KELI VILLAGE

PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE

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The theme of the thesis is about the prospects for change in a Northern Sudanese village where a new agricultural Scheme has been established. The village of the study, Nei, is one of about fifteen villages to be affected by the Scheme. The problem of the thesis is to try to account for the possible courses change will take - given the present socio-economic situation. Rather than seeing the affect of the Scheme in retrospect the thesis attempts to look forward for what the situation will probably look like in the near future.

In the introduction a critical review of both the structural-functional and the neo-structuralist approaches (represented by Barth) is made. It is shown how the two approaches lack historical and dynamic insights. Theoretically speaking, with the lack of such an insight any serious attempt to understand social reality is doomed to failure. The Barthian approach has been chosen as a point of departure in the analysis of the material of the thesis, to bring to the foreground the theoretical stand of the thesis. The main point made in criticism of the Barthian approach is that it does not, through the lack of its historical insight, account for the emergence of new social formations. In my case, when using the Barthian approach it is difficult to perceive the rise of a particular interest group with specific socio-economic characteristics.
In Chapter I a brief description is given to indicate the salient features of the socio-economic setting that comprises Keli village. Chapter II gives an account of the economic conditions immediately before the Scheme, it indicates how meagre economic chances were. In Chapter III it is explained how the emigrants of the village, through their economic influence over the internal economy of the village, came to control the internal affairs of the village. With the establishment of the Scheme the resident population of the village were forced by circumstances to handle all their matters within the boundaries of Keli i.e. without referring to the village's emigrants in other towns. Chapter IV and V examine this question and Chapter V in particular discusses the internal social set-up and surveys the main resources actors can use and how these resources are transformed into the form of influence. The last Chapter, Chapter VI, considers the possible outcome and implications of the new situation engendered by the establishment of the Scheme. The main argument here is that original differential access to resources led to differential benefits in the new situation. A new group of capital owners has emerged as a consequence.

This argument is supplemented by comparative examples from the Sudan. This concludes the thesis and points to the theoretical divergence from the Barthian approach which fails to depict the rise of such groups.
INTRODUCTION

THEORETICAL

It may be useful to state very clearly the purpose of this introduction right from the beginning. In the following some theoretical problems are briefly outlined to designate the issues which the writer believes constitute the major challenges in the field of theoretical anthropology. The exposition of the problems that are dealt with here does not mean at all that any solution will be offered for them in the present thesis. All that is intended is to shed some light on these problems in order to highlight them, and to point to the nature of the complexities that are involved. It must also be stressed here that the ensuing discussion should not be considered in any way as forming an orderly attempt to trace the history of the literature of the anthropological theory (if something of the kind exists). Nor is it my aim to record in detail the polemical discussions involved in these controversial and problematic issues. The introduction, unsystematic and patchy as it is, is

(1) In no sense should the term 'theoretical anthropology' be understood to mean theory and empirical reality are two things. They are inseparable twins.
intended, in the final analysis, to relate the analysis of the described thesis to some of the current anthropological discussions. By so doing I hope to denote the position of the thesis in regards to what seems to be some current anthropological themes.

The state of theory in Anthropology is one of confusion. The body of literature now dominant in the anthropological scene reflects the symptoms of this confusion. The origin of the

(2) It is very difficult to cite here all works and tendencies appearing nowadays. One can, however, direct attention to the variations of the interactionist approaches and post-interactionist trends. Some varied labels are used by interactionist, e.g. ethnosceence, ethnomethodology, phenomenologists etc. (see Jouzelia, N. 'Social and System Integration: Some Reflections on Fundamental Distinction in the ANS Vol. XXV No. 4, 1974 pp 345-409) Another strong trend now which has not taken shape yet is led by those who draw heavily on the Marxist perspective (followers of models constructed by G. Frank and S. Amin etc.). Neither of the two, the non-Marxists and the Marxists have formulated their basic argument in a coherent body of premises to the extent of being identified as one theory.
dilemma can be attributed to two things. In the first place, the nature of social reality with which the anthropologist deals is partly responsible for the difficulty. The interrelationships that exist between the components of a social system in any society is not what we directly observe. Social reality is indeed highly complex, for social relations between people in the same social structure are not what they look at their face value. All human scientists agree that human social behaviour is not an ad hoc matter but is an aspect of a body of regularities - otherwise it becomes absolutely impossible to study and examine human societies in their totalities.

The second thing responsible for the difficulty we are talking about, and which is closely related to the first, is the disagreement in the way social anthropologists define and


perceive social reality and the way it can be depicted to reflect its 'reality'. Social phenomena are complex and made up of innumerable types of social reality; any one type of which can be transformed to another(5).

Social scientists in general, including anthropologists, aspire to arrive at generalizations from empirical data and particular situations. Most of them are also concerned that the conclusions they attain are capable of being cross-checked and validated by returning to the same empirical situations. In this respect, and to facilitate and systemize that knowledge about the interrelationships between elements to order them in some meaningful way and to render them intelligible, social anthropologists employ what may be called social models.

All the differences between social anthropologists stem from their disagreement on one problem in my opinion. I am inclined to think that the nature of the link between the 'actual' behaviour, or the behaviour on the ground, and

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the ideal behaviour, or the world of thought (whether as perceived by the actors or the investigator) as the major central problem in all sciences that are concerned with explaining human behaviour.\(^6\)

Another dimension of the actual/ideal problem is the still unsatisfactorily resolved individual/group problematic interrelationship; or alternatively put in a wider context, the unit/whole relationships. The difficulty that arises here is how to generalize from the particular (the particular can be the individual, a social situation, a social institution etc.). Or conversely, 'to see the general in the particular. On the one hand, one can generalize from the particular and the shift can

be from face-to-face level and short-term sequence of events to the study of world macro-processes\textsuperscript{(7)}. On the other hand, the question may be how is it that the individual is a unique individual with individual characteristics and particular modes of behaviour and yet he is 'person' or a set of social relations, and behaves as a unit in a social system? How are the two bridged: his individual behaviour and his behaviour as a social being conforming to and his actions largely moulded by the rules of the social system he is in? How is the collective ideal (on the cultural level; for example) transformed to the individual level? And how is the individual action reflected in and affecting the collective ideal? Many thinkers and social scientists have attempted to disclose the secrets of the nature of this relationship, and they have arrived at different conclusions. For example, some anthropologists, dissatisfied with the functional-structuralist approach attempted to employ an approach that bridges the gap between the individual and the group; their attempt culminated in the appearance

of the situational analysis approach in the fifties and the sixties of this century. The most rigorous and of high theoretical sophistication is the Marxist perspective.

The problem of the unit / aggregate linkage reveals itself in many sociological writings. And, as Cancian has shown, many controversies between advocates of different anthropological approaches are reducible to this fundamental and basic problem.

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(8) For examples of this approach see Van Velsen: The Craft of Social Anthropology (ed) A. Epstein, 1967 pp. 139-140, see also Veesley, p. 19 The Kinship of the Tellensi: Reevaluation JHB Vol. XXXVI pp. 37-75

(9) The Marxist view is summed up as 'the abstraction made individual... has no value of itself but only in function of social relations, and in the first place of the relations of production' Cipriani: Reality and Historicity: economy and dilections in Marxism in Economy and Society Vol. 4 No. 3, 1975 pp. 283-308. (See pp. 291-4) for a fuller account for the Marxist perspective on this point see Olman, P.: Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society, Cambridge University Press, London, 1971.

(10) Cancian was able to demonstrate how in the final analysis the difference between the formalist and the substantivists views in the field of economic anthropology is but over whether it is more useful to generalise from the particular (substantivists) or if it is better to apply the general to the particular (formalists). Cancian, P.: Marxism as Bureaucratic Strategy and Theory: a comment on programmatic statements in eco-anthropology AA Vol. 68, 1966 pp 465-9
of criticism levelled against the approach I categorize, for the sake of simplicity, in three ideological \(^{(12)}\), theoretical \(^{(13)}\) and empirical \(^{(14)}\) basis. What concerns us here is that the functional-structuralist anthropologist sees society as a total structure made up of components or sub-systems e.g. kinship, economy, religion, ... etc - that must fit together, must be integrated and without persistent radical contradictions \(^{(15)}\).

In Radcliffe-Brown's own words the term structure refers to: ordered arrangement of parts or components; the components of 'social' structure are persons \(^{(16)}\). The social relationships, of which the continuing social networks constitute the social structure, are not haphazard. Persons within social structures are controlled by established norms of conduct, or social institutions \(^{(17)}\).

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\(^{(14)}\) See Van Velsen Extended Case Method or Study; Two Villages in India in (ed.) Gluckman Closed Systems and Open Ends: The Limits of Hierarchy in Social Anthropology, Oliver & Boyd, London 1964.

\(^{(15)}\) See L opositi. p.13.


\(^{(17)}\) Radcliffe-Brown p.10.
The idea of 'structure' and institution is given meaning by the following example: the 'structure' of a modern army consists of an arrangement of regiments, divisions, army corps, etc., whereas 'institutionally' it is arranged into ranks, generals, colonels, major, etc.

The entities or the components of the social structure contribute through their social activities to the maintenance and continuation of the whole social system; i.e., their function (18) is to maintain the system. The structure, the set of relations between entities, persists although the identity of the constituent parts may not be preserved. The continuity of the structure is not destroyed by changes in the units. This is what Radcliffe-Brown means when he talks about 'structural' continuity (19). A society is described as having 'functional unity' if its all parts of the social system work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency; or, in other words, without producing


(19) Radcliffe-Brown opcit. p. 180
persistent conflicts which cannot be resolved nor regulated. The social system whose parts are not in harmony is said to be in a state of functional disharmony (identified with dysensus).

Holding such views about society the structural-functionalism are led to ask the type of the following questions which focus on the social morphology of the examined society - what kinds of social structures are there? What are their similarities and differences? How are these structures to be classified? (20)

In this sense the functionalist-structuralist approach looks at the individual/group problem in a way that regards 'individuals' in the social system not as 'individuals' but as persons occupying structural social positions i.e. as occupants of social statuses (21). The question of the relationship between the 'individual' as 'individual' and society is meaningless for the followers of the approach (22). On the other hand, the

(20) The bulk of the discussion is derived from Radcliffe-Brown's Chapter 'On the Concept of Function in Social Science pp.175-187 - Radcliffe-Brown opcit.

(21) Van Velzen Extended-Case Method p.131

(22) Bee, L. Patterns & Processes p.135.
complexities and contradictions of the 'actual' are given less attention, of any, in favour of a well-integrated 'ideal'—an ideal that is always set in equilibrium. One should be quick to add that equilibrium is not seen as complete and absolute tranquility but as a constant adjustment process that attempts to keep the system lively and adaptive. Such perspective, Bee maintains can only consider change as either trivial or tragic; trivial in the sense that the changes are so miniscule as to leave the system as a whole unaffected; or tragic in so far as a change in one of the system's components must inevitably lead to disharmony in the culture system(23).

