by no participation from Pariang (large funeral), Mayom (RMG attacks), Warrap (governor did not permit) or Ngok (another conference). Holding conference in local area added gravitas and weight to the resolutions for Alor and improved dissemination.
State Policy Dissemination Dec 22 nd 2011 SSA visit to Mayom and Abiemnom and call to Pariang.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> State policy is known and understood in border counties. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Unity State authorities, SK State authorities SSA, county commissioners, police/SPLA, TAs. UNMISS, Concordis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Counties accepted Misseriya should enter despite huge concern. Local agreements necessary. Border committee 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A decree from governor will be followed. Clear messaging in person to key actors is effective. SSA used security agenda: 1) Misseriya can share security information, e.g. about RMGs; 2) If they cooperate with us they are less likely to cooperate with enemies.
'Mayom Agreement' 1-7 January 2012 Jan 1-3 Mayom meeting Jan 7 meeting with Governor, Bentiu	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Detailed agreement with Misseriya in place. Governor's guarantee. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya (Khiir) Mayom County (commissioners and TAs) Governor UNMISS, Concordis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local agreement. Governor signed agreement Guns for protection from RMGs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Governor signature and guarantee of SPLA/SSPS support actualised the agreement. Trust was improved. Agreement implemented (with notable shortcomings)
'Abiemnom Agreement' 11 February 2012	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Detailed agreement with Misseriya in place. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abiemnom County (officials and TAs) Misseriya A.Omran (Khiir) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local agreement in place No dissemination of written agreement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreement implemented (with notable shortcomings) System of coordination and collection of information regarding administration of migration absent.
Misseriya (Sheik Jidid Omer)-Unity State Talks 8 February	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Migration framework. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Misseriya (Sheik Jidid) from: Debab Babanusa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Agreement to meet again. Second meeting did not happen. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> There is no one system for all migrating groups. No agreement with these Misseriya (Jidid) and government.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Al Muglad • SSA 		
Bentiu 'Harmonisation' Conference 29 Feb-2 Mar 2012 SSPC-Concordis) State Peace Coordinator requested support of Concordis for conference	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Existing agreements reviewed. A harmonised agreement in place to last at least 2 years. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 5 counties and Bentiu (officials and TAs) • Dep. Gov, Ministers, Commissions, SSPS. • Miss A.Omran (Khiir) • Concordis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Agreement "the only agreement in operation" signed by TAs. • Disseminated to all counties, chiefs, Misseriya leaders, Governor Abiemnom dissemination conference. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Established trust. • Trade and proximity of communities (e.g. in grazing) improved as a result • Limited by: participation of only Misseriya Awlad Omran (Khiir) • No participation of Misseriya (Jidid), Fellata, or Misseriya Zuruq. • Not signed by government authorities (but endorsed publicly)

Discussion

Overarching Framework: 2011-2012

In the absence of a national framework, the Government of Unity State issued a policy edict directly to county authorities to allow seasonal pastoralism for certain pastoralist groups subject to conditions, which were to be agreed by the local and traditional authorities.

Strategic Factors

Security

Unity State's policy of offering unconditional migration to certain Misseriya groups was primarily justified to county authorities on security grounds (with economics a close second).¹³² The overall strategy was to avoid unnecessary confrontation with, or alienation of, sympathetic neighbours. During the negotiations of early January between Awlad Omran Misseriya, led by Khiir Ismail Khiir, and the governor in Bentiu, the Misseriya offered assurances that RMGs would not use their routes. Further, they invited southern community members to travel with them to monitor the arrangement and to purchase goods from Sudan. State officials claim that the group quickly implemented this promise. The alliance could perhaps be summed up with the words of the State Security Advisor: "Those who are with us are like us".¹³³

Impact of increased border conflict

Broader security incidents affected the perception and treatment of Misseriya in South Sudan. During the fighting in Heglig/Panthou, Misseriya cattle keepers either moved back to South Kordofan or close to the towns of Abiemnom and Mayom for protection. Increased tensions between the two countries and the perception that Misseriya in the PDF were involved in the fighting damaged trust between the communities in Unity State. Renewed proximity around the towns provided an opportunity for local youth to raid cattle, as happened near Mayom in mid-April.¹³⁴ Indeed, by the end of April, Khiir Ismail Khiir claimed so many incidents of cattle theft and harassment by SPLA that he declared existing agreements to have been violated. The Misseriya would have left Unity State at this point were it not for an advance party communication that grazing conditions were not yet conducive for return. It is not clear how this period will affect relations in the future, particularly as a truly flourishing trading relationship was re-established following the incident. Khiir Ismail Khiir remains in Mayom and now argues that the migration season

passed smoothly.

Economics

The mutual economic benefits of Misseriya dry season migration were multiplied in 2011-2012 by the ongoing crisis between Sudan and South Sudan. This formed a contributory factor behind the Governor's policy decision and the community acceptance of it. Political and popular discontent within Unity State and the presence of RMGs add to the state government's concern to improve the economic situation in the counties. Facilitating access to commodities improves livelihoods and offsets incentives to join opposition movements for short term gain.

The trade embargo between Sudan and South Sudan hit traders and consumers hard with prices of basic commodities (sugar, sorghum, onions) increasing by more than 80% as a result.¹³⁵ The primary economic benefit for communities in South Sudan from peaceful coexistence was the presence of Misseriya traders. By the end of May, over 150 Misseriya traders were active in Mayom market managed by what is locally known as the 'Misseriya government' headed by Khiir Ismail Khiir. This body, benefiting from a monopoly on trade as a result of the closed border, manages the taxation of goods arriving into Mayom and a proportion of this revenue is given to the county authorities. The result is good relations between the traders and the authorities, a reduction of prices for the host community and a semblance of peace in the town for the first time in many years. In July 2011 a sack of sugar was 1000SPP. One year on the price is 350SSP.

The importance of this interaction extends into the rainy season when the roads to Bentiu from the border counties are not serviceable. In July 2012 it was cheaper to buy sorghum in Mayom (300SPP) than Bentiu (500-600SPP). In Pariang, where no agreement with Misseriya traders exists, one onion costs 10SSP, more than 10 times the price in Mayom. As a result, in August 2012, the Commissioner of Pariang asked Concordis to support a dialogue with Misseriya traders with a view to opening trade. It remains to be seen whether the conference will also address cross-border pastoralism or whether trade arrangements will be delinked from dry season migration.

Taxation

The economic crisis and changing attitudes towards land ownership heightened the importance of taxing dry season grazing in 2011-2012. Indeed, the state government used the possibility of tax revenue to incentivise implementation of the policy of unconditional acceptance and delegated its negotiation to county authorities. There is no written record of tax arrangements made at the beginning of the migration season¹³⁶ but the unwritten arrangement according to the

¹³² This is most clearly exemplified in the presentation of the policy to county authorities by the State Security Advisor in December 22 2012. This stressed the potential for cooperation between certain pastoralist groups from Sudan and Unity State authorities on monitoring and combating RMGs. The argument understandably carried particular weight in Mayom County.

¹³³ Interview, State Security Advisor, Unity State, 27 July 2012

¹³⁴ Despite the Commissioner's apparent best efforts to retrieve the stolen cattle, full compensation for the incident remains outstanding.

¹³⁵ Briefing from UNMISS Civil Affairs, Bentiu, 26 July 2012

¹³⁶ The Mayom Agreement contains only the principle: "7. Must pay taxes for their cattle grazing according to the yearly" [sic]. The

Abiemnom authorities was to charge a fee of 50SSP per head of cattle. The 'Harmonised Agreement' of 2 March set the fee at a much-reduced "5SSP per bull/cow and 2SPP per goat/sheep for each migration season"¹³⁷. The change may reflect the nature of the Bentiu conference, which was an exercise in negotiation, as well as communication of host and government policies.

Taxation of grazing promotes cooperation in so far as it incentivises host communities and establishes a contract exchanging security and grazing for a fee. In 2011-2012 taxation also became a source of conflict due to a perceived lack of accountability and transparency in the management of revenues. The model appears to be that tax should be paid once in South Sudan, a receipt provided and then inter-county transfers should be made post-hoc to reflect pastoralist movements and the distribution of natural resources.¹³⁸ However, this system is unworkable. Misseriya led by Khiir Ismail Khiir (who signed agreements with Unity State authorities) and Misseriya led by Sheik Jidid Omer (who did not) both claim to have paid dues and suffered multiple taxation, including by the police and SPLA. At the same time, county authorities cite as a serious grievance the failure of pastoralists to pay grazing fees. Host communities express their frustration towards both Misseriya and local authorities variously.

The perception that financial irregularity remains the modus operandi is enough to obscure the reality of tax collection in Unity State through 2011-2012. There follows a widespread perception that if monies were paid then they could have been diverted. No one interviewed in preparation of this report had ever seen a tax receipt from Unity State and neither was there monitoring of the process by state or independent parties. The lack of accountability and transparency, regardless of real cash flows, enables both host community and dry season pastoralists to claim that agreements have been violated.¹³⁹ This issue is serious and contains the potential to derail future cooperation as layers of grievances accumulate annually.

Abiemnom agreement of 12February does not refer to grazing taxes at all but includes a commitment to a "Percentage to pass" that applies especially to Misseriya traders.

¹³⁷ Text of agreement made between the Misseriya and host communities in Unity State (English), 2 March 2012, p.2.

¹³⁸ For example, some informants suggested that implementation of the 'Harmonised Agreement' in Pariang would involve the following steps: 1) Payment of 5SSP to the Pariang County authorities upon entry to Unity State and provision of a receipt; 2) If the pastoralists should reach Guit County they would present the tax receipt and no payment would be due; 3) Guit County would request post-hoc a share of the revenue collected in Pariang according to a formula reflecting its (in this case more abundant grazing lands), perhaps 3SPP from each 5SPP.