All that I can say is that I am not interested in comparing and contrasting 'structures'; nor am I interested in listing and recording the components of the social system I am studying. The timeless nature of this approach forces one to abandon employing it in the thesis. As will appear throughout the thesis many things do not seem intelligible without looking into their historical development over time. Structural approach does explain how particular interests of some individuals and (23) Bee, LK Patterns and Processes p.135.
groups are manifested and how different manoeuvres are used
to extend these interests. The mechanism, involved in such
interactions and the dynamic nature — they have could not be
reflected in structural analysis, I believe, at least for my
purpose. So much for the structural-functionalists' approach and
now I proceed to discuss another stand in current anthropology,
the interactionist approach exemplified by Barth's case.

Central and of utmost significance to the theme I am
taking is the discussion of Barth whom I am considering as a point
of departure in analysing my data. The justification for this
choice are manifold, not the least of which the personal aspect(24).

However, an objective evaluation of the man does not fail to count
him as an influential figure in our contemporary anthropological
theory — as a post — structuralist. Barth, I think, offers
a rather coherent and systematic way of how social reality can best
be observed and studied — whether he succeeded in achieving this
or not is something else. It may perhaps be useful to outline

(24) As senior undergraduate students we were immensely
influenced by G. Haaland, an outstanding student and
adherent of Barth — I personally was very impressed by
the approach due to the stimulating way by which he
presented his ideas to us.
the Barthian approach in general to know what he is really talking about before criticizing him. Before I do that, a point needs to be made very explicit. The Barthian approach was the main theoretical framework which I carried with me to the field - not to test it but as the theoretical tool with which I intended to understand the social reality at Keli, a village in the Northern Sudan. However, when I came to systemize and analyze my data, I discovered that what I had observed and collected if they are to have meaning, are not fully understandable or explainable by the Barthian perspective. I had to go back and make an intensive re-reading of Barth. In consequence the coming conclusions have appeared as a result of two processes. On re-reading Barth some theoretical shortcomings and pitfalls were of clear evidence; they will be summarized very briefly. The second process has to do with why the approach could not explain what seems to me, from my material, to be the essence of the problem I am tackling. This is put in a wider theoretical context and hence questioning the Barthian approach, in its totality, for understanding social reality. I will depend heavily on Barth's own words to explain his approach in the paragraphs below.

by a rather lengthy quotation from Radcliffe-Brown. I feel it necessary to re-quote it as it is a very good indication of what Braid thinks social anthropology is about — and, paradoxically, because he regards it as a point of departure from the functional-structuralists.

"... the concrete reality with which the social anthropologist is concerned is observation, comparison and classification, not any sort of entity, but a process, the process of social life. The unit of investigation is the social life of some particular region of the Earth during a certain period of time. The process itself consists of an immense multitude of actions and interactions of human beings, acting as individuals or in combinations or groups. Amidst the diversity of the particular events there are discoverable regularities, so that it is possible to give statements or descriptions of certain general features of the social life of a selected region. A statement of such significant general features of the process of social life constitutes a description of what may..."
be called a form of social life. My (Radcliffe-Brown's) conception of social
anthropology is as the comparative theoretical study of forms of social life amongst primitive
people.²⁶"

Barth maintains his aim is not to describe the forms of
these regularities (or frequencies in the Barthian jargon)
as the structuralist is interested in, but rather with explaining
how these observed regularities are generated.²⁷ The
structuralist approach in his opinion has failed to account
for how actual social forms, or patterns, are generated. Hence,
to compensate for this principal view of perceiving social
reality - as a set of processes generating particular and specific
patterns, Barth has devised theoretical constructs which he
terms generative models.²⁸

For Barth the most simple and general model available
to us is one of an aggregate of people exercising choicess.

(²⁶) Quoted by Barth in Models of Soc. Org. p.1
(²⁷) ibid. p.196 in p.1
(²⁸) ibid., 3. p.11 in p.3
 While influenced by certain constraints and incentives. The only thing that relates the determining factors with the resultant patterns depends on the human disposition to evaluate and participate \(^{(29)}\). In other words, the model is basically built on utility and choice under constraints \(^{(30)}\).

His central problem is, therefore, 'what are the constraints and incentives that canalize choices?' \(^{(31)}\). The structuralist model in Barth's opinion, is a model in which constraints over choices are moral ones; society is a moral system \(^{(32)}\) i.e. duties and obligation, as defined by the norms of the society are the major determinants of human actions.

Barth develops his theoretical stand by asserting that 'to give... an explanation of social forms, it is sufficient to describe the processes that generate the form.' \(^{(33)}\). He goes on

\(^{(29)}\) Ibid, p.1
\(^{(30)}\) Barth, P. Anthropological Models and Social Reality p.25
\(^{(31)}\) Barth, P. Models of social Org. p.1
\(^{(32)}\) Ibid, p.1
\(^{(33)}\) Ibid, p.2
to say that the patterns are generated through processes of interaction and in their form they reflect the constraints and incentives under which people (actors) act. If I have understood Barth correctly this means that the process enables us to understand the transformation of the factors affecting choice into empirical regularities in social life. The model does not explain social regularities in one way process how constraints, rules or others, are transformed into empirical regularities. The model is also expected to deal with how forms and patterns are generated according to the rules of strategy, on the empirical level. Another advantage of such a model is claimed to lie in its comparative ability with the empirical. The same forms generated and constructed by the analyst in a model may be compared to the empirical observable patterns. To explain this furthermore in Barth's own words; forms are generated by a series of logical operations; these forms may be compared to empirical forms of social systems. The logical operations, Barth continues his explanations, whereby forms are generated should mirror actual, empirical processes which can be identified in the reality which is being analysed.

(34) *Deide* p.3

The individual/group linkage on the level of analysis is explained in the Barthian approach by considering the regularities in social life as emerging from the independent activities of multiple actors. At the time the 'actual' and the ideal are related by viewing the social form as actually generated from the empirical, and this is even, in the final analysis, is tested by returning to the empirical - from the analyst's perspective.

So far so good. But how does change take place? In the Barthian perspective individual behaviour is looked at as essentially involving individual decision - making - incidentally it is not meant that all behaviour involves deliberate calculations, the decisions are not made in a vacuum. Depending on the nature of the action, other individuals' behaviour is a factor to be considered; the natural environmental setting may be another; the amount of anticipated benefit from various action alternatives is yet another.

(56) Barth, F. Anthropological Models and Social Reality p. 25
In short, decisions about which behaviour is best in a given situation always involve considerations of incentives and constraints surrounding the alternatives available — the perceived advantages and the limitations or drawbacks. The individual's exact perception of incentives and constraints may vary; the variations in individual perception are potential sources of change.

Another assumption in the approach, besides choice, is strategizing: every individual seeks to employ certain strategies open to him under given constraints and incentives. The third assumption is that choice and strategy are but to achieve a final goal — maximization, to better actor's positions, whether materially or immaterially.

(37) Incentives and constraints need not be material things — though they may be thus; but equally they can be expertise, values etc., or social structural settings.

(38) Bee, L. Patterns and Processes p.197

(39) Ibid., cit p. 198

(40) Maximization means: human beings everywhere tend to choose the personal action that they feel will gain them the greatest benefit (or avoid the greatest and loss) with the small expenditure of resources — Bee, L. op cit p.198.
To understand change we are urged by Barth to consider three things: 1. to pay greater attention to the empirical study of particular events of change. 2. To specify the nature of continuity in a sequence of change, and the processual analysis which this entails. 3. The importance of studying institutionalization of change. This argument Barth illustrated by two examples: the role of the entrepreneurial activities and fur household units that have changed from agriculture into nomadism put in the wider perspective through which Barth aims at studying social change. The two examples serve to demonstrate the nature of the incentives and constraints operating upon behavioural change. The two examples are the events of change to which the two points are applied (specification of the nature of continuity and institutionalization of change. Space does not allow for a fuller discussion of the two examples, it is therefore, I suppose, more appropriate to take one example and refer to the other every now and then. The second example, the household unit, is the chosen

(41) Barth, P. *On the Study of Social Change*, p.23
(42) Barth, P. *The Role of the Entrepreneur*
example as it pertains to a concrete change event in the Sudan. In this example I repeat stressing that attention must be paid to importance of specification of the nature of continuity, under the social and ecological constraints and incentives. The event of change here is the changing Fur household unit.

In the Fur agriculturalist society each individual Fur adult is an economic unit for himself. Each, whether male or female, produces what he or she needs for food and cash, and has a separate purse. The woman provides cooking and beer for her husband. The husband, on the other hand, is responsible for providing her with some cash for consumer goods such as clothing. But the household is not a single unit of consumption. This typical behaviour constitutes a general set of decisions about the allocation of resources (time, food, and cash) in a general context (the household). Some Fur family units have become herders instead of being agriculturalists, with the consequence of change of resource allocation. With the new conditions, as herders, the spouses have begun to pool their cash resources i.e. they have turned into a joint unit in place of the two-unit farming household. This new pattern, Barth argues, is the result of a rational decision - making between new alternatives. It is more 'advantageous' for the two spouses to pool labour. In Barth's words the 'change in household form is generated by changes in one
variables; the relative advantage of joint production over separate production (44).

Ecological (45) and social constraints (for example values connected with selling of beer (it's regarded a bad thing to do so) plus debt relations, in social terms, between different actors contribute to the continuity of the social system—this is observed everyday empirical regularities. Though in this example Earth does not state the incentives actors have been seeking, yet it is implied that material gain was the major incentive.

In this example of the changing Fur household units we are required to interpret change in terms of the determinants of form and the mechanisms of this change in the processes that generate the form Earth insists that in evaluating and explaining change measurable criteria should be employed. In the above example allocation of resources (one of the determinants of change) is measured in terms of concrete measurable factors (time, amount of food and cash). In this case mechanisms of resource allocation through frequent repetition become regular patterns of behaviour that is crystallized in social form. Different frequencies of time and resource allocation entail correspondingly different kinds of
community life; although different allocations, at first, may be looked at as behavioural outputs, their frequencies have structural implications for society (46).

Barth's method in the study of change in this particular example was to focus on the collective pattern of decision-making of a group of individuals and to attempt to explain the different patterns he observed; patterns that had already become established. Two remarks must be made here. First, the focus in this sort of analysis is essentially retrospective: the explanation comes after the fact is there (47); change is considered when it has already become apparent. The second remark is that the task of Barth, it seems, is to understand how the trends became as they did - who initiated the resulting patterns is analytically irrelevant for him (48).

The bulk of our next discussion is based on the example we have just cited with occasional reference to Barth's other works. As I mentioned earlier the Barthian perspective was unsatisfactory for the purposes of my analysis. Two reasons can

(46) Barth,P. On the Study of Soc. Change p.27
(47) See,op cit p.214
(48) See,op. cit p.216
be given in justification for why the case is like this. The first reason is the apparent theoretical loopholes; the second is its inability to explain the different interrelationships between the factors in the situation I am attempting to analyse.

A great deal of criticism has been levelled against the decision-making approach and its numerous variations (49). The serious question raised in criticism of such approaches is:

- from whose perspective are choices, strategies and maximization -
- the basic key concepts in this approach - seen, the actor's or the analyst's? Whether it is the actor's or the analyst's conception is completely two different things with two totally different sets of conclusions. To me, it is obvious in the example above that Earth uses his own rationalisation to determine what is best for the Par household unit; it is more advantageous for the unit to join effort. But how the unit had actually perceived of its situation we are not informed. Again, the assumption of rationality in the sense of extending actor's assets in a conscious and a well-calculated manner is seriously questioned by some anthropologists (50).

(49) Ibid pp 217-220

Asad has elegantly shown that freedom of choice on the part of Swat individual actors in the way presented by Barth is largely illusory. Actor's choice is determined to a large extent by their structural positions in the system of mode of production - e.g. whether they are land owners or landless.

By my own objection can be summarized briefly in this. Together with what is stated above, I would argue that there is vagueness and imprecision in definition and employment of the approaches' basic key terms - choice, strategy and maximisation. To support this argument I draw attention to the fact that Barth has applied the three key concepts to three different levels of analysis: for the Swat individual (52), for the entrepreneur (53) (as an activity and not a person) and for the Pur household unit (a sub unit of a social system) (54). Each of the three (individual, activity and social sub units) chooses between alternatives rationally, adopts

(51) Ibid p.30
(52) Barth, F. Political Leadership among the Swat Patrnan
(53) Barth, F. "The Role of the Entrepreneur
(54) Barth puts it this way 'Individual actors and individual management units have purposes and make allocations accordingly' Barth, F. On the Study of Soc. Change p.26.
the strategy that secures the greatest degree of maximisation for it. I hold that such a usage entails a theoretical mistake from the start, as they are conceptually three different levels of social reality. This explains the apparent unbridged discrepancy between the theoretical tool and social reality as a totality of interrelationships. The evidence I offer here is that when an alternative model was used to explain Barth’s own material, the new model was more realistic and it gave better understanding of the situation than that of Barth. (35)

On attempting to use Barth’s approach for the analysis of my own material I was struck by the following shortcomings. The most remarkable and most serious shortcoming is the failure of the approach to comprehend the total web of social relationships in one analytical framework. It is true that part of these relationships are discussed and analysed, but they are not discussed in relation to the other factors and relationships in the same social system. The individual Swat, for example, is not analysed at all in relation to other Swat individuals who happen to be in the same social position as his. How is the Landless Swat individual related to his other landless fellows (as a category or group) does not seem to be Barth’s concern. The entrepreneur and the

(35) Awad applied the Marxist perspective to reinterpret the Swat material.
Fur household units alike, are not discussed as parts in
a system that comprised other entrepreneurs and household units —
whose actions reflect on one another in an effective way. The
unit (be it individual, activity or social sub-unit) is usually
taken for itself as if operating in a vacuum. Also, all units,
on their different analytical levels, are assumed to behave in
the same manner. Then, it is hardly the case that he shoul'd
not arrive at conclusions similar to those of the structuralists
whom he was attacking. In fact the way he looks at things and the
way he analyses social situations leads one to conclude "as's
position in the traditional structuralist way — to end up with
a state of equilibrium. In the final analysis the Swat situation
is summed up in V... a two party system develops, composed of
small lineage splinters permanently pitted against each other,
while the rest of the population aligns as clients of leaders in
each of these two parties"(56). We are required to be content to
know that the Fur household unit has preferred to be a bonding
unit rather than a farming unit. The final outcome of such a weak
and sterile approach is a closed social system and not a dynamic
on-going one. We never know how if this two party system is

(56) Barth, F. Anthropological Models and Social Reality
Pp. 15-26
going to change, and it should definitely be the case; if it is a dynamic changing system we do not have the least idea about the possible course of change judging from the interplay of factors we are observing. How the Pur household unit changes in relation to other household units or other factors in the society is something that is not allowed for in the Barthian perspective.

In the Pur example the situation is depicted as if the household structure-transformed into a herding unit- has arrived at a station awaiting for what is next, the new form of the household unit structure. It, the situation, is not analysed as a one dynamic ongoing total situation. The reason of such an attitude lies, in my view, in one assumption. In his whole analysis Barth assumes and takes for granted the differential and unequal positions of the interacting elements. Social elements and factors in any society have differential access to resources (or means of production, in the Marxist sense). In their reciprocal interaction, the starting points are not the same for all actors; hence, the resultant is not the same for all of them again is also differential. Asad has been able to demonstrate forcibly how differential acquisition of land—something that changes and develops over time-enables us to see the Swat System as an open, ongoing system.
In the entrepreneur's case no attention is paid to the fact whether the entrepreneur is originally in an advantageous position with regard to other people in the system or not. For does it seem interesting for Barth to consider how the new allocation of resources maintains or affects, mildly or seriously, the 'old' state of affairs with respect to resources allocations. We do not know at all what particular for household units are adopting herding and those which are not - nor are we in a position to discover, from Barth's material, the impact of their initial position on their later choices. Also, the differential effect, due to differential mode of action of various household units with essentially differential access to resources - on the overall social system is something that Barth gives little time, or no time at all, to dwell upon. This is hardly a logical conclusion if we examined the type of questions Barth addresses himself to.

In his generative model, who stated the resulting patterns of behaviour is analytically irrelevant for him - as we mentioned. In the study of the entrepreneur Barth declares "what we did (in the study of the entrepreneur) was to ask, not what makes the entrepre-

neur, but what does the entrepreneur make?" (57). Then, it is not strange at all to discover that Barth has actually missed the crux of the matter for the sake of some unrelated processes (with no strong analytical foundation).

(57) Barth f. On the Study... p. 29
When Barth and his other colleagues took pains to investigate the role of the entrepreneur in Northern Norway they had, in effect, overlooked what seems to be the 'core' of the problem in that social setting. Hence, in my opinion, they have missed the 'essence' of the matter. To substantiate my argument let us go back and see if we have overlooked. Barth confesses, in passing, that the 'traditional' inequality in economic relations between the various ethnic, cultural and economic groups in Northern Norway is confirmed and maintained in a new form leading to increasing awareness of dependence, marginality, and inferiority of certain ethnic and economic groups. These ethnic and economic groups, Barth admits, must enter into pre-determined, proper channels of communication, which implies the development of an organisational apparatus of considerable complexity, which they are linguistically and culturally ill-prepared to staff. Instead of asking questions about what these groups are, how they are related, and how they interact differentially according to the three factors mentioned - economic dependence, ethnic distinctiveness and peripheral location - Barth's interest lies in answering other questions the answers of which do not depict the setting as one of inequality; what does the entrepreneur make? After trying to

(58) Barth, V. : The Role of the Entrepreneur pp. 15-16
convinced me the setting is really appropriate and suitable for entrepreneurial activities. We are informed that the entrepreneur's significant role is in mediating in a situation where new links are being created between local communities and central or national organizations. To understand the entrepreneur's role is it not important to know who is dominating and controlling the central organizations? Do all the entrepreneurs in all these ethnically, culturally and economically diversified groups act in the same way? Is it not possible that all the entrepreneurs, despite their ethnic and cultural differences in origin, act as entrepreneurs in the economic sense - to the extent that we can lump them together in one category against the economically less privileged and the partially socially alienated groups? The sole goal Barth seems to be after is to prove that the entrepreneur is a broker!

I have found it necessary to ask some questions similar to those asked above when I was analyzing my field material. Going through the material of the thesis which is about introduction of an agricultural scheme in a village in Northern Sudan. It is

(59) The Role of the Entrepreneur p.16
evident that some groups are benefiting more than the others from the new economic changes opened up with the coming of the scheme. My argument is very simply that actors who are in a position to benefit more have not been able to do that because they acted as entrepreneurs changing the course of the value flow in the economic spheres in the community. To understand the course of events, that is, to have a dynamic view of the situation, in Kali — the village I am studying — it was important to see who got access to what and how well he uses it successfully, or not, in later situations.

Such a perspective is more fruitful in that we observe the emergence of new groups, and the dynamics of why this is so. Moreover, the analysis will not stop at the point where the new emerging group solidifies and takes shape. Analysis is of open ended nature because access to capital, land, information, etc., is never a rigid process. Some people and groups lose and some gain more and more in terms of these items — capital, land, information, etc. — according to the differential interplay between the different social factors. The whole social structure may change according to the new allocations which are not haphazard but a legitimate outcome of specific historical socio-economic processes. If I used Barth’s perspective, I would be just content with the rise of particular members of the community, labelled as entrepreneurs, and how their new unique methods will be
'copied' by the rest of the society. In other words, I would have missed a lot by not considering the system in its totality and how it worked as a whole - both on the empirical and abstract level.

In conclusion I say that for individual/group problem the analysis of my material has proved to me that the freedom of individuals to choose, as an absolute thing, is a myth. The overall historical socio-economic setting plays the principal role in determining the individual's social activities as a person in a particular social context. As for the actual/ideal question, no doubt that cultural values are greater than the individual and they affect his course of action; nevertheless, it is grossly misleading to believe that they are its sole determinants - otherwise we will never know how change occurs. It is better rather, analytically speaking, to consider both cultural values and course of action as mutually interdependent and that they are in a state of direct: each of them reflecting on the other. The actual mechanism of the interplay process between the two can only be detected and known after investigating specific and concrete empirical social contacts. The final note I would like to make here is that to have a dynamic representation of social reality it is
not enough to study and analyse some social processes alienated from the remaining factors in the society; values and resources, material or immaterial, are not the same for all members of the society, they are unequally distributed; the nature of such a disparity, resulting from historical socio-economic processes gives us more insight and widens our knowledge further about the situation under examination. We are furthermore, standing on firmer ground to generalize and even predict, for the near future at least, the course of events as deduced from what we observe of the interrelationships between individuals and factors. It is then possible to have the past, the present and the future interlinked dynamically as one process. The picture thus obtained contains elements that are in an ongoing mutual interaction (60). Thus, the partial and timeless Barthian perspective with its dilemmas - is surpassed. The system in this case is an open one and not closed. 