¹³⁹ A Unity State government official said 50000SSP was rumoured to have been collected by the Commissioner of Pariang from dry season pastoralists and clearly stated that it was not clear where the resources had been absorbed. The information was 'rumour' however and it was not clear if this example referred to 2010-2011 grazing season or 2011-2012.

Historical relations inform strategic decisions

The trajectory of historical relations played a decisive role in shaping the dry season migration 2011-2012 and explaining government policy. The Awlad Omran section hail primarily from Debab, a new town established in 1998.¹⁴⁰ Khiir Ismail Khiir, leader of the Awlad Omran who successfully negotiated an agreement with Unity State in 2011-2012, has a long history of cooperation with authorities in Unity State. Notably, he was responsible for agreements made with Riek Machar in the early 1990s. At the blessing of the Mayom Agreement on 8 January 2012, the Governor of Unity State reportedly referred to the Awlad Omran group of Khiir Ismail Khiir as "not only friends of Riek Machar, but also friends of Nuer". Indeed, the state policy was not unconditional migration for all Misseriya, the majority of whom were forced to remain in the Abyei Area. It was unconditional migration for this group and other friendly sections. The core parameters of agreements could therefore be said to have been made in advance of any negotiations, on the basis of existing relationships.

The leader of the second Misseriya delegation, Sheik Gadeed Omara, also has a long history of relations with authorities in Unity State, and the state appeared ready to welcome his group, with conditions. However, the delegation, which included representatives from Al Debab, Babanusa and Muglad, did not return to conclude an agreement after its initial meeting with the State Security Advisor on 8 February. Like Khiir, Sheik Gadeed Omara is also from the Awlad Omran sub-tribe from Debab area where he is known as the focal point for the relationship between Awlad Omran and communities in Unity State, and as the coordinator with South Sudan authorities regarding eastern corridor migration (involving Awlad Omran, Zeyud and Al Fadliya Amirates). Despite this relationship north of the border, communities in Abiemnom expressed deep unease at Sheik Gadeed's presence in Awapinny and reportedly refused to negotiate with him, citing atrocities attributed to his groups in the past. The incongruence of these impressions and the willingness of Unity State to negotiate with the group are perhaps attributable to the differing conflict memories of Alor Dinka and Bul Nuer, the latter forming a core of SSUM¹⁴¹ and later the SSDF.¹⁴² However, further information is required to understand why the group did not return to Bentiu to finalise an agreement.

Changing contemporary attitudes

Current social, economic and political processes are changing attitudes to land use and ownership in Unity State and South Sudan more broadly. This will lead to

¹⁴⁰ Pantuliano et al, Put out to pasture, ODI, March 2009, p.32

¹⁴¹ In 1997, Paulino Matip Nhial Nyaak formed the South Sudan United Movement (SSUM) before he became Commander in Chief of the South Sudan Defence Forces (SSDF) in 2002

¹⁴² It may be interesting to note that the State Security Advisor in place at this time is from Mayom County.

potentially far reaching changes in the rules that govern the interactions of communities along the border. The independence of South Sudan, creation of an international border, and the necessity of economic crisis are all reinforcing claims of exclusive rights to land use by southern border communities. In this context, the customary rights of pastoralist communities from Sudan – now another country - to graze in South Sudan are being increasingly questioned. The overarching decision making process in Unity State is guided less and less by the principle of affording customary rights to dry season pastoralists, and more by a cost-benefit analysis balancing potential revenue from sales of access to dry season grazing with its opportunity cost (for example in the irrigation and agricultural development of grazing land along the River Naam or the risk of conflicts).

Management Models

Leadership and agency

Leadership and agency were critical factors in establishing cooperative relations between pastoralists and local authorities in Mayom and Abiemnom. This came from 3 fronts; 1) The Governor and State Security Advisor; 2) The leadership of certain Misseriya sections; and 3) The leadership and commitment of INGO personnel. First and foremost, the governor's edict that certain Misseriya groups should be offered unconditional acceptance was a firm order within a broadly authoritarian context. It therefore provided a framework within which local arrangements could, and indeed had to, be made. The Mayom Commissioner made the centrality of the Governor's role clear in his letter to him on 5 January stating that the local agreement with the Misseriya was "temporary and need[s] your C/ship endorsement"¹⁴³.

The government of Sudan had a closed border policy throughout the 2011-2012 dry season. Misseriya leaders therefore took a risk in pursuing a strategy of engagement with South Sudan. This was particularly so for those believed to have entered South Sudan for the purpose of trade and some Misseriya believe that traders have been arrested on return to Sudan for this reason.

The commitment and leadership of INGO and UNMISS staff also played a significant part in facilitating cooperative relations and supporting government initiatives pertaining to management of the migration. An example of this was the work of the Concordis Unity State Liaison Officer, who alone spent one month in Abiemnom preparing the authorities and community for the November conference. The resultant agreement was a significant achievement widely seen as setting the tone for the migration season and providing the momentum behind later initiatives.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Letter to H.W LT Gen. Taban Deng Gai from Hon. Mashod Deng, Commissioner of Mayom County and Chairperson of Security Committee, 5 January 2012

¹⁴⁴ This view was expressed by the newly appointed Unity State Advisor for Border Relations, Interview, 27 July 2012

Coordination of agreements

The administrative and conflict mitigation response to the dry season migration was characterised by a high degree of cooperation between state government, local government, UN and NGOs. The model of NGO support to government initiatives works particularly well in the context of migration, where local government and communities have historically put into practice good models for managing the issue. This long-term coordination, stemming from a consistent engagement with authorities and communities over three years, culminated in a concept note jointly drafted by Concordis and UNMISS CAD proposing establishment of a Migration Taskforce in Unity State. This body would have the "primary objective to oversee the implementation of the agreement reached between the Misseriya and the host communities on 2 March" (the 'harmonised agreement' with a proposed membership including State Government, Peace Partners (NGOs) and those Border Peace Committees mandated by the agreement).¹⁴⁵ In Sudan, the closed border policy limited the potential for coordination between NGOs and government authorities around cross-border peaceful coexistence. Indeed, the work of UNMISS and NGOs in South Sudan can be interpreted as supporting activities that seek to directly undermine the policy of the government of Sudan.

At the same time, confusion resulted from the development of multiple agreements involving multiple actors with different levels of authority. The direct involvement of the Governor in approving the January Mayom Agreement with the Awlad Omran gave the accord a high profile, certainly among government officials. Participants who developed the subsequent 'Harmonised Agreement' of February-March declared it in writing as the only agreement to now be in operation. Yet it was not signed directly by the Governor and some officials interviewed in August 2012 in preparation of this report were aware of the former agreement but not the latter. The Harmonised Agreement was developed with a period of two years in mind. This is a good plan in a context where information takes time to filter out. However, there is still work to do to establish its authority, expand its inclusivity and improve awareness of its existence and content.

Messaging and negotiations

As in other states along the border, messaging played as large a part as negotiation in the course of arranging the dry season migration 2011-2012; 1) In the November Abiemnom conference Concordis and the State Peace Coordinator facilitated exercises in which participants were encouraged to consider mutual benefits of

¹⁴⁵ The list of proposed state government representatives was: Office of Governor, Security Advisor's Office, State Peace Commission, Ministry of Local Government, Peace Committee of LA, Police, Ministry of Animal Resources, SPLA, Terms of Reference: Cross Border Pastoralists Migration Task Force in Unity State, Concept Note, March 2012, p.2.

cooperation. By the end of the conference, the stated mood of the entire community present appeared to have shifted considerably; 2) The State Security Advisor's 22 December visit to the counties was a clear exercise in communicating a decision. The power of the communication lay in the weight of the governor's support and in the verbal face-to-face manner of its presentation (it is interesting to note that Pariang only received the information by phone and did not make any arrangements with pastoralist groups¹⁴⁶); 3) The Mayom and Abiemnom agreements are, with some notable exceptions, largely conditions by which Misseriya have agreed to abide rather than the product of negotiation.

The decision to allow particular groups to enter South Sudan or not appears to have been made at the high level according to strategic political and security concerns. The primary role of agreements and meetings at the onset of the migration season was to communicate this policy and ensure the buy-in of county authorities and communities. The 'Harmonised Agreement' of 2 March represented more of a brokering exercise. This is evidenced, for example, in the considerable reduction in grazing tax rates as compared to county agreements.

On 26 March members of the Abiemnom community demonstrated against the commissioner and burned his offices. The demonstration was in response to deteriorating livelihood conditions and perceived injustices carried out towards them by Misseriya¹⁴⁷. Members of the community reportedly told the commissioner during the demonstration that "your agreement brought them here, so you must compensate us". This suggests a sense that the agreement was imposed upon the community rather than freely entered into and this, in part, accurately reflects its evolution.

Clear and consistent effort by the government, UNMISS and Concordis to disseminate agreements was made in all cases; 1) In Abiemnom the location, unprecedented nature of the conference and the visit of senior officials led to widespread knowledge of the outcome by the entire community. The agreement was disseminated to other state officials and critically to all Unity State county commissioners. It was an event 'people talked about' and this was the great strength in the initiative; 2) The State Security Advisor's dissemination visits comprised meetings with all relevant authorities including SPLA, SSPS, Chiefs, Commissioner and youth; 3) A meeting was called by the government the day after the Mayom Agreement was signed to disseminate it to SSPS, SPLA, Concordis, UNMISS, UNPOL and others. UNMISS and Concordis made regular visits to the counties to discuss

the progress of implementation; 4) The 'Harmonised Agreement' was disseminated in writing to all counties and key state officials and a dissemination conference was even held in Abiemnom to broaden understanding of the agreement.