A final word is that I do not have here in the thesis that I have answered all the questions I raised at the beginning of the introduction, and it has not been my aim to do so. I think, however, the perspective through which I handled the situation gives more meaningful conclusions, and it renders the situation more understandable. Finally, I hope the analysis of my material bears and gives clues that support my argument.

(60) It is of course conceivable that a model that contains factors that all of which are in a state of influx at the same time is not possible to construct - at least given the state of our knowledge as it is.
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

GENERAL BACKGROUND

This introductory chapter is intended to give a general background that would help in putting subsequent events in their right perspective. The chapter consists of three sections and a conclusion. The first two sections survey some of the marked historical and geographical aspects, respectively. But since both historical and geographical aspects can only be discussed in wider contexts, the description I give in the two sections is in fact a description of the whole region that extends north of Khartoum in general, and between Shendi and Atbara towns in particular. The salient features of Keli's (the village of the study) physical layout and social characteristics are discussed in the third section. A brief summary at the end of the chapter stresses the main points that need to be emphasized.

General:

Of the then nine provinces of the Sudan is what was formerly called the Northern Province. Its name coincides with the geographical position it occupied — as it lay in the northern part of
the country. Roughly speaking, it extended from the sixth
es, including Sabaqa Gorge, in the South to the Egyptian frontier
in the far north. The former province ranked second to the largest
province in the Sudan—Darfur—its area being 447,07 sq. km(1).
The province is a wide extensive sand-sea except for the narrow
green strip flanking the river on both sides, and the various
wails and thores that run across the extensive bare lands. The presence
of the river Nile has saved the region from being described as
absolutely arid. The Nile provided bare means of support for permanent
human existence. However, it remained the sole supporter of liveli-
hood of the majority of the sedentary population. The Nile, more over,
has been, throughout history,... a route way followed by camel
caravans, sailing vessels and lately by a railway, along which people
and ideas have penetrated(2).

History:
The Northern Province is regarded as the most ancient place in
the history of the Sudan. Soudi area has been a place for seve

(1) Ministry of Culture and Information: The Northern Province:
Human Activities and Natural Resources (in Arabic), Khartoum,
1974 p.7

(2) Lebon, J.N.: Land Use in Sudan, The World Land Survey,
conflicts and wars for its strategic military and commercial site for thousands of years.

The inhabitants of the region over-stress their 'pure' Arab descent. Within the Arabised section of the Sudan dwellers of the region belong to the Jaaliyyin group. The term Jaaliyyin denotes two meanings: one is general, the other restricted. In the general sense the term includes all riverain groups between Dongola and the sixth cataract (Sabalaga) in the restricted sense it is applicable to the Jaaliyyin proper living between the Sabalaga and Atbara. The Jaaliyyin, in both senses, claim descent from al-babas, Prophet Muhammad's uncle, through their eponymous ancestor Ibrahim Jaal. The Jaaliyyin proper category comprises innumerable smaller sections. What concerns us here is that the

(3) For more details about Napata and Karo (Their rise, fall and prominence) see, for example, Shinnie, P.L. The Fall of Karo in Kush Vol. XIII, 1975 p.80; and Haycox, B.G. Towards a Better Understanding of the Kingdom of Cush (Napata-Karo) JEA Vol. XXI, 1968.

(4) A fact that is not historically verifiable.

control of Shendi, the Jaaliyyin proper's capital, had been in the hands of the Sa'adab section of the Jaaliyyin proper from the sixteenth century up to the Turkish invasion in 1823. Their dominance arose out of their military ability to control the diverging trade-routes that crossed the town of Shendi.

The occupation of Shendi meant control over all trade paths to Western and Eastern Sudan, and Egypt. Therefore, competition over the control of the town resulted in bloody events that have left their marked prints up till now. I will take only two of these events as they have direct bearing on the present demographic and economic features (together with some other factors). One of the incidents occurred during the first year of the Turkish occupation, the second during the Mahdiyya epoch.

In 1824 a highly equipped Turko-Egyptian army - judged by the military standards of that time - invaded the Sudan for a two-fold goal: gold and slaves (to be recruited in the Turko-Egyptian army). When the army reached Shendi, the town was under the region of Mak (King) Mir of the Sa'adab section of the Jaaliyyin proper. The demands made by the Turkish army under,
Ismail son of Egypt's Viceroy, seemed too much for the Ja'aliyyin; the number of slaves and amount of gold seemed impossible to Nek Mir. Nek Mir's bitter feeling doubled by the intolerable arrogance of the Turks. In consequence, Ismail lost his life — he was burned alive — for the insult he directed to the absolute ruler of the Ja'aliyyin proper at the time, Nek Mir. The Turks retaliated ruthlessly and severely; their punishment befall all the Ja'aliyyin indiscriminately. Thousands were killed, and some other thousands were sent to Egypt as captives. The rest of the terrified Ja'aliyyin either took refuge in the north, Berber, or scattered aimlessly escaping the merciless hard blows of the avenging Mamluk. The result of this was a temporary but severe underpopulation of the region which lasted for a considerable period of time. Another consequence had to do with the destruction of the economy of the Ja'aliyyin proper — an economy that rested on trade and agriculture to a lesser degree.

The second event happened towards the end of the Nahdiyyin. At that time Khalifa Abdullah, Mahdi's successor, faced a difficult situation both internally and externally. Internally, he had serious

(6) Robinson, Mir, the Last King of Shendi SMM III 1905 p.105
conflicts with some prominent figures of his policy-makers and revenue people, in general, and he lost trust in them; externally, the Anglo-Egyptian army was approaching the Sudan to recapture it. The Ja'aliyyin, suspected by the Khalifa for a number of reasons, were asked to evacuate al-Matamma - a Ja'aliyyin strategic town - and cross the river to the western bank so as to facilitate the movement of the Khalifa's army led by Mahmoud wad Ahmad. The Ja'aliyyin proper rejected the idea on the ground that they should not leave their land and women to be defended by 'strangers'. This was a turning point in their relationship with the Mahdiyya though they adhered to Mahdiyya at first; at this point they turned into stubborn anti-Mahdiite and they even went as far as making the military help of the creeping Anglo-Egyptian invading army. The Ja'aliyyin, being less equipped with military weapons, were utterly defeated by Mahmoud's army that was originally equipped to meet the Anglo-Egyptian army. Two thousands of the Ja'aliyyin were killed and once again terror and agony dominated over the seemingly ever-cursed region (7). The population of the region was reduced to the state of destitution in both the number of males and economic.

(7) For the description of the battle and the reasons behind it see Intelligence Reports: Egypt June-July 1897.
activity - which ultimately affected their livelihood.

With the establishment of the colonial administration in the Sudan inter-regional wars and conflicts came to an end. This was further consolidated by the fact that with the turning of the century Shendi lost its importance as a trade centre. More teleiyyin males had to emigrate out of the region in search of livelihood - taking trade as their favourite occupation in the main throughout the Sudan.

The geography of the region:

The former Northern Province lay between latitudes 16° and 18° N. and Longitudes 30° and 36° E. The nature of the area would have been a perfect definition for 'aridity' if not for the presence of the Nile. Flanking the Nile to the north of Athara is an utterly desert zone with no signs of life except for the narrow strip by the river. However, some wadies and waha, of significance to the teleiyyin nomadic groups, do exist. To the east of Shendi town lies

wadi al-Hawad, the largest cultivable wadi in the area during good wet seasons only; even some Ja'aliyyin sedentary groups—mostly landless—utilise the wadi, through cultivation, if rains are exceptionally good. In case where the wadi is cultivated, dura, the stable subsistence crop, is grown. Other streams and Khors on both eastern and western banks are of minor economic importance as they rarely, if ever, hold water for long periods of time; instead they lose themselves in sandy wastes. Another point that should be mentioned in this connection is that numerous basins are spread all over the area. These basins represent former sections of the river bed which are now gradually slitting up; they are conditionally cultivable, during high floods only. Shendi area has a great number of these basins with an average size of 6,000 feddans.(9)

"Throughout the Sudan there is broad correlation between the amount of rainfall and the height, diversity and thickness of the vegetation that it supports(10). In the extreme northern parts of the Sudan rainfall approaches negligibility; it slightly

(9) Most of the information in this section is based on the material in Haroun's book. Barbour, op. cit. p. 135 ff.

(10) Barbour, op. cit. p. 62
increases southwards. Though Shendi area experiences relatively heavier rainfall compared to other northern parts yet it is still insufficient for supporting systematic agriculture. Plants and trees of the acacia type prevail in the area such as, karaj, sund, bidan, akbar, etc. [11]. The general scene exposes the following features: scattered low trees and bushes alternating with treeless areas; and away from the river natural vegetation is deceptively dense especially in the sandy areas of the east. Herbs during the rainy season may occur in places either without any woody vegetation at all, or more usually, with available scatter of scrub bushes up to two meters high, interspersing bare areas. Sand dunes exist in two forms: either fixed or moving. The moving ones (sand baracanu) will consequently result in desert - creep. Their asserts that desert - creep problem is becoming increasingly serious, and that it endangers agricultural lands and hence the lives of both the human and the animal population [13]. In brief it can be said that the area has such poor soil and little rainfall [14] that it supports very little vegetation; that

[12] See ibid p.22
[14] The amount of rainfall the region receives during the wet season is 64 mm. maximum - it falls to 5-4 mm in the last month of the wet season.
physical conditions, all in all, are harsh and rather inhospitable.

We end the section by saying that there are three major seasons in the year: shita (winter), saif (summer) and Kharief (rainy season).

Heli Village: Physical and Social Characteristics:

At a distance of forty kilometers, approximately, to the north of Shendi town, on the left bank of the Nile lies Heli, the village of our study. A pumpy, dirty, but notormer, road, traversed by sandy points every now and then, connects the small village with Shendi, the third to the biggest town in the newly born Nile Province. To be more precise, the road actually leads to al-Watamna village town. Al-Watamna is linked to Shendi by a ferry boat that works for twelve hours a day (from six in the morning up to six in the evening). This is not to imply ease of accessibility. Two buses only—both of which start at three o'clock at dawn—carry Heli people to al-Watamna and Shendi. A substantial number of the passengers to Shendi is confined to those having urgent matters in the town—e.g. to buy something from its market, or to settle some administrative problems. Those who wish to come to Khartoum must take the same bus to Shendi and from there take
the Khartoum bus. Otherwise, those who want to pay a visit to some distant village in the region, have to wait for long hours for the casual and uncertain lorries that carry goods between Port Sudan and Khartoum.