Despite considerable and coordinated efforts to disseminate agreements, some key state officials did not appear to have an understanding of whether and what agreements were made during 2011-2012. For example, the Abiemnom Agreement of 12 February did not appear to have been disseminated widely among state officials or NGOs. Indeed, after the CSAC representative reportedly took the only copy of the agreement and did not return it, the commissioner did not even have a copy of the agreement in July 2012. In contrast to the widespread awareness of agreements in Northern Bahr al Ghazal, many officials had only a vague notion of a January agreement despite its supersession by the March 'Harmonised Agreement'.

There is a need for better understanding among NGOs of how information is transferred to key actors and the wider community (via radio, verbal communications, committees) so that these processes can be better supported. Other challenges include the regular changes in state government personnel and the time lag required for widespread dissemination of an agreement in the local context. On the latter point, the two-year period of the 'harmonised agreement' is potentially a strong foundation on which to build using further dissemination, training, and the application of political support.

Authority

Traditional authorities, even with political will and personal commitment, do not have the ability to influence the behaviour of all members of their community. Two clear examples of this are; 1) The rejection of cattle vaccination by youth in cattle camps despite explicit and demonstrated instruction from traditional authorities¹⁴⁸; and 2) The very presence of Misseriya youth in Unity State in 2011-2012, many of whom had migrated against the will of their traditional leaders, loyal to the Government of Sudan. The same problem of command and control is also reflected in the harassment of pastoralists by SPLA and SSPS. The result of shying from these difficult questions is hope-lines in agreements intended to manage seasonal migration and subsequent failures of implementation.

NGOs and UNMISS have made little progress in attempts to disaggregate the nomadic groups that migrate into South Sudan or to understand their authority structures and decision making processes. This is essential for the improved design of conflict mitigation, peace-building and peaceful coexistence initiatives, not least because state authorities and county officials appear (somewhat surprisingly) also to have a limited

¹⁴⁶ Too much should not be read into this. It is much more likely that no agreement was made because relations with Fallaita groups are poor. It was planned that the UNMISS helicopter facilitating the visit would make the journey to all three counties in one day. For some reason on the day, this was not possible. This is the only reason behind the difference in communication to Pariang.

¹⁴⁷ In particular the recent theft of 51 goats

¹⁴⁸ Meeting with Dr. Botino Malual Kok, Director General, Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries, Unity State, 26 July 2012.

understanding of variation within nomadic pastoralist communities. This situation permits the behaviour of small groups to affect the perception of their larger communities and is one key explanatory factor in understanding how local disagreements can spark broader conflict. Systematic efforts with better communication with counterparts in Sudan, the aggregation of locally held knowledge within South Sudan, particularly among the traditional authorities, and widespread dissemination of key findings could assist the situation.

Emerging Issues

Absence of Strategic Planning

There is a complete absence of strategic planning by the Unity State government to take into account the ongoing pattern of dry season migration of pastoralists from Sudan¹⁴⁹. The strategic plan of the national MARF includes the establishment of three checkpoints at 1) Jaw 2) Awarpinny and 3) Kilo 23 to reflect the entry points of pastoralists. However, the newly appointed Peace and Border Relationships Advisor for Unity State said these have not yet been implemented through 2011-2012, citing security concerns. A policed border point is in the process of being established at Jaw but this is primarily to manage the movement of Nuba.

Constraints notwithstanding, blindness to pastoralism is also evident in Unity State policy making. To offer one example, in the context of austerity and closure of the border, the state Ministry of Agriculture is aiming to encourage private sector agricultural activity to ensure food sufficiency and lower staple prices¹⁵⁰. Ministry officials explicitly acknowledged that there had been no consideration of the impact of agricultural policies on pastoralism (cross-border and local), including with reference to the following activities; 1) The provision of seeds, herbicides and technical support to encourage farming among Nuba refugees in north Pariang; 2) The encouragement and provision of support to household agriculture¹⁵¹; and 3) The finalisation of contracts with large-scale commercial agricultural companies. The latter includes: a) a recent agreement with Conchord agriculture for a 10,000 feddan development stretching

from the Pariang border to southern Pariang; and b) the substantial farming interests of the Governor of Unity State, including ongoing development at Manga in Guit County, which has served as a major grazing area for Fellata in recent years. To date all commercial farming remains rain-fed and this limits its potential to impact upon dry season pastoralism. However, the plan to construct canals from the Naam River to irrigate the forthcoming Conchord scheme has the potential to significantly impact the availability of dry season pasture and the viability of traditional routes. Despite the Ministry of Agriculture's responsibility to ensure no adverse social impact of any agricultural project, a consideration of pastoralist movement in agricultural planning does not appear to be on the horizon.

Animal Health

In 2011-2012 there was no vaccination of Misseriya cattle by the authorities in South Sudan.¹⁵² Hitherto regular harmonisation meetings between MARF officials and state ministers from Unity and South Kordofan States in Kadugli did not take place in 2011-2012. These meetings serve to facilitate the flow of information between the two states (surveillance of disease and demand for services on both sides of the border) and are therefore vital for the effective management of trans-boundary diseases¹⁵³. A December 2011 meeting took place in Khartoum involving MARF officials from South Sudan and Sudan that suggests technical cooperation has not suffered as completely as political communication. Nevertheless, lack of technical cross-border coordination should be recognised as a major limiting factor for the successful medium term management of cross-border pastoralism. Unity State MARF officials said the resumption of working relationships with their counterparts in South Kordofan during 2012-2013 will likely depend upon the resolution of outstanding political and security issues at the higher level and stressed the importance of national guidance for strong local administration. Without the political conditions for improved coordination and communication between States on such matters, NGOs with capacity to support such processes are unable to do so.¹⁵⁴

Lack of data and knowledge deficit, misinformation

There is no accurate data on the numbers of dry-season

¹⁴⁹ For example, the State Development Plan (2012-15) makes no reference to the migration beyond a reference to "the threat from the North."

¹⁵⁰ Specifically, to facilitate private sector development of commercial cereal production; to reduce the price of Sorghum from 600SPP to 100SPP; to increase household planting from 1 to 5 feddans; and to increase household productivity of 1 feddan from 3x90kg to 6x90kg sacks of Sorghum (Interview, Acting Director General, state Ministry of Agriculture, 27 July 2012).

¹⁵¹ FAO and ACTED are also supporting household agriculture with the provision of seeds, tools and technical know-how. ACTED is primarily active in Nyell, in South Abiemnom. In 2011 and 2012, the anecdotal evidence strongly suggests that household planting dramatically increased with many families planting two feddans rather than one. People spoke of a 'cultural shift' towards farming that could outlast the immediate causes (in particular, livelihood challenges in the face of border closure and the associated increased market prices).

¹⁵² This was in fact due to a number of factors including: 1) lack of coordination and information about movements of pastoralists; 2) lack of supply and adequate storage of vaccines and drugs; and 3) the irregular movements of pastoralists due to the affect of insecurity on duration of stay.

¹⁵³ MARF officials in Unity State cite FMD (now a problem in Unity State), TRIPS, CBPP and provision of drugs for internal parasites prevalent in swampy areas as major challenges. South Kordofan is defined in the European Commission for the Control of Foot and Mouth Disease's 2007 Country Report as a buffer zone between the "infected South" and the "Free Zone" to the north of Khartoum, cited in Habiela, M, 'FMD in the Sudan: Country Report', 2007.

¹⁵⁴ NGOs present in both Sudan and South Sudan, such as USAID/AECOM and Concordis, would be particularly well placed to support such processes.

pastoralists that have entered Unity State in past years or during 2011-2012 though MARF officials provided some estimates. Data scarcity is reinforced by the ongoing lack of communication between authorities in Sudan and South Sudan and the collapse of old systems that were in place prior to independence. The situation makes planning extremely difficult, especially regards management of trans-boundary disease and assessing options for the use natural resources.

Climate change and water

MARF officials said that the dry season has extended in recent decades. Previously, rains would enable cultivation to begin in April but that this has now been pushed to May. The availability of water is therefore becoming increasingly problematic. Livestock are moved further to access pasture and this limits the benefit they take from pasture land, affects milk yield and increases conflict over resources.¹⁵⁵ In 2011-2012, such was the pressure facing Misseriya pastoralists in the Abyei Area to move further south into Unity State for pasture that the UNISFA force commander visited Bentiu on 10 April to advocate for their acceptance. It is fortunate that rains were not delayed, that pressure to cross into South Sudan did not become overbearing and that UNISFA was present to discourage unarranged Misseriya movement. This in part can be attributed to conflict over reduced water resources.

¹⁵⁵ A new dynamic of raiding within Unity State (previously raiders would primarily cross into Warrap or Lakes States) is also explained by some as a response to climatic changes.

Upper Nile

Introduction

Upper Nile State is composed of 13 counties: Akoka, Baitet, Fashoda, Longochuk, Maban, Maiwut, Makal, Manyo, Melut, Luakpiny/Nasser, Panyikang, Renk and Ulang.¹⁵⁶ Nomads and seasonal transhumance from Sudan move into Upper Nile State from South Kordofan State to the west, White Nile and Sennar States to the north northeast and Blue Nile State and Gambella (Ethiopia) to the east, entering all counties except Baitet and Ulang.

Environment

The River Nile cuts a north easterly channel that divides the state into a narrow West Bank and a widening eastern stretch, through which rivers drain from the Ethiopian highlands to the Nile. Almost the entirety of the 'Upper Nile Pick' consists of heavy, dark gray brown, fertile cracking soils. Nevertheless, mechanisation is required to cope with heavy tillage needs and these soils, extensively used for grazing, have been increasingly exploited by the agricultural schemes, particularly in the north of Renk County. The West Bank from Fashoda to Panyikang exhibits lighter cracking soils more prone to flooding but with some potential for larger mechanised agriculture¹⁵⁷. The east and southeast regions of the state contain some marshland, seasonally under water but suitable for some dry season grazing. The Sobat and Pibor rivers through Akobo County of Jonglei State to the south represent important dry season pastures for Nuer in southeast Upper Nile State.

Livelihoods

Different communities express varying emphases on cattle, small-scale hand-cultivated agriculture and fishing with agro-pastoralist livelihoods dominant. At the onset of the migration season, communities along the Nile were enjoying better than expected food security due to ongoing informal trade and uninterrupted use of the Nile to transport goods from Juba. However, in the eastern flood plains, a high presence of returnees (particularly in Longochuk County) was increasing competition for scarce food¹⁵⁸.

Border

The Upper Nile State border with Sudan is disputed in three places; 1) The border between Renk County and El Jebelain Locality; 2) Jebel Megenis, 3) Kaka Town/Area, with the latter two explicitly involving Arab groups who practice dry season pastoralism.

Security Situation

The overarching security concern in Upper Nile State is heavily militarisation along the border between Renk County and El Jebelain Locality at Jordah. From a day-to-day perspective, however, it is the activity of RMGs, notably the South Sudan Democratic Movement/Army (SSDM/A), an inter-tribal rebel movement operating in Upper Nile and Jonglei states. The RMG, established by George Athor in the run up to the April 2010 elections, secured weapons and attracted some young recruits. Following the killing of George Athor in December 2011 and the defection to the SPLA of his successor, a smaller hitherto separate faction of the force continued operating in northern Upper Nile State under the mantle of the SSDM/A. This is led by a Major General Johnson Olonyi and composed of a predominantly Shilluk cadre of about 800 fighters.¹⁵⁹

Peoples

The following chart lists the groups of people involved in the seasonal cross-border migration. It should be noted that statements about previous or current allegiances in the table below are intended to highlight the current perceptions of other groups and are made for the purpose of understanding how such perceptions affect the dynamics of the relations between groups and the impact of such perceptions on approaches to seasonal migration. In circumstances such as this, the perception is as important in determining future behaviour as the actuality.

Listed in alphabetical order, blue shading indicates the South Sudanese host communities and white indicates the Sudanese pastoral groups.

¹⁵⁶ Upper Nile State Strategic Plan, 2012-2013, p.13

¹⁵⁷ Purnell, M.F and Venema J.H, Agricultural Potential Regions of The Sudan, Soil Survey Administration, Technical Bulletin No.28, Wad Medani, 1976, p.27-28.

¹⁵⁸ South Sudan Food Security Update, August 2011, p.3

¹⁵⁹ HSBA-SIB-19, Arms flows and holdings in South Sudan, Small Arms Survey, April 2012, p.6

Peoples	Summary Information
Al Hamda/Ahamda	Nomadic pastoralists claiming direct descent from the Arabian Peninsula. Based in Al Jebelain and Al Salem Locality in White Nile State, Sudan, Al Hamda clans, including the Rawat Al Maganis, have steadily undergone sedentarisation but still follow similar migration routes to the Suleim. The Al Hamda are estimated at around 70 000 and generally have had peaceful relations with their Shilluk neighbours. ¹⁶⁰
Awlad Hamayd	A baggara pastoralist group considered indigenous to South Kordofan, Sudan. The tribe has historically heavily inter-married with Nuba populations.
Burun Koma	This group, known as Burun in Arabic, Cai in Nuer, and Shangalla in Amharic ¹⁶¹ are primarily farmers found in Longuchuk County of Upper Nile State, South Sudan (Dagio and Pachime Payams) ¹⁶² , in southern Blue Nile State in Sudan and in Ethiopia. Members of Burun militia fought with the SPLA during the second civil war.
Dinka Abialang	Padang Dinka living primarily on the eastern bank areas of Renk in South Sudan. Many members of this group appear arabised, speaking Arabic and Dinka and following an Islamic faith. At the same time, the Abialang were in general fiercely in favour of separation from Sudan. In 2008, the population of Renk was estimated at 137,751 (but urbanisation and the presence of large northern communities may make this a poor guide to the size of the Abialang community).
Fellata	A catch-all term for non-Arab groups speaking Fulbe/Fulani. Fellata may be nomadic, farmers or urbanised, illiterate or in high office and are found in some concentration in Mali, Mauritania, Senegal, Niger, Nigeria, Cameroon. Fellata groups were particularly responsive to the NIF promise of modernisation and inclusivity – despite a presence in Sudan for centuries they were not granted citizenship before 1989 ¹⁶³ . It is reported by some commentators that Fellata groups coordinated closely with the Government of Sudan and Sudan Armed Forces during wartime (for example, see Osman, E.I., 2009). Since the CPA, GoSS/GRSS has transferred a number of Fellata/Mbororo out of the south, particularly to Blue Nile State.
Hawazma	A baggara pastoralist group considered indigenous to South Kordofan, Sudan. Inter-marriage with Nuba was common.
Ingessana Kinana	This group is from the Ingessana hills in southern Blue Nile, Sudan. An indigenous pastoralist group of Sennar and Blue Nile States in Sudan, the Kinana have undergone a process of sedentarisation in response to pressures on land use and ownership. Inter-marriage with Nuba was common.
Maban	Formerly part of the greater Funj State, the Maban remained in Upper Nile State whilst others, such as the Uduk, were transferred to Blue Nile State in the 1950s. They are predominantly farmers living in Maban County. Maban militias fought with the SPLA during the second civil war.
Mbororo	A nomadic non-Arab group speaking Fulbe/Felani present through the Sahelian region (see Fellata above) and can be found across the length of the Sudan-South Sudan border. Mbororo perhaps most accurately classified as Fellata practicing a purely nomadic form of lifestyle - 'Mbororism' ¹⁶⁴ – than as a Fellata sub-tribe, though the latter is also of some practical value. Due to their limited engagement with the state, they are politically weak and often perceived as a threat or used as a scapegoat; Salva Kiir publicly associated them with the LRA in his March 2010 speech in Raja. ¹⁶⁵ In fact, most Mbororo move with their entire family units making them unlikely to be involved in generating insecurity.
Nazi	An Arab tribe based in El Jebelain Locality of White Nile State, Sudan. The tribe is relatively urbanised, educated and unified under one Omda. Nazi are reliant on both agriculture and herding, migrating down the eastern stretch of Upper Nile State as far as Maban and Melut. They have a good relationship with the authorities in White Nile State. They carry small arms to protect their cattle.
Nuer Gajak	Nuer community from Longuchok County in South Sudan. Nuer groups also live in Nasir Luakpiny/Nasir, Ulang, and Maiwut Counties.
Paloich Dinka	Agro-pastoralist Dinka community from Melut County in South Sudan.
Rufa'a	This Arab pastoralist tribe have become urbanised and educated but nevertheless heavily reliant on cattle. Their base is in Sennar and Blue Nile States in Sudan during the rainy season and they migrate through Blue Nile State south and southwest to the eastern stretch of Upper Nile State. They are unified under one Nazir and carry small arms to protect their cattle.
Shukria	An Arab tribe unified under one Nazir and based in Gedaref State, Sudan. Shukria are relatively educated and conduct agriculture and herding.
Suleim	An Arab tribe based in El Salam Locality of White Nile State, Sudan. The tribe is relatively urbanised, educated and unified under one Omda. Suleim are reliant on both agriculture and herding, and undertake dry season grazing along the length of the West Bank of the Nile in Upper Nile State. They have a good relationship with the authorities in White Nile State. They carry small arms to protect their cattle.
Subaha	An Arab cattle-keeping group from El Jebelain Locality in Sudan. They migrate down the eastern stretch into Upper

¹⁶⁰ Note, Case example from North-South Sudan 1, Concordis research overview, internal, 2010, p.1

¹⁶¹ Ibid. p.76

¹⁶² At least, these were the Payams in which Burun were delegated authority to negotiate migration sub-routes by the agreement made at Longuchuk Border Conference Report, April 2012, Concordis International.

¹⁶³ Indeed, on numerous occasions, notably with the cooperation of the Nigerian Government in the 1950s, they were actually expelled. Khalafallah 2004, 119, cited in Salmon, Militia Politics: The formation and organisation of irregular armed forces in Sudan (1975-1991), 2006.

¹⁶⁴ Elhadi Ibrahim Osman, The Funj Region Pastoral Fulbe: From 'Exit' to 'Voice', 2009

¹⁶⁵ Speech of President Salva Kiir, Freedom Square, Raja Tow, Raga County, 23 Mar 2010.

Nile State.

Uduk Agro-pastoralist group based around Chali el-Fil. The sub-district was formally administered by Blue Nile State since the 1950s but remained culturally and politically affiliated with the South.

Historical Interactions

During the colonial period dry season pastoralists would, in advance, request permission from the District Commissioner or other responsible official. This would be granted and 'positions' – grazing points – would be allocated to prevent the inter-mixing of nomadic and host herds. The Office of Veterinary Services then commenced vaccination in coordination with the authorities of neighbouring states. After the independence of Sudan in 1956, taxation of nomads was begun by the district authorities and collected by the commissioners. However, conditions created by the two civil wars, particularly the second, have led to the collapse of administrative and traditional systems for managing relations.

By 1985 a close relationship had been formed between Anyanya II, the national army and certain pastoralist militias. This partnership helped Anyanya II re-establish itself as a significant force in Upper Nile, with bases around New Fangak, Malakal and Nasir. Following SPLA gains in central and eastern areas of Upper Nile during 1986, Anyanya II launched large operations among the Shilluk who reportedly provided support to the SPLA battalion at Fashoda. However, by 1989, continued SPLA success had depleted the morale and ranks of Anyanya II in what is now Upper Nile State.