Shendi area consists of clustered villages set in an almost continuous line beside the river Nile on either bank. Koli is one of these clustered villages whose number may amount to twenty five villages between Shendi and Atbara. The distance between any two villages is usually not more than two kilometers in average. People move between these villages for a number of reasons. On different occasions they exchange visits with relatives; for example, in marriage or death ceremonies, or when paying their respects to the tomb of a religious man. Also, people's mobility may be increased in pursuit of economic activity e.g. attending village weekly markets (Nkniyia, for instance), or the movement of agricultural labourers in very few cases. It is worthwhile giving below a brief description of the Nkniyia weekly market as this market is one of the conspicuous features of the region.

The Nkniyia market is held on Tuesdays. It is about ten minutes' drive by car from Koli village. It has permanent shop-
buildings in mud; they sell consumer goods. In days other than Tuesdays the market is almost dormant and remains active on Tuesdays only. All the western bank villages between Shendi and Atbara take part in the activity. Different reasons can be given to explain why people participate. Some people come to buy or sell sellers of locally produced foodstuff or handicrafts - or buyers of imported goods that may not be found in the home village (e.g. cloth). Many people wait impatiently for market day to come. It is not the economic reason that makes them eager. The market is a chance to break the monotony of village life. In Kikuyya one meets different people and exchanges talk with them. Others find in the mariga (local liquor) houses at the back of the market, a place of amusement, and where they can enjoy their leisure time free from the rigid values of their village; rigid values that inhibit the making and drinking of mariga.

Another place of some importance to Kali is al-Norah village. Taking a southerly direction, al-Norah lies at a distance of about thirty kilometers from Kali, al-Norah is rapidly flourishing, socially and economically speaking. A privately owned small textile factory, whose products are highly demanded both in the region and country-wide, is one of the characteristic features of al-Norah.
The services of the clean, but rather small, hospital at al-Jorah is indispensable to all western-bank villages, Keli included. People would attend that hospital in cases of emergency, or when referred by the medical assistant in Keli dispensary. Also the police station situated there extends its services as far as Mikkiryia; and Keli people report to it any serious cases that demand police intervention (e.g. theft by outsiders).

Not only have Keli people contacts with the western side villages, but they also have relations with the eastern bank villages. About three kilometers eastward of Keli there is a ferry boat that carries people and things across the Hila to the eastern side. Opposite to Keli, on the right side of the river, lies Kaboshiyya village, one of the largest villages in the whole eastern bank. Movement between Keli and eastern villages can be either for mutual social visitation or to pursue some economic interests. Kaboshiyya is specifically important for Keli for the following reasons. It has a very big weekly market - on Wednesday - in which Ja'aliyyin nomads sell part of their animals and animal products. Also, all commercial lorries that go
between Port Sudan - Sudan's sole port - and Khartoum with Kaboshiyia. A third reason for the significance of Kaboshiyia for Keli is that a big railway station is in Kaboshiyia; passengers from Keli who desire to take the train to Khartoum have to take it from Kaboshiyia railway station.

The present location of Keli village is very old. There is evidence that this same place has been inhabited since the Third century A.D. (15). The present village lies to the west of the Nile, two Kilometers away. The village takes an elongated shape extending in a north-south direction. It is divided by a main dirty motorable road into an eastern and a western part. All the houses, except three in red brick, are built of mud. The general outlook of the village, in comparison to neighbouring villages, betrays the relative prosperity it enjoys. The apparent prosperity is not a consequence of a flourishing local economy as will be indicated later. At the first look it appears that - and this impression may continue for some time - people of Keli display egalitarian attitudes. On closer examination the truth is revealed in that some actual latent economic differentiations do exist between people. This, presence of economic differentiations, has significant

(15) Shimmin op cit. 85.
implication for the analysis of later developments. Like many northern Sudanese villages, Keli has many smaller shops selling consumer goods distributed throughout the village. Necessary amenities, mainly electricity and pipe water, are not available; water is drawn from hand-dug wells outside the houses all over the village. Kerosene lamps are used for lighting. The only mosque in the village, old as it is, hidden in a cluster of old houses in the north-western corner of the village.

Keli people belong to the Arab/Muslim category in the Sudan, and they claim to be of a Ja'aliyyin proper origin. My own estimate of the population of the village gives a total of 600 males and over 1,000 females residing at the village during my stay (including male and female children); all of whom are Muslims and all claim an Arab descent. All Keli people, with the exception of very few, trace descent to the apical grandfathers who are assumed to be brothers. Hence comes the claim made by Keli people that they are Kinshen (ahl). Three kinship groups are identified by the Kellab (Keli people), using descent and residence criteria to be forming the 'pure' and 'original' Kellab inhabitants. These categories are the Haydrab, the Ashaneeg, and the Darashab.
Each of these categories is not confined to one particular place within the village but, instead, is scattered throughout the village. Nevertheless, in each of the village quarters - Kinadirra, Ukna and Gandata - there is a core of the three Kinship divisions coexisting with other divisions. There are other minor groups of people who originally came from neighbouring villages a long time ago and who have been totally incorporated in the village social life. The number of the minor groups is restricted to not more than five families of a Bedrar and Uwadiyya origin (both of which relate to the Khatib by Kinship as very distant relations - more than fifteen generations in depth).

Cunnison asserts that the use to which social anthropologists put genealogical data depends on the way in which these can be related to facts of contemporary sociological significance. After collecting a large body of material on genealogical relations in Kali I found that, during the analysis of my material, such relations did not play any significant role in affecting the social situation at the period of the preliminary stages of the scheme in Kali. To explain this furthermore the following discussion is...

presented. Keli people placed little value in tracing their
genealogical links. A Kaliabi (singular of Kaliab) would
normally enumerate his ancestors to five generations deep.
However, with the help of a written pedigree (nisha) fifteen
to twenty generations could be enumerated. Few individuals
kept these nisbas through inheritance, but they were not
utilized at all, and unless one asked insistently he would not
get access to them. In the nisha I was able to get hold of the
relationship between the different kinship divisions - Haydrab,
Ashaneeg and Darashab - are shown, and mentioned, to meet at
two apical ancestors, Abu Haydar and Abd al-Kabier. The Haydrab,
descendants of Abu Haydar, were the first to arrive to the
village. The Darashab, on the other hand, form a segment of the
Haydrab division; when this took place is not known in either
written or oral history. The Ashaneeg, the third category, claims
ancestry from AbdKabier, brother of Abu Haydar. It may look
contradictory to say that these kinship divisions do not have much
significance in the social interaction between the different
individuals in the village while stating that the divisions have
specific names, which may suggest that these formations are effective
social groupings. The reason why these labels Haydrab, Ashaneeg
and Darashab are still maintained can be attributed to certain
historical reasons. By the turning of the century the British colonial administration in the Sudan, as in many parts of Africa, revived and gave meaning and substance to 'native' social formations (e.g. tribes) to assist in effective administration with minimum costs[17]. Hence, concentration on knowledge of kinship links as a means through which one got access to certain economic and social privileges[18]. In Fell kinship section shaikhs (leaders) were empowered to collect taxes and carry out some administrative roles under the direct supervision of the British administrative officer. To facilitate the smooth functioning of the machinery, the British encouraged striking of clear-cut lines to be drawn between kinship groups (along partrilineal line).

This was further consolidated by the relative importance of agricultural lands at that time in the region; through inheritance every division had its own land (not held collectively but privately by individual members). With the passing of the British colonial system and the relative unimportance of agricultural land as a means

(17) Bakheit, J.N. The British Administration and the Nationalist Movement in the Sudan (in Arabic) - Translated by H. Al-Hayd, Dar al-Tayyara, Khartoum, 1972 p.35

of subsistence, the whole set up of the administrative machinery based on kinship has become meaningless - as it has no function to play, nor is it supported by any material economic base. Bailey's concept of 'normative' pragmatic(19) interrelationship is perhaps, useful here. On the 'normative' level these kinship divisions are acknowledged by the Kalab, while on the pragmatic level they are not used as principles of social organization, unlike the Sufa's case reported by Ahmad where patrilineal descent ideology is recognized as an organizing principle of the society(20). Nor do any of the kinship divisions - Haydrib, Ashaneeg and Barashab - entitle any one to specific economic or otherwise privileges. The individual is involved in social interaction with his other co-villagers, on the different levels of social interaction, not as a member of a kinship unit. Kinship ties are made use of in family affairs i.e. in the domestic sphere - for example if one wants to get married his close agnates are consulted (father and father's brothers);


(20) Ahmad, A. M op cit p.82.
Inheritance, according to the Islamic rules, can take place on either side of the parents or the spouse. A family member may represent his brothers, if absent, on different social occasions (marriage or death) where money is exchanged as rotating credit (inform of financial help).

On the other hand, these divisions are not territorially based and their kinship links are diffuse. They did not have a strong material base to arise as effective social formations. Individuals claiming relation by kinship to any of the divisions do not form in any sense a corporate group as defined by Goody. None of the three divisions has, for example, a single legal personality, nor does it perpetuate itself; nor does it possess a joint estate with communal rights, to mention but some of the characteristics of a kinship as a corporate group.

In the final analysis, the named three kinship divisions are not occupying differential positions stratification-wise. Economic differentiation is not based in any way on kinship criteria. However, kinship relations are expected to be evoked in the new situation generated by the introduction of the agricultural scheme.

and the creation of new sources of wealth that will contribute to the formation of the new socio-economic groups in Kali. In other words, I expect, paradoxically, with the new economic differentiation, the importance of kinship relations will be revived, at least for a short period of time, to be exploited as a source in the competition over the new economic chances - mainly acquisition of agricultural land in form of tenancies in the scheme.

For example, is a primary school head master, his son and five of his two brother's sons are also teachers either in primary schools or General Secondary Schools in Kali I... Seven teachers from one family in a small village. The special position occupied by the teachers, as a group, in a village with large illiterate population makes them potentially influential to identify themselves through the idiom of kinship as being Ahansag may give them extra power as individuals for the movements they intend to take; or it may not be the case, depending on the circumstances and the gain or loss they may get by identifying themselves in these terms. On the other hand '3', of the Darashab

(22) I am inclined, for certain reasons, to use letters to stand for the names of actual actors throughout the thesis.
tenancies; he may, probably, resort to kinship identification or not, depending on where he gets more, and which of the attitudes would safeguard his economic interests. So, the diffuse insignificant, but to a very limited 'purely' social –i.e. non-economic and non-political – kinship divisions (see diagram I) may be given importance so as to be utilized as a new resource in the competition generated by the scheme economic chances.

Fig. I

(23) II = Hayrabs; (D); Darsahab; (A) Ashaneeg.
From this figure it is quite evident the ego has diffuse
relations with all kinship divisions entailing reciprocal social
obligations, inheritance etc.; though the patrilineal line is
much stressed, the matrilineal line is also significant as the
second set of preferred marriage is the MBSH.