In the early phases of the extension of the civil war into the Funj region, the pastoralists Rufa'a managed to reach an informal arrangement with the SPLA that allowed them access to their traditional grazing areas in Khor Yabus and beyond. The arrangement did not hold for long and thereafter the Rufa'a were perceived among residents of South Sudan to be working with SAF.¹⁶⁶ Their actions appeared to intensify local conflicts and displace populations. Throughout this period, however, prominent tribal and political leaders of the Rufa'a, notably Mansur el Agab MP, consistently opposed any such actions.¹⁶⁷

Fellata groups are also believed among residents of South Sudan to have cooperated with SAF in joint operations against the SPLA and communities supporting the SPLM, such as members of the Maban and Burun groups.¹⁶⁸ Other Arab groups also feature in adversarial conflict histories in this area, particularly in

relation to attacks on Shilluk¹⁶⁹, perceptions about which have not been dispelled by a Government committee of enquiry.

The war also forged new alliances between Arab and non-Arab pastoralist groups to counterbalance growing SPLA influence. Actions by these groups continue to influence perceptions. Since the CPA, alliances are again changing, with some senior Fellata leaders tentatively joining the SPLM/A.¹⁷⁰ This is perhaps one reason why there has been a deeper softening of relations between host communities and Fellata than with Arab groups, commonly attributed to their perceived 'African' character. Other Fellata, however, are concerned that resentment towards them in South Sudan remains too high for meaningful relations.

Overall, since the CPA, the heads of pastoralist groups have approached the governor for permission to enter the state in advance of doing so and relations between host communities are generally improving. Once the Governor has given a green light, detailed arrangements are made at the local level. This system has worked fairly well.

¹⁶⁶ Accounts of allegations made about the Rufa'a can be found at Sudan: Human Rights Violations in the context of Civil War, December 1989, AI Index: AFR 54/17/89, p22

¹⁶⁷ Denying the horror of living, Africa Watch Report, March 1990, p.91

¹⁶⁸ See Elhadi Ibrahim Osman, The Funj Region Pastoral Fulbe: From 'Exit' to 'Voice', 2009

¹⁶⁹ See Denying the horror of living, Africa Watch Report, March 1990, p.91

¹⁷⁰ See Elhadi Ibrahim Osman, The Funj Region Pastoral Fulbe: From 'Exit' to 'Voice', 2009

Traditional Migration Routes and 2011-2012 Migration Routes

Migration Routes

MARF officials estimate that in total around 5 000 000 head of cattle enter the State each year from Sudanese states. However, there is no official record and livelihoods analysts suggest this is an overestimate.

There are currently no delineated or demarcated migration routes, although the Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries in Malakal is planning some stock routes. A general sketch of the major routes taken by dry season pastoralist groups from Sudan is outlined below and on the map overleaf. The migration can be broken down into 'West Bank' and 'Eastern Stretch'. Groups join the former from the White Nile to the north and from South Kordofan to the west. Transhumance on the latter come from White Nile, Sennar and Blue Nile States to the north and east. Groups move to all counties except Balaet and Ulang, where the land is too swampy.

This year, uncertainty as to their reception in Upper Nile State led a majority (24,786) of seasonal pastoralists in White Nile State to avoid crossing the border, staying instead on land earmarked for large-scale agricultural investment in Al Salam Locality and Tendalti Locality. Increased fuel prices led to a contraction in the activities of agricultural schemes. There was therefore some

breathing room for nomadic pastoralists fearful of moving south. This may not be the case next year. RMG activity and conflict in Blue Nile State also influenced approaches to migration; affecting both the availability of routes and increasing concern among some pastoralists that they would not be welcomed in Upper Nile State.

In general, movements of pastoralists into South Sudan decreased this year, due to blocked routes through Blue Nile State, uncertainty as to the policy of Upper Nile State and rumours and realities of harassment and high/multiple taxation. The lack of demarcated routes, a long-term squeeze on grazing land and the unusual concentration of animals in neighbouring states led to feuds between farmers and herders. Some interviewees suggested that Rufa'a did not come at all in 2011-2012 though this was most likely an exaggeration. An overall reduction notwithstanding, insecurity in Blue Nile also led Uduk, Angasenna, and Funj pastoralist refugees to enter Upper Nile State and take position in camps at Doro and Jamam.

Overall, the migration was broadly peaceful and nomads did not generally move openly with arms (only 5 weapons were collected in Renk County through the dry season). The widespread harassment of Suleim and other Arab nomads, particularly in Manyo County, represents perhaps the most serious concern; along with tension and clashes around the Nasir, Longuechuk and Maiwut borders in March 2012, and raiding undertaken by Dinka of Jamjang, Unity State on Fellata in Panyikang in March and April 2012.

Routes	Groups	2011-2012
West Bank Route: Al Salem Locality (WNS)-Al Deba (Manyo)-Haya (Manyo)-Akorwa (Manyo)-Aburoc (Fashoda)-Kodok (Fashoda)-Oriny (Fashoda) – Malakal-Pakang (Panyikang)-Dolieb Hill (Panyikang) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Generally, movement is south and southwest along the West Bank. Major grazing areas are around Deba (10km west of Renk), 15km west of Banjang, south of Akorwa (15km west of Melut), southeast of Aburoc, the west bank of the river from Fathau and Malakal, south of Athakong almost to the Jonglei border and across the White Nile northeast of Doleib Hill. 	Suleim (WNS) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 15 clans To Panyikang Al Hamda <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Up to Melut Subha <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Up to Melut 	✓ - Migration proceeded
El Jebalain Locality (SKS)-Gerger (Renk)-Maban-Paloich (Melut) Southwards to Gerger Payam (grazing east of Kilo 4) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> General southward movement east of Nile to Jalhak General southeast movement along River Bibban, Sangier, el Samaa entering Maban. Then general Western movement to reach Paloich Toch (reported in 2011-2012 up to Malakal) Returning directly via northward movement through Jalhak 	Nazi	✓ - Migration proceeded
Abu Jibeha (SKS)-Al Deba-West Bank Route <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sub-branch of Suleim moves eastward from Abu Jibeha (after migrating south from Al Salem through Al Abasia) to enter Manyo County along border stretch of the Upper Nile 'pick' running north-south. Then to join West Bank route south 	Suleim (SKS) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5 clans 	✓ - Migration Proceeded
The Eastern Stretch: El Jabaleen Locality-Gerger Payam (Renk)-Ugora (Renk)-Awong-Bunj (Maban County)-Adar and Daga grazing areas <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Southwards from Gerger Payam spreading from East Bank of Nile to border with Blue Nile State, grazing at Ugora (just north of Tareifing)-and then northeast of Awong. Southeast into Maban County along River Ahmar up to Bunj 	Fellata (Gaphon; Meli; Dinaid) Rufa'a (Sennar), Al Hamayd, Subaha	✓ - Migration Proceeded (reduced Rufa'a movement)
Blue Nile (Tadamun, Abao, Kurmuk Localities)-Bunj-Maiwut	Ambororo, Rufa'a,	✓ - Reduced

Enter at Shatta/Newkuffa area-Bunj (Maban) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some will proceed South to graze northern Longuchok • West to River Machar and into northern Nasir (grazing east of Yiikou) AND/OR East to Maiwut (some continue to Ethiopia) 	Fellata (Wuda, Wela, Guma, Fonni, Bodi, Meli, Gaphon)	Migration ¹⁷¹ (only 4/7 clans)
Sennar (El Dali Locality)-Eastern Stretch (along East Bank of Nile) up to Melut	Kinana Rufa'a	✓ - Migration Proceeded
Blue Nile (El Tadamun Locality)-Eastern Stretch (along East Bank of Nile) up to Melut	Rufa'a Fellata	✓ - Migration Proceeded
Other West Bank Entry Routes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Talodi and Kalogi (SKS)-Werni-northern Tonga Payam (Panyikang)-Athakong-Dolieb Hill 	Awlad Hamayd, Hawazma, Fellata (Mell, Gaphon, Dinaid)	✓ -Migration Proceeded
Abu Jibeha (SKS)-Manyo County to graze West Bank areas Abu Jibeha (SKS)-Detuak (Fashoda) to graze West Bank areas	Hawazma, Fellata, Misseriya	✓ - Migration Proceeded

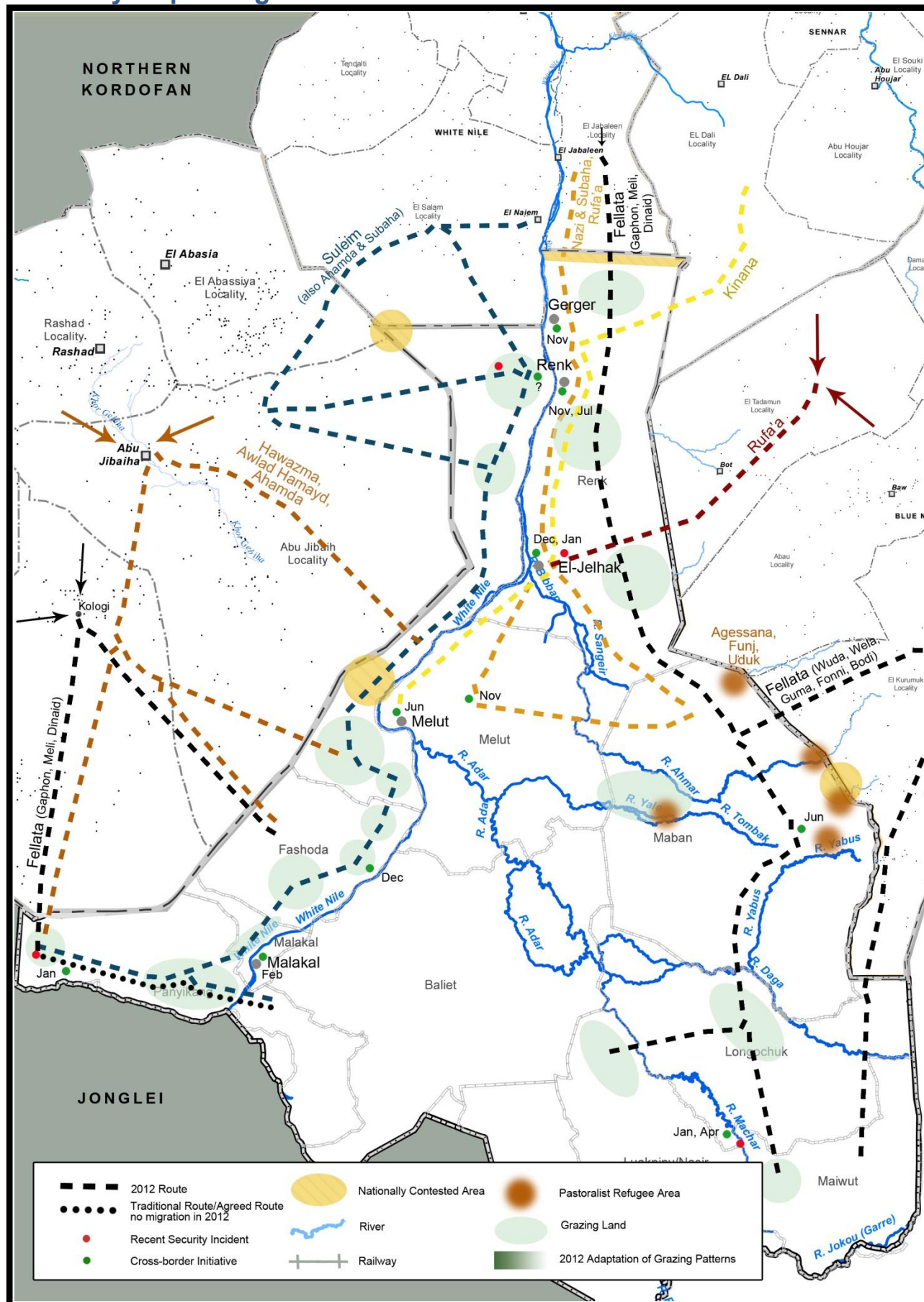
¹⁷¹ Longochuk authorities stated that this year only four Fellata clans (Wela, Wuda, Gum and Mbororo – the latter classed by the local authorities as a clan) entered of the usual seven.

Summary of Dry Season Migration 2011-2012

County	Summary of Migration	Groups	Conflict Issues	Policy Framework and Agreements
State-wide	Complex pattern of migration. Overall peaceful migration with some exceptions. Good local negotiation and arrangements. No overarching policy framework but state guidelines clarified at 24-25 Feb Cross-Border Migration Conference in Malakal facilitated by Concordis (CI) (this produced a 10-point agreement and involved Dep.Gov and six counties).			
Panyikang In: Dec Out: Jul	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dec: Fellata herds seen in grazing land of northern part of Tonga Payam. Feb: Hawazma from Talodi&Abu Gibeha Feb/Mar: Suleim and Kinana also enter from Fashoda 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hawazma Awlad Himaid Fellata: Gaphon; Meli; Dinaid 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dec: Insecurity in SKS raised pre-season tensions SAF discouraged migration at WNS/UNS border point. Mar-Apr: Raids on unarmed Fellata by Jamjang gunmen (14 Mar: 600 cattle at Arach and 2 Apr attack: SSPS arrest 96 raiders, 52 guns, 10 persons in uniform held by Div VII) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> End-Jan 2012: Fellata-County Agreement: No guns, taxes, routes. Later agreements with chiefs/payams Commissioner invites Pariang Commissioner to cooperate but alleges no response.
Fashoda In: Dec Out: Jul	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fellata arrived in Detuak Payam 1 Jul: Fellata move back to SKS 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fellata Misseriya Arab tribes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mid-Feb: Governor UNS claims Suleim and Fellata may carry weapons. Nomads claim brutal harassment by SPLA. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 17 Dec: Migration agreement made in Kodok Payam with commissioner, Fellata and Misseriya (no guns, no cooperation with RMGs, routes etc).
Manyo In: Dec Out: Jul (some staying)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jan: Arab tribes at Deba (47km south of Wadekona) moving South towards Kaka 1 Jul: Arab tribes move back to WNS. Part of Suleim wish to stay at Wadekona 1 Jul: Fellata move west to Abu Jibeha 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Suleim Awlad Hamda Hawazma AwladHimayd Fellata 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 22 Jan: Suleim contact families to encourage them to join Feb-Mar: Pastoralists state serious harassments by SPLA (notably at Deba, Gabat and Kohola). Ask for ID cards. 15 Apr: Kuek Conflict briefly disrupts trade with nomads 20 Jun: SAF/SPLA/RMG fight at Kaka reported 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local agreement (Suleim claim harassments and seek an appeal with the governor in Malakal). Commissioner requested Div VII Commander to control harassment. Dep. Gov to meet 10 reps of 5 tribes and 3 Shilluk chiefs but this did not take place.
Renk In: Nov Out: Jul (some staying)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nov: Fellata arrive in Renk County Nov: Naza pastoralists present Early-Jan: Rufa'a arrive to Galhak area Apr: Large Arab herds from Wonthau to Melut (Rufa'a and Kinana) Jul: Nazi plan to remain around Jodah 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fellata (WNS) Fellata (BNS) Rufa'a (BNS) Nazi (WNS) Kenana 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mid-Jan: Fellata group at Jalhak accused of: failing to register, crop/gum damage, firearms. Returned to Sennar. Mid-Jan: SPLA collected (4) weapons without incident. Mid Feb: Fellata group return and agree to conditions Tension btw. Sennar&BNS nomads over eastern corridors. 23 Apr: 1xSPLA, 1xSAF, 3xArabs dead, Chemmedi Payam 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nov: Gerger and Chemmedi Payam Migration Agreements (Nazi and Fellata). 12 Dec: Jalhak Meeting: "no weapons" agreement but did not resolve all issues with Fellata. 14 Jan: Rufa'a-Local Authority Migration Agreement. 3-5 Jul: Renk Cross Border Migration Conference (CI).
Maban In: Dec: Out: Jul (some staying)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dec: Fellata pastoralists moving southwards into Maban. Jan: Funj, Uduk, Angasanna refugees 1 Jul: Fellata leave, reportedly planning to stay around Renk for rainy season 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fellata (BNS) Nazi Funj Uduk Angesanna 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mid-Jan: Progressing smoothly. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mid-Jan: Progressing smoothly.

Melut In: Nov Out: Jul	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mid-Jan: Fellata depart peacefully southeast to Maban 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fellata (BNS) Fellata (WNS) Nazi 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jan: Authorities send message to Fellata perceived to have aligned with SAF in recent fighting in Blue Nile State, saying they are not welcome. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jan: Authorities send message to Fellata perceived to have aligned with SAF in recent fighting in Blue Nile State, saying they are not welcome.
Longu-chuk In: Dec Out: Jul	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mid-Apr: After reports of tension Fellata leave to Maban. Grazing in Dago and Pademe Payams 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fellata Wela, Wuda Guma, Fonni 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feb-Mar: Longuchuk commissioner reports tensions (arms, cutting trees, animal health, tax evasion, water) 28 Feb: Cattle raid and two Wela killed. Attackers in Jail End-May: Armed Fellata moving from Pamoc-Chotbol 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Feb-Mar: Longuchuk commissioner reports tensions (arms, cutting trees, animal health, tax evasion, water) 28 Feb: Cattle raid and two Wela killed. Attackers in Jail End-May: Armed Fellata moving from Pamoc-Chotbol
Maiwut In: Feb Out: Jun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mid-Mar: Large herds (1000s livestock) between Kilo 10 and Palouch junction migrated from Renk. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fellata 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mid-Mar: Maiwut commissioner reports tensions (arms, cutting trees, animal health, tax evasion, water) April: Cattle raids along border Maiwut--Nasir. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mid-Mar: Maiwut commissioner reports tensions (arms, cutting trees, animal health, tax evasion, water) April: Cattle raids along border Maiwut--Nasir.
Nasir In: Mar Out: Jun	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mar: Fellata enter from Longuchok 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fellata 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mar: Nuer-Fellata tension rising sharply. Attacks and counterattacks in northern part of County. Commissioner plans visit to calm situation. SPLA Division VI to dispatch. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mar: Nuer-Fellata tension rising sharply. Attacks and counterattacks in northern part of County. Commissioner plans visit to calm situation. SPLA Division VI to dispatch.

Summary Map of Migration Routes



Summary of Administrative Initiatives

This table summarises some of the key historical and contemporary administrative initiatives pertaining to

management of the dry season migration into Upper Nile State.