Of the social characteristics that need be mentioned
from the start, the first thing that strikes the new arrival
to the village is the absence of the bulk of its able-bodied
male youth - only the old men, women and children are the core
of the village population. Migration on a large scale has been
a recurrent social feature in the region over many decades for
a multiplicity of reasons - social and natural - as will be
illustrated in the coming chapters. It suffices here to state
that the non-availability of economic activity that could support
the population has a direct push factor. The only possible means
of livelihood is farming; but floods have failed for quite
a considerable number of years, plus the original problem of
scarcity of agricultural land and its fragmentation through
Islamic inheritance rules. Migration has been mainly to Khartoum
and the Southern Sudan. In Khartoum Nati emigrants engage in petty
occupations and are, thus, economically unable to take their families to Khartoum. Also, the regular remittances are not large sums of money. On the other hand Keli emigrants to the South are mainly engaged in trade and commercial activity. They are by far more better - off and the amounts of money they send are greater than that sent by Keli's emigrants in Khartoum. The point to be born in mind here is the economic differentiation between the emigrants in Khartoum and those in the South. (24)

Practically, again, Keli people emphasise, through different ways, that they highly cherish egalitarianism. In fact the wealthy people, whenever they are in the village become very cautious as not to offend, publicly, this value. In the following chapters it will be explained how misleading this is; this is only an apparent and 'superficial' social phenomenon - real economic differences do exist, between Keli people; the value of egalitarianism is only functional to keep the social system functioning smoothly (the point will be clarified and elaborated in Chapter VII)

(24) Hereafter I use the term South to denote the Southern Provinces of the Sudan (Upper Nile, Bahr El Ghazel and Equatoria).
Conclusion:

The historical, geographical and social aspects of Keli village are discussed in a general way to give the reader the essential background for later discussions. Two points emerge from the historical review: (1) the society's economic life rested on trade; (2) the society witnessed bloody events that have affected its present social set-up (male/female maladjusted ratio and migration of the bulk of its labour manpower). Geographical conditions (poverty of soil, falling floods etc.) combine with the historical ones to add to the intensity of migration.

The three kinship divisions have been shown to play a very little role in the village's social organization. Kinship principles are not principles on which the organization of the society depends.

Another feature of the village's social set-up is the absence of its able-bodied males; the resulting demographic pattern has affected the society in a certain way egalitarianism, despite the deep but latent economic differences, in my opinion, a function of this demographic pattern. The absence of a major economic means to depend upon within the village's boundaries adds to reinforce this false and apparent phenomenon egalitarianism. Within the
village all economic activities are restricted to subsistent living, no surplus is generated; hence, emergence of groups that are economically stratified was practically ruled out.
CHAPTER II

INTERNAL ECONOMY OF THE VILLAGE

The argument made in the previous chapter can be fully summarized by Holt's statement that described the social conditions that prevailed in the former Northern Province. Heavy pressure on the already scarce agricultural lands, in adequacy of rainfall, the general aridity throughout the whole area and political instability have made emigration a recurrent feature. The present chapter is just an elaboration and extension of the proposition. Below I will examine the economic alternatives open to individuals in Kell—which will determine the strength of economic potentials that have bearing on the social processes that followed.

Before the 1950s agricultural land had been an important economic asset around which many social activities revolved. Within the sphere of the village's local economic system agricultural land had been the major source of livelihood. Hence, ownership of

agricultural land represented economic and political status as well as social prestige. For some physical and social reasons agricultural land in Koli lost much of its social economic importance, since the establishment of the scheme, it has regained much of its previous value. Thus it would be difficult to appreciate later social developments without looking into means of ownership of land, its use, etc. from a historical perspective.

Non-farming economic activity occupies a lower position than farming in the village's economy. All non-agricultural activities pertain to subsistence type of economy, without any surplus that can be put in agricultural or non-agricultural economic enterprises, the non-agricultural economic alternatives. I have discussed are both in the public and the private sectors.

This chapter contains two sections. The first section with aspects of agricultural land economics; the second section examines non-agricultural activities.

1. Agricultural land:

Shendi area and areas along the Nile in general are the most populous parts of the Sudan\(^2\). The area which is actually

\(^2\) Barbour, R.J., op.cit p.135
inhabitable does not extend more than two Kilometers away from the river on both sides. Hence, the area's population density in the inhabited land is very high if compared to other parts of the country. Taking the high population density into consideration, good and fertile agricultural land is rather scarce. If we know that farming is the main occupation in Northern Sudan – especially after the disintegration of the area's trade centres then we should understand why land has been an economic factor that all people aspire to have.

Below I shall outline the historical phases and processes that have had direct impact on how some people have occupied an advantageous position in regards to acquisition of more tenancies in the newly established agricultural scheme we are examining. The following description of ownership and working of agricultural land, one should note pertains in the period prior to the 1960s. After 1960 floods fell short of the people's expectations - indeed they were extremely low. In the period between 1960 and the establishment of the scheme in the early 1970s, agricultural land had a peculiar economic position. It had an exchange value, i.e. it could be bought and sold for cash; yet its value as a means
of production declined. The produce it yielded was in the form of a subsistence crop, dura - the staple crop of the area. This is exactly opposite to the situation in the Gezira before the establishment of the Gezira Scheme. At that time the Gezira land did not have cash exchange value, but it did have use value. In Nelli land was exchangeable into cash but as a production factor it was not capable of producing surplus value under the existing technology. Nelli and the Gezira land are similar in one respect. In both of them land was not entirely control to the economy; that is, in the Gezira the economy depended on both land and cattle. In Nelli the village's economy immediately before the scheme was wholly dependent on the remittances sent by the emigrants. The introduction of the agricultural scheme in question into Nelli village has reversed the situation. Now land has use value but, officially, it is no longer exchangeable for cash.

During the Turkish era in the Sudan, the administration was oppressive in matters regarding taxes on agricultural lands. Taxes

were imposed both on the actually cultivated plots and the fallow. In cases of default in paying taxes, land owners were severely punished. They were either lashed or had their legs tied and their bodies hanged up side down. Many of the land owners had to run away and desert their plots. Apportionment and collection of taxes was left to the village's headmen, who were appointed by the Turkish administration. The abandoned pieces of land went into the hands of two categories of people: the merchants and Sheikhs (village heads) — the well to do people. Merchants and Sheikhs were the people able to pay the taxes; the rule was that the person who could pay the taxes of the plot, would have it registered in his name. So, the sheikhs had the opportunity to add more lands to their already acquired land. At that time there were three sheikhs representing the three kinship divisions described y in Chapter I. Hayrab, Ashaneg and the Darashab.

The Mahdiyya state lasted but for a very short period of time (1889 - 1923) during which many changes in acquisition of land took place. Many lands were allotted to loyal adherents of the Mahdiyya who were appointed as, prominent among these

(4) amir: a person who occupied an administrative position similar to the that of the local government officer now.
was the grandfather of (3), a present sheikh in Keli; the grandfather was also the head of the Darasahab.

The British colonial administration in its early days in the Sudan was preoccupied with land settlement in Northern Sudan. This was necessitated by the fact that the major goal for the colonial administration was to maintain peace and order in the country. Since land was a constant and increasing source of friction and litigation(5), it had to be dealt with outright. Thus, in the first year of the administration (1899), two land ordinances, organizing and controlling ownership of land, were issued. Land Committees consisting of land inspectors and two local 'notables' were immediately formed. The Committees guiding principle was that anyone who could prove and substantiate his claim of five years' continuous possession of the claimed piece, prior to 1899, would have the piece registered in his name. It is worthwhile mentioning that since people were scared by the inhabit events and battles in the area, one would expect that in the first years of the British rule it was mainly 'notables' (village sheikhs and wealthy people) who were the only people face and

(5) Report of the Land Registration Committee, Legal Dept (Sudan), Khartoum, 1929
The British were interested in seeking the collaboration of the local 'notables' to prove to the people that no radical change had taken place in the social set-up; and their collaboration was also sought for economic reasons. To please the notables land was occasionally allotted to them. The representations of the three kinship divisions - Haydrab, Ashaneeg and Darashab - were the administrative Sheikhs at the time. The 'notables' chose the best land; the land that lay close to the river (sagia land).

From the beginning the British administration recognised two types of land ownership: freehold(7) and government leased(8). The land acquired by the 'notables' was of the first type as

(6) Bakheit, J. M. The British Administration and the Nationalist Movement in the Sudan (in Arabic) - translated by H. Biyadi, Dar el-Cha'afa, Beirut, 1972 p. 55

(7) Freehold means, theoretically, that the owner has unrestricted rights over the land, and, theoretically too, to hold it indefinitely.

(8) Government leased land is owned rented by government at nominal rates; it may be long-term lease (50 years) or short-term lease.
sagia land is mainly freehold. The Ashanseq, however, came to the village some time later so they had little chance to get as much land as the two other ones. Based on the fact that the 'notables' got much land - and the best land at the same time - one would expect the rise of a group of landlords in Keli. This did not happen. Despite the fact that land was concentrated in few hands at first, through the Islamic Sharia system of inheritance land has passed down from generation to generation, being divided among a larger group of heirs at each generation level (Keli was a polygynous society, with increasingly high land fragmentation as a result).

For the purpose of the present analysis we can divide agricultural land into four types in Keli village: seluka, sagia, Karu and rain land. The seluka land comprises the land that lies between the surface of the river and the edge of the bank. It is cultivated when the flood falls, with no need for further irrigation; a seluka, traditional digging stick is used. The seluka land is considered either as an extension of sagia land, or it may be registered as a separate plot. Because of the relative ease of the cultivation process on
this type of land women and children might undertake the task. Men, too, could do it but usually they were not men of high social or economic rank; to some extent cultivation of seluka land was identified with the low social status of the person concerned.

Regarding the status of land registration, the bulk of the seluka land was privately owned and registered as freehold. Actual ownership of land varies greatly with respect to the size of plots. I have come across one person who owned as much as sixty ooda (9) ; on the other hand I recorded a case where twenty three people owned seventy four ooda only, i.e. with an average of 0.25 feddans per person.