Initiative	Aim	Key Actors	Outcome	Impact and Lessons
Chemmedi-Nazi-Fellata November 2011		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abaliang Nazi Fellata 	Agreement on 'no arms' migration	Not implemented by one group of Fellata. County officials say group violated the 'no arms' policy.
Gerger-Nazi-Fellata , November 2011		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abiliang Fellata 	Agreement on 'no arms' migration	
Jalhak-Fellata December 2011	Local agreements to govern grazing routes, pastures, hunting, compensation, and other behaviour throughout the dry season migration of 2011-2012.		Failure to resolve issue with armed Fellata	Broadly implemented. Fellata group left and returned without weapons. Extra effort was made to make arrangements with Rufa'a when they arrived.
Melut-Fellata November 2011	All meetings undertaken under auspices of the County Commissioners and local authorities.		Agreement on 'no arms' migration	Implemented inc. sharing information on RMGs.
Manyo-Suleim December 2011		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shilluk Suleim 	Agreement on 'no arms' migration	Nomads complain of serious harassments in 'violation' of agreement.
Fashoda-Fellata-Misseriya , 17 December 2012		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shilluk Fellata Misseriya 	Agreement on 'no arms' migration	Implemented bar some weapons carrying and harassment of pastoralists
Panyikang-Fellata January 2012		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shilluk Fellata 	Agreement on 'no arms' migration	County authorities committed but could not guarantee security.
Fellata 11 January 2012		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nuer Gajak Fellata (Wela, Wuda, Guma) 	Agreement on 'no arms' migration	Not implemented. Tension between Nuer and Fellata led to violence. Lack of direct contact.
Renk-Rufa'a 14 January 2012		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abiliang Rufa'a 	Agreement on 'no arms' migration	Implemented. Extra clarity pursued due to violation of Fellata agreement.
State Cross Border Migration Conference , 24-25 February 2012	To establish grazing arrangements. To facilitate communication with state government.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pastoralists & Counties: Fashoda, Maban, MelutManyo, Panyikang, Renk Pastoralists only - Maban Concordis 	Unanimous migration agreement signed by TAs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'No arms' migration Local agreements for detailed conditions UNS to provide documentation. 	Majority of groups already had local agreements so little direct changes. Very positive trust building exercise and refreshment exercise. In particular, first clear dissemination of state policy from governor.
Longuechok Cross Border Migration Conference , 23-27 April 2012	To agree on migration arrangements; and foster peace. To bring together pastoralists and hosts. To consider challenges	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fellata Wela, Wuda Nuer Gajak Burun Koma 	Agreement: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 'No arms' Dec-Jun Compensation Hunting, fishing Joint court 	Built trust and re-established agreement after recent conflict.
Maban Cross Border Migration Conference , 12-14 June 2012	and opportunities and agree resolutions that would foster peaceful	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fellata Wela, Gamba, 	Agreement Compensation, Taxation, 'No arms'	First ever such conference in Maban. Considerable trust building exercise.

	coexistence. Participation of county authorities Organised by Concordis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mbororo Al Himayd Suleim BN refugees - - Gabenit, Agedi, Uduk, Jecho 	migration, Joint committee, Nomad court and Local court, Environment, Dissemination	Investment in reaching 'hard to get' stakeholders. Follow up needed due to changing circumstances.
Melut Cross Border Migration Conference, 19-21 June 2012		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Abiliang Fellata Nazi All 7 payams 	Resolutions to government for next season inc. routes, reduction in tax, services, citizenship	Review of migration season generally positive. Group confidence exists in ability to overcome issues.
Renk Cross Border Migration Conference, 3-5 July 2012		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4 payams of Renk 12 tribes/ clans of Pastoralists.¹⁷² 	Resolutions to govern next season inc. routes, reduction in tax, services, citizenship	Review of migration season generally positive. Group confidence exists in ability to overcome issues.

¹⁷² Including Rufa'a, Nazi, Suleim, Himayd, Meslimia, Lugazap, Fellata (Wela, wuda, Ibaa, Mbororo, Meli)

Discussion

Overarching Framework: 2011-2012

The migration into Upper Nile State is organised according to separate county-by-county and payam-by-payam agreements in the context of an overarching message of support from the state government. The Governor reportedly obtained an approval from Juba before instructing county officials to welcome unarmed migration in 2011-2012. However, no high profile public statement of this policy appears to have been made until the State Migration Conference of 24-24 February. At this conference a set of principles¹⁷³ – including the welcoming of unarmed nomads – was established and publicly endorsed by the state government. The system is viewed as a pragmatic response to the absence of national guidelines in which local government leads until a national framework is formulated.

Strategic Factors

Security

RMG activity is a central concern for officials in Upper Nile State. The security concern associated with refusing the migration, central to the livelihoods of large numbers and to the economy of surrounding states, is substantial.¹⁷⁴ In the context of poor relations between Sudan and South Sudan, particularly along the West Bank and north of Renk, engaging with nomads is a pragmatic move aimed at reducing a potential security threat. Indeed, 'non-cooperation' with RMGs was a condition of many local agreements and the state government placed a lot of pressure on nomads entering the state to share knowledge about the activities of RMGs. This kind of information sharing certainly took place. The policy of welcoming unarmed nomads did not apply to all groups. For example, in January Melut County sent messages to particular Fellata groups in Blue Nile State informing them they would not be welcome due to their perceived role in fighting alongside SAF.

Economics

The economic benefits of the dry season pastoralist migration are recognised by communities and officials in Upper Nile State. Nomadic groups using the West Bank routes bring milk and meat to markets on the East Bank and purchase goods. For communities, this eases the price of cattle, meat and milk. Reduced pastoralist migration this year led to increased prices, for example in Renk from 1100-1300SSP to 1500-2000SPP for a large bull.¹⁷⁵

Taxation from dry season pastoralism is not an important consideration for the state government and there are no national guidelines on their arrangements. Indeed the entire tax contribution of the counties to the resource envelope of the state government is approximately 2-3%.¹⁷⁶ In the context of austerity the state government is focused on raising non-oil revenues. To this end, Malakal is instead devoting huge attention to the promotion of agriculture (discussed below). However, local government taxation of transhumant pastoralists (who broadly comply but complain of multiple taxation and call for a single point tax) provides a significant injection to county funds.

Management Models

Leadership and agency

Strong leadership has facilitated implementation of migration guarantees. The state has responded to recent security concerns by installing strong leaders in key positions. For example, the new Deputy Governor is a military man and former commissioner of Maban. He has influence in Maban where a number of RMGs remain active and has already shown strong leadership in responding to conflict in the south of the state.¹⁷⁷ The appointment of a strong military commissioner to Renk points to a similar process. In terms of state capacity to guarantee agreements, this is a positive trend that increases the capacity and authority of the state to both implement arrangements and respond to crises. Indeed, throughout the dry season 2011-2012 the authorities demonstrated on a number of occasions the will and authority needed to respond to crimes undertaken against visiting pastoralist peoples and reacted firmly to contraventions by pastoralist groups. The impact on democratic development and other questions of governance remains to be seen.

The political will and commitment to peaceful coexistence of pastoralist leaders is also a huge resource. Anecdotes abound. For example, Fellata who attended the 19-21 June Melut conference heard of a similar conference planned for Renk two weeks later. The Fellata, not formally informed of the event, travelled by bus to attend and played a critical role in explaining the importance of the project to the Chief of Jordah, who had raised concerns. After their conversation, the Chief understood the importance of the initiative, immediately drove to Sudan and brought three traditional leaders from White Nile State to the gathering.

The commitment of NGO staff and peace building practitioners also helped ensure that peace conferences in Upper Nile State through dry season 2011-2012 were

¹⁷³ The principles are not resolutions. They did not create a harmonised or binding agreement.

¹⁷⁴ As the Acting State Police Commissioner Major General Sabino Ajarial put it: "Closing the border is killing their cattle", Interview, 1 August 2012, Malakal

¹⁷⁵ Interview, William Gwang Deng, Director General, Ministry of Local Government and Law Enforcement, Upper Nile State, 1 August 2012, Malakal

¹⁷⁶ Interview, Okwini Yor Jwanyding, Director of Budget and Planning, Ministry of Finance, Upper Nile State, 31 July 2012, Malakal

¹⁷⁷ The previous Deputy Governor, a man of the cloth, was responsible for the Conflict Mitigation and Stabilisation Plan. However, during crisis the Governor reportedly was like to open a parallel track.

not tick box exercises. For example, conflict analysis undertaken by Concordis had underlined the importance of Fellata representatives at the Melut conference but neither local authorities nor communities knew how to contact them. Concordis staff drove off-road through forest and scrub until, following some cattle tracks, they found a cattle camp and asked for the Omda. It was a simple move, but an important one. As the Omda said: "No one in 70 years has ever come to visit us let alone invited us to participate in a meeting". It was this group who later made the unannounced journey to Renk described above.

Participation and authority

The February state conference was well disseminated through the Ministry of Local Government and Law Enforcement. The challenge was lack of representation from the Government of Sudan, seen by some as necessary to guarantee the resolutions.¹⁷⁸ This shortcoming, as with a final administrative framework, will only be resolved with high-level agreements between Sudan and South Sudan.

The centrality of communication and dissemination

UNMISS Civil Affairs (then UNMIS) began monitoring and engaging with cross-border migration in Upper Nile State in 2009. They found that in terms of process, the administrative framework of the migration was close to best practice. And the contents of local agreements at that time did not vastly differ from those today. What was missing was proactive and timely implementation by local authorities. The state and local community were not reaching out to inform and communicate their position to dry season pastoralists. The result was at times uncertainty, confusion and conflict.

As elsewhere along the border, the key to the process of administering the migration in Upper Nile State is adequate communication of government policy. Local arrangements and crisis management can follow. In recent years, this communication has been done in a direct meeting between the heads of pastoralist tribes and the Governor. In 2011-2012 it appears to have been made through local government in the counties. A key value of the state conference undertaken in Malakal in February 2012 was the clear and direct communication of state policy, and associated guarantees, direct from the Governor.¹⁷⁹ This kind of dissemination was particularly important in 2011-2012 because of conflict in Blue Nile State and South Kordofan and the uncertainties this created as to whether pastoralists would be welcome to cross into South Sudan.

¹⁷⁸ Interview, Kay Thor, Ministry of Local Government, Upper Nile State, 31 July 2012, Malakal

¹⁷⁹ The pitfalls of indirect communication were seen in 2010. Tensions were high. Uncertainty due to voter registration. The Deputy Governor sent a letter asking Fellata from Blue Nile to delay their migration (due to the encroachment of agricultural activity on migration corridors). The letter was misinterpreted and influential Fellata in Damazin raised the issue in Khartoum, raising a national dimension to a local administrative issue.

Since 2010 this policy dissemination exercise has been strengthened by the presence of UNMIS/UNMISS and Concordis. Firstly, through the provision of technical and logistical support to the government, and secondly, through a 'witnessing' function; the presence of a third party adds weight to public statements and raises the reputational costs of non-implementation.