Women according to the Sharia' law can acquire land through inheritance. If a woman was in need and she had no male guardian (10)

(9) ooda : a local land measure ; one feddan equals 12 ooda . One feddan = 1.058 acres . (Barbour op.cit. p.281)

(10) The male guardian is the father or elder brother, if the girl is unmarried; it is her husband if she is married; a widow will have her adult son assuming this role. The guardian represents the woman in all dealings, economic or otherwise, that involve males.
she could rent her plot, or she could cultivate it herself.
The rent was customarily on share-cropping basis. The ratio
of the share was not definite. For example, if the male
guardian was the woman's brother, she would pass all her land's
responsibilities to him; he would in turn give her part of the
product. No cash crop was grown in the seluka land. Only
subsistence crops e.g. dura and lubia - were grown. lubia
is used both by human and animal population - men eat the fruit
and the foliage is left for the animals as fodder. However, lubia
was regarded, when it is consumed by human beings, as an
inferior type of food. Dura, the staple crop, could also be
raised here. But it is hardly the case that these crops were
supplemented by additional amounts from other food sources. For
the last ten years floods have been very low resulting in reduction
of the seluka cultivable land. In fact during my stay in the
field, I saw only one man cultivating a small plot of less than
0.25 feddan of a seluka land.

The badia land, the second type of agricultural land, is
more important by far than the other three types. Badia land
is defined as the part that contains the high soil terraces above
the flood level and which was irrigable by the Badia (water -
wheel). Its importance derives from two things. First, it is highly fertile due to its position; secondly, almost all Sagia land is of freehold type of ownership. For these reasons Sagia land conferred more prestige and better economic position in the past. This is why it was largely possessed by former 'notables' of the village and of whose descendants is 'B' one of the present village sheikhs. Though there is strong evidence to show that holdings were of considerable size in the past\(^{(1)}\); in recent times the picture has much changed. Sagia land has suffered greatly from the process of fragmentation. Being a polygynous society as it was, Keli did not have big landlords. Agricultural land had been broken down into smaller fragments of holdings through the process of inheritance. To document this \(\beta\) I have recorded a case where ninety one persons owned ninety five acres; only; in other words, a person owned 0.089 feddans

in average. The ratio of land per person in the whole former in the Northern Province is given as 0.90 feddans \(^{(12)}\) While

\(^{(1)}\) Barbour op. cit. p.143

\(^{(12)}\) Thornton, D.S. : Regional Development: The Case of the Northern Province in Shav, D.J. (ed.) Agricultural Development in the Sudan, Philosophical Society of the Sudan, Khartoum 1966 (Vol. 2 pp. 24-47) ; p.28
fragments occur indefinitely in theory, in practice it does not. There is a limit beyond which plots could not be registered as separate pieces but they were registered as undivided shares (13). Of the disadvantages of fragmentation, beside being uneconomic, a person might have a sizeable amount of land but as dispersed plots. For example, one person owned about twenty qadä (1.33 faddans) but they were distributed into five non-adjacent plots. In such a case if the plots were far apart from one another, it became very difficult for him to work them himself; but, instead, he could give them out to some people who desired to rent them on share-cropping basis. The usual ratio of the land as a factor of production was 1/8 of the produce. The amount of the share was not always fixed and it depended on many factors. Brothers (full siblings and half siblings) and awlad 'um (PB's sons) came first in the list of preferred people. In case that any one of this category worked

on the plot the original owner would not be strict about this
1/8 share of the produce. The brother or wan um (PBS) might
hold the plot as long as the original owner was away without
giving him (the owner) anything (whether cash or part of the
produce) in return. The more distant was the relative, the
more strict was the owner about the share he got as a rent for
the plot.

In the ownership of Sagia, land there were many variations.
In rare cases one man might own a whole Sagia by himself.
However, the usual thing was that a Sagia (five feddans in size)
was owned by more than two people. In many a case a group of
tenants would gather to rent a Sagia plot on a share-cropping
basis (14). Dispersed Sagia land among a wide range of small
plot holders and cultivators as a general rule had led to non-
contractual links between tenants and small land owners — as there
were no large landlords in the period I am talking about. On the
other hand, many cultivators were the same people who owned small

(14) Thornton, B.S., op.cit. pp 55-56.
holdings and worked on them themselves either as separate fragments or as one plot consisting of many smaller plots. Thus in place of a contractual link basis, efforts could be joined in co-operation which - in the traditional Nagra system - depended on preference and kinship obligations; the full siblings and half siblings (especially in the patrilineal line) came first, followed by the father's brother's sons, then came the maternal uncles, and finally the descendants of the above category (with preference given to the male line), respectively. Nothing was obligatory about the arrangement and people were free to seek the best arrangement in their favour. The arrangement of working on some factors among which were (1) size of the plot - if the plot was big, the owner would prefer to lease it; (2) preference for brothers or not - i.e., whether one's relations with his brothers were good or not; (3) whether the land - owner was present or not - if he was not present, he would be less concerned with demanding his share, if the plot was in charge of one of his brothers or close kin.

Women owned shares in Nagra land - which they acquired through the Islamic inheritance rules. Women's ownership of land was only theoretical in many cases. The effective and actual
dealings that concerned a plot in question remained the responsibility of the nearest male guardian — father, or brother, or, in case of married women, husbands. The traditional 1/8 might be put aside for her, but usually the male guardian forgot about this on the basis that he undertook all of her living expenses — especially if she was unmarried, or if she did not have adult children. In theory, too, a woman had the right to dispose of her shares. In practice that was a job to be carried out by the male guardian. Women whose guardians were absent, and who were in a poor economic state, cultivated their own plots and took over the task of disposing of the produce.

Children, on the other hand, were expected to carry out light tasks when they were young. On reaching puberty they were given harder tasks of looking after the water-wheel's bulls' work and feeding. Older children were maltreated and harshly punished in case of negligence. They were given nothing in regard other than food and clothes. Many of the emigrants have told me — in personal interviews — that of the stronger reasons that drove them to emigrate was the way they were treated by their parents while they worked with them in the Nacija (water-wheel).
In the usual two - to - five feddans Sagia plot subsistence crops, mainly dura and maize, were raised; but on a very small scale, cash crops such as ful masri, (onions and vegetables were also grown. The quantity of these crops sold was really negligible and without surplus. Because of the small size of Sagia land plots and their fragmented nature - in addition to the fact that only subsistence crops were grown in considerable amounts - the rise of a capitalist group of big land owners was ruled out. No surplus was attained to be re-invested in agriculture or other economic enterprises.

Karu Land:

The third type of land, Karu, is defined as the land that was immediately behind the Sagia land and which was sometimes watered by rain, exceptionally by high flood, and when possible, by Sagia (15). It is a lowlying depression that is geographically known as a basin. Well basin - Karu - is about 11,000 feddans in size (16). The first survey and registration of Karu land

(15) Letter from Legal Secretary; in Thompson, C.F.: The Land Law of the Sudan, p. 852
took place in 1906. Karu land is regarded as second in rank to the Saria, because Karu was not freehold ownership (it is long-term, government-leased land for 99 years); and in the second place it was only cultivable when floods were fairly high — which was only occasionally. Since most of the Karu land was registered as government land persons in position of influence were not interested to acquire plots in Karu. Instead they preferred Saria land for reasons that have been indicated earlier. Karu soil was both regarded by the local population, and in fact it is, of lower grade (17). Fataria, a dura variety, grown in Karu land, was consumed by lower socio-economic groups.

Characteristics of Karu ownership are as follows. In Keli cultivable Karu area was something near to 500 feddans owned by 900 people approximately. More than 700 people (77.7%) individually owned less than two feddans. Not more than ten people (about 1.1%) owned over ten feddans in the Karu. But even

(17) Kheir has shown in his thesis that Karu land is of grade 3 or 4 type of land, and it approaches marginality. Kheir, cp. cit., appendix II.
those ten did not own that land as one plot of land but had it as dispersed pieces of land - fragmented over more than four non-adjacent places. This, in Kura land there were no landlords as such for the following reasons. One, the largest size of a Kura land piece possessed by one individual was below seventeen feddans - which is, economically speaking, insignificant. Two, the seventeen feddans were not concentrated in one place as one plot, but as more than four dispersed plots, i.e. highly fragmented. Three, because of drought conditions that prevailed during the sixties, land did not have use value - hence, could produce no surplus value either.

in Kura land women and children, through Islamic rules of inheritance, had their shares which were usually looked after by a male guardian. Neither of them could dispose of his shares without the consent of the male guardian.

The whole scene depicted above is, as I have mentioned, only applicable, as an effective system, in the period up to the early sixties, after which the system disintegrated due to the exceptionally low floods and insufficient rainfall. To illustrate this numerically, I copy the figures supplied by Barlow for the
size of area flooded in good and low flood for Shendi area in general (18) (Shendi area comprises nine basins).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shendi Basins</th>
<th>1938 very good Nile</th>
<th>41,000</th>
<th>Seddans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1941 very poor Nile</td>
<td>6,050</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This demonstrates how small the irrigated area during poor floods is. Now, it should be clear how discouraging conditions have been in recent years in Keli if we only recall that floods have been exceptionally low since the early sixties and even before.

For unreliability of the Nile floods and because of some physical reasons especially the *seddan* (a process resulting from the continuous change of the river's course with the effect that valuable land is lost), modern means of irrigation have been introduced. The area that was traditionally designated as Sagin land, in addition to some parts of the *Kara* land, has come to be irrigated by pumps. Pump irrigation was introduced in the

(18) Barbour, op. cit., p.142.
former Northern Province as early as the first year of the present century. In that year (1901) there were six pump schemes in the area along the Nile between Khartoum and Wadi Halfa. With the wide expansion of pump irrigation, the traditional Sagia (water-wheel) irrigation came to an end.

For example, in 1927 the number of Sagias was 9880 but dropped in 1969 to not available in the Northern Province (18). While in reasonable floods it was possible to irrigate two to five feddans by the Sagia, with the new pumps it has been possible to water an area of about 226 feddan in private schemes (20).

In Keli, at the time of the research, there were nine pumps, all of which were less than 3" in diameter, and were erected in the former Sagia land. Agriculture was in a state of destitution and the small cultivated plots were not well attended.

There were only two pumps in good order and actually working-

(18) Barbour, op. cit., p.142
(20) Ibi
at the time of research - out of the nine "schemes" (as they are called). One of the two "Schemes" had a size of not more than ten feddans that was owned by more than ten people. In this "Scheme" seven farmers working on share-cropping basis were engaged in subsistence farming. The second was also less than ten feddans and the land was registered in the names of more than ten people. Ten farmers shared the crop with 'X', the pump owner; half of the produce for 'X', and the other half for the farmers; and the expenditure was also shared mutually. In both "schemes" dura, maize and vegetables were grown.

The majority of the farmers were from outside the village. They came as casual labourers from a distant village called Jewair. The Jewair (of the Jewair village) had been known for long as skilled agricultural labourers (for reasons that do not concern us here). In agricultural seasons they spread all over the neighbouring villages seeking work. They are preferred more than other casual workers because they are industrious and because of their expertise.