Lack of reliable information is a central problem. Neither host nor nomadic populations are aware of policy frameworks. In this context, as one MARF official said, "any man with a small arm and khaki can disrupt an entire agreement.... some of them don't even know Sudan is divided". Information asymmetry, misinformation and lack of information can lead to conflict, especially given the security situation and the history of armed mobilisation in the region. Informal channels of information flow and coordination therefore play an important role in managing the migration where they exist. For example, Suliem nomads in Manyo County were allegedly subject to harassment by South Sudan's police and army through 2011-2012. However, the Paramount Chief of the Arab tribes on the West Bank, Sheik El Bir's, close relations to the Wadekona Commissioner helped reduce tension over the issue (marriage ties exist between the two families). At the same time, his brother is Suleim Locality Commissioner in White Nile State. Such relationships can create tension but also represent a cross-border network; channels for dispute resolution.

Coordination

There is no coordination between Upper Nile authorities and those of neighbouring Sudanese states. Coordination between Upper Nile and neighbouring South Sudanese states could also be improved (despite the efforts of the Panyikang commissioner to liaise with Pariang County over raiding of Fellata, no joint action appeared possible). Within Upper Nile State, the county commissioners' forum organised by the state government and held in Malakal has not happened since 2010 but could be an important forum for coordinating migration responses, for example, to harmonise the taxation of pastoralists.

Coordination between UNMISS, Concordis and the relevant state authorities has been strong and has not sacrificed organisational independences. A number of interviewees said it would be useful to have a focal point person within the state government, probably within the Ministry of Local Government and Law Enforcement, to coordinate and manage dry season pastoralism. There is currently no consolidated record of migration agreements or monitoring to ensure that each county has conducted the necessary meetings. This information could then be disseminated properly to state and local authorities and to communities.

Resolutions and agreements in general still lack timely

follow up. This is due to poor capacity in government and among international organisations; too much ambition in resolution and program design; and lack of resources. Organisations with service delivery and construction mandates should be involved. For example, countless resolutions have been made to re-operationalise resources such as the British dug hafirs along migration routes but they remain blocked by stones. Joint field visits between 'resolution-makers' such as Concordis and organisations capable of delivering tangible physical infrastructure such as USAID (through implementing partner AECOM) are positive developments.

UNMISS in Upper Nile State undertake the most Long Distance Patrols (LDPs) by the mission in any state, but movements are limited in the wet season by the inaccessibility of areas and a lack of a forward operational platform on the West Bank. High security levels also require force protection, which is deemed to send the wrong message to local communities during civil affairs missions. All these factors conspire to make consistent engagement between nomads, NGOs, and local authorities difficult.

Responding to New Dynamics

Staying longer

In the last two years Fellata along the Blue Nile State border have stayed in the area for up to eleven months of the year. This may be due to; 1) Availability of forest; 2) Availability of pasture; 3) Concerns of insecurity in Blue Nile State; and 4) Concerns of the impact of border demarcation on access to South Sudan. Fellata from Renk also announced that they would stay around Maban in the rainy season, though were later observed moving back to Renk. Their return is possibly due to the presence of some 120 000 – 180 000 mainly Angessana, Funj and Uduk refugees in Maban, many with large numbers of cattle of their own.¹⁸⁰ New situations call for new arrangements and meetings in April, Maban (June), Melut (June), and Renk (July) aimed to respond to such changing situations. New arrangements were required for wet and dry season grazing and, in Maban, for mechanisms to manage interactions and tension between pastoralists, host communities and refugees.¹⁸¹ The June and July conferences also represented review meetings that facilitated improvements to arrangements to be made based on lessons from the 2011-2012 season. In Melut, for example, taxation was reduced from 7SSP per cow to 3SSP per cow and from 3SSP to 1SSP for goats. These workshops represented a new dynamic in the annual peace meeting cycle and a model

that could be continued in the future.

Competition in neighbouring states Competition over grazing land in neighbouring states is another dynamic that is being reinforced by changed circumstances. If uncertainty around cross-border migration persists in the future or the migration is restricted then this issue may benefit from responses. Livestock forms a central part of the formal and informal economies of neighbouring states where the expansion of agricultural schemes and traditional practices (often undertaken by influential persons on El Baga land) has already significantly reduced the size and quality of grazing land. The season 2011-2012 witnessed reduced migration from Tendalti and Al Salem Localities into Upper Nile as a result of uncertainty towards their reception in South Sudan. This led to conflict between nomads and farmers in these localities and *between* Arab nomads of El Ebesat and El Ahamda over ownership of Adira Island in El Jebelain.¹⁸² Constraints crossing Kurmuk Locality and uncertainty over the framework for migration also affected the migration from Blue Nile State. As a result, tensions developed in Tadamon and Bau Locality and between Sennar nomads and Blue Nile nomads thrown together in Renk County as a result of the insecurity further south in Blue Nile State. The situation is made worse by; 1) Reduced access to Ethiopia due to concerns around the new Wildlife Act; 2) The rumours and reality of high and multiple taxation in Upper Nile State.

Citizenship

The increasing length of stay and harassment by SSPS and SPLA of Arab nomads on the West Bank throughout the dry season 2011-2012 has brought questions of residency and citizenship into focus. Suleim chiefs, like Shiek el Bir, complain that they are not treated fairly. What, for example, is the status of Suleim who intend to stay the entire year at Wadekona in Manyo County? Will the GoRSS implement agreements made in Addis Ababa in September 2012 so that such people have the right to own land or undertake agricultural entrepreneurship? And for how long will such rights be guaranteed? Clarification on these issues will become increasingly important.

Changing attitudes

The benefits of migration to South Sudan are increasingly being questioned by South Sudanese officials. This process is due to the combined pressure of; 1) Losing oil revenue and the associated necessity of needing to extract economic benefit from another resource – primarily land; and 2) The sense of full ownership that is entailed by the independence of South Sudan and the increasingly dominant capitalist development perspective (focused on exclusive rights). In this context, the importance of historical relations is diminished and policy decisions become increasingly

¹⁸⁰ The expected demand for pasture and water in the face of an influx of refugees could be responsible for the decision to return northwards. Tension with refugee and host populations is another in the context of conflict in Blue Nile State, where some Fellata take prominent positions in government. The Maban people are historically considered as part of the greater Funj kingdom and naturally ally with them. The risk of frustrations being borne out on Fellata was real.

¹⁸¹ Land allocated for grazing

¹⁸² Report on Conflict Resolution Skills Workshop for members of Peace Committees and officials of ministries in White Nile State, February 2012, Concordis International

based on economic cost-benefit.

Climate change and water

A major issue is overgrazing and burning of land by nomadic groups from Renk to Nasir. Burning is used to open the route and to reduce the grass to ensure undergrowth on the return leg.

Development planning

There are no policies or strategies featured in the State Strategic Plan for 2012-2015 pertaining to dry season nomadic pastoralism from Sudan.

Agriculture

Beyond a small partnership between CIDA and MARF to provide some local pastoralist education, the emphasis of the government is entirely on promoting agricultural development. Billboards stand on countless street corners in Malakal proclaiming: "Let us fight poverty through mass production [images of wheat]" and a campaign message from the Governor "There is nothing wrong with growing slowly [images of wheat]". 80% Of the state is under black cotton soil, cracking clays excellent for agriculture. State officials say that land will be provided for agricultural development from Renk down the east bank to Maban and into Nasir, and down the entire West Bank from Manyo to Panyikang. A scheme is, for example, planned for Abayo on the West Bank of the Nile near to Malakal. There is no plan or discussion of how such schemes may interact with the dynamics of dry season migration, the question is hidden behind perceptions that "there is no problem, we have lots of land". Serious agricultural development is probably years away but if it comes, it will affect dry season pastoralism as it has in northern Upper Nile and the surrounding Sudanese states.

Animal health

MARF in Upper Nile State has working relations with groups of dry season pastoralists. In July 2012 a bull was slaughtered at the MARF in Malakal to celebrate cooperation between Suleim and the Ministry. Vaccinations were undertaken in 2011-2012 but failed to reach anywhere near the 50% threshold for effectiveness. There was a lack of vaccines and inadequate cold-supply systems. In 2011-2012, in Renk 101 250 sheep and 37 000 head of cattle were vaccinated. In all other counties combined, 2900 cattle and 5085 other species were vaccinated.¹⁸³ The major challenges in animal health are; 1) Coordination and information flow with the authorities in Sudan; 2) Drugs and vaccines are in short supply due to budget cuts (including sheep and goat fox vaccine, anthrax vaccine and PPR); and 3) Emerging diseases such as east coast fever (moving north from Kenya through Jonglei State). The trend of pastoralists from Sudan spending a greater period of the year in South Sudan also opens difficult

questions around the resilience of their cattle to wet season tropical diseases.

Tourism

There are three game reserves in Upper Nile State at Panyikang, Mayo and Wodissa. These areas need to be taken into account when developing future arrangements for dry season pastoralists. Officials at the Directorate of Wildlife Services (SSWS) in Upper Nile State did not know their size, but estimated each to be more than 150km long. The SSWS is tasked with protecting animals from poachers with a view to developing economically profitable tourism to the area. The Directorate said that it is forbidden for pastoralists to move through these territories and that a plan is in place to fence and gate the reserves. Although Fellata nomads undertake some poaching –an organised activity involving well-armed raiders seeking ivory – local populations and SPLA conduct the majority of illegal hunting.¹⁸⁴ The pastoralists from Sudan, however, represent a convenient scapegoat for local lawbreakers.

¹⁸³ Interview, Libor Ader Lino, Director General, Ministry of Animal Resources and Fisheries, Upper Nile State, 1 August 2012, Malakal

¹⁸⁴ Brigadier Lol Nguth Choum, Director of Wildlife Service Directorate, Upper Nile State, 1 August 2012, Malakal