Rain land, the fourth type, is confined to some areas lying to the North East of Shendi Town - on the right bank of the Nile.

It is a wadi called wadi al Hawad and it runs across the
Batana of North Eastern Central Sudan. The rain land of wad el Hawad is not registered at all, i.e. it is neither of freehold nor is it of long - or short -term lease ownership. It has been traditionally cultivated and people get access to it through customary rights - by continuous cultivation of a particular plot. Particular people were known to have been cultivating specific plots. When the British administration came into being, it found that specific groups from Shendi area had been traditionally cultivating these rainland plots according to certain customary arrangements. Each lineage had its customary growing plots. Members of the lineage, as nuclear families, also had their specific plots. But the usual thing was that the plot - in most cases uneconomic for more than one person - was left to one of the brothers - the one who remained behind while others were away; or the plot might be left for the most needy of the brothers. Litigation in rainland was informally dealt with by the traditional Sheikhs of the concerned villages or the elder members of the village or the lineage.

After exhausting all customary means, people might refer cases they wished to appeal to the local government administration at Shendi.
Wadi al-Nawad was conditionally irrigable in years of very good rainfalls only; something which has not occurred for a decade. The only crop grown in the rain land is dura — the quantity harvested has never reached the point of surplus. As a staple crop it is usually consumed by the cultivator's households. (cultivation in wadi al-Nawad has ceased to be practised for a very long time due to poor rain). In the above account I have given a brief survey of agricultural land and agriculture in general. The condition of agriculture did not seem promising. In 1974 and while the fieldwork was being conducted, farming did not count as a profitable career. The drought conditions of the sixties have contributed to the deteriorating situation, and have a feedback effect on the social conditions of large scale emigration. Also, the polygamous system in Hei in the past, assisted by the process of rules of inheritance, had resulted in making the already scarce agricultural land uneconomical. Fathers' maltreatment of their sons had led many to flee and desert farming. The revenue gained from farming was extremely low. In terms of values, agricultural labour was despised and women in their songs mock at agricultural labourers. (21) Below I present a case to show that farming was

(21) In these songs reference is made to the agricultural labourer's miserable appearance and vulgarity.
not paying off. The case of Akasha:

The present case covers two seasons of work in farming as a full-time occupation. In Shitwi (winter) season of 1973, Akasha agreed with the land owner (who was the pump owner at the same time) to rent his land on a share-cropping basis in such a way that the two shared the produce half and half. Akasha grew gush (22) and vegetables. He worked very hard and continuously for the three months of the agricultural season, his total share at the end was as follows:

The gush got him Le.10 while the vegetables were sold for

- Le.6. As he initially lacked capital, he had to borrow, throughout the season, Le.35 to maintain his household budget. In addition, and because of more need, he was forced to sell two goats (for Le.10) to supplement the inadequate cash to pay his debt. His actual loss thus became Le.35 + Le.10 = Le.45 - Le.10 - Le.6 = Le.27 plus what he might have earned if he engaged in some other occupation. To make up for the loss he sold a cow for Le.30; what remained with him after covering his loss was kept as pocket expenses while waiting for the next agricultural season. In the second season he chose to grow full maize and onions. The first

(22) When somebody grows any of the dura varieties or maize with the intention of selling the gush (foliage) he is said to be growing gush.
stages of agricultural preparations needed, of course, money, but he did not have any. He started borrowing once again. After three months of continuous concentration on farming, he harvested four ardebs (about 130 kg) of ful marri that he shared with the pump owner, two ardebs each; at the time one ardeb fetched Le. 14. Before computing his profits or loss, I should mention that he had borrowed Le. 45 to provide for his family during the three months. The yield of the onions was no better than the ful marri. He needed five pounds to harvest the crop which equaled ten ardebs. He had to request the debtor to accept the amount Le. 3 for an ardeb. The debtor anticipating that prices were falling, did not welcome the idea. Akasha had to transport the crop to the village; the process cost him another Le. 2. At the time of reporting the case, the price of onions was Le. 2 per ardeb. Akasha thought it better to store his share of onion and wait for a higher price. By so doing he ran the risk of losing the whole quantity because onion rots if it is kept for long. When I left the village the situation was not clear enough but it was quite evident that he was going to lose greatly.

This is an example that can be encountered in many cases.

It fits the general pattern that prevails in the whole area. For
Shendi-District as a whole Adam tells us that the net income of the farmer in this part from sale of jujube, wheat and dura is equal to Le.32 ( =50-80% of what he needs). He, the farmer, supplements this inadequate income by working in large agricultural schemes, as an agricultural labourer, or from the manufacture of traditional crafts, or he may get some support by breeding animals(23). The last three economic alternatives are absent in Keli area. One of the three reasons behind the deteriorating situation in addition, to failing floods and absence of the effective labour force, was, for example, the severe shortage of pump-fuel. Also I must add here that inefficiency and non-availability of skill in agricultural practices on the part of Keli village farmers, the majority of whom are very old and not professional farmers, is a point to be considered when talking about the poverty of agriculture.

In summary, one can say that just immediately before the scheme, agriculture was not profitable occupation, and it did not constitute a considerable portion of the economy of the village. Agricultural lands were left fallow and their owners refrained from

(23) Adam, F.H. op. cit. p.35
venturing in agriculture as an economic enterprise. The two agricultural "schemes" as are so called were not run on a profit basis, but they were for mere subsistence. The number of people depending on land for their livelihood was not considerable. Also, what the land owner, the pump owner, or the farmer got did not constitute a substantial income for any of them. (X) for example, depended on the produce of the "scheme" to supply his two large households. The small quantity of onions he grew, he sold in the Nkiniyyia market for very little revenue, which is insignificant, economically speaking, if it is to be re-invested in agriculture or other non-farming business.

Accordingly, agricultural land lost much of the previous importance and significance that had been attached to it. With the introduction of the agricultural scheme things have altered and land has regained some of its lost value. This has come about due to the principle according to which tenancies were distributed: they were given out on the basis of land ownership. To be eligible for a five feddan tenancy, the applicant should own six faddans in the Keru land, or, alternatively, one feddan of milk hur (freehold) land. This will be dealt with at some length
in chapter V. Now I proceed to discuss non-farming economic alternatives.

Section II Non-Farming Economic Alternatives

Within the village the rather small number of able-bodied men that have stayed behind might have two chances in the economic system of village in non-farming sector. A person could find a chance either in the public or the private sectors. The chances in the public sector were indeed very limited and few people were absorbed in it. There were four governmental schools - two primary and two general secondary employing about eight teachers from the village population. There were other four teachers from the village 'sons' who worked in neighbouring villages but had their permanent residence in Keli. About eight of the total number are 'S' and his brothers' sons only; socially and economically speaking, teachers rank high in Keli. They are thought of as knowledgeable people and their advice is often sought. The dispensary was yet another alternative in the public sector. Schools and the dispensary employed a number of tertiary staff attached to them as chafiras (watchmen), m arouslas (messengers) and
a cook in the boys general secondary school. But the number of all who were employed in the public sector did not exceed fifteen people. With the exception of the teachers and the medical assistant (from outside the village) those who made up the core of manpower in the public sector were rather old people whose ages were well over fifty, and whose monthly pay was about the minimum wage paid in the central public sector.(24)

In the private sector, though, there were more chances for employment, compared to those of in the public sector, yet they were also limited. The first occupation that seems economically appealing was shopkeeping if, and only if, the initial capital to start the business could be secured. It is a highly esteemed profession - as it was pursued by prophet Muhammad - and everybody who had a little capital aspired to undertake it. The result might be that "more individuals are engaged in trade than the amount of business warrants"(25). In Keli alone there were fifteen small shops distributed throughout the village. Not more

(24) The minimum wage in the Sudan's public sector is about Le,14
(25) Barbour op cit. p.139.
than four shopkeepers can be described as taking shopkeeping seriously as a means of livelihood and making a profit. They were the only ones who took shopkeeping as a commercial activity. The rest of the shops were meant just to keep those who ran them busy in one way or another. Socially shops play a significant role in the life of the village as will be explained later on in the next chapter. From the economic point of view, shopkeeping is not a profitable pursuit that could further be utilized in political contest in the village. Shopkeepers did not control the finances of any means of production in the village's economic system.

Other gainful occupations in the private sector were butchery, water-carrying and casual work. There were six butchers in the village out of whom only three worked regularly. In Keli butchers sold meat four times a week. On Tuesdays and Wednesdays meat was bought at Mikniyyia and Kaboşniyyia respectively. From these markets, and because of animal shortage in Keli, cattle, goats, and sheep were bought for the village's daily slaughter.

(26) These are weekly village-markets where men come from distant places either as sellers or buyers—see Chapter I.
A regular butcher got as much as about one Sudanese pound as an average daily profit from the sale of the one or two animals that he killed.

The daily quantity of vegetables that was brought to the village's market for daily sale was so small that it was almost negligible. Judged by local criteria, water—carrying stood as a significant alternative in the village's internal economy. Socially speaking, however, it was looked down upon as an inferior job; this is why the eight people taking it as a profession were marginal, both in the economic and the social sense. Water was drawn from a government-dug artesian well in the western part of the village and transported on a two-wheel barrel cart pulled by a mule. Rates varied according to distance from the well, and according to whether it was drawn from the artesian well or the traditionally dug wells amongst the village's houses. (Such wells are privately dug and for charity purposes, no rates are charged by their owners.) A water carrier might be able to get an average daily income of 50–70 pt, which is quite adequate for a small household. The rest of economic alternatives can be lumped together under the term 'casual work' or 'odd jobs'. This included traditional mud-building, plastering of house's outer walls with nisala (a mixture
of dung and earth left to ferment), making *angarcha* (local beds), earth carrying, etc. A casual labourer, if work was available, would get something between thirty to fifty piasters per day. But in most cases work was not continuous and the casual labourer had to stay idle for many days if not weeks. The number of casual labourers amounted to twenty-five people - a number that is not sufficient in peak times. For example, in July 1974 when demand for labour somewhat high since it was the time of harvest while at the same time construction of the Girl's Secondary School was in progress, even school students were employed at the rate of 40 pi. per day (higher than the rates in Khartoum). But casual work was not always taken this; at other time, the casual labourers suffered from unemployment.

Some remarks must be made before concluding the present Chapter. First, that occupations in the private sector are not restricted to any social, political or economic group in any sense. But, teaching, a public sector occupation, is predominantly taken by (2)'s family (he and his brothers' sons). Nor is it the case that taking an occupation in the private sector, or the public sector, unites the people employed in it in any way - except for the teachers who are further united by close kinship.
ties. Secondly, that women neither in the public sector nor in the private one. (with the exception of two women who sell breakfast meals to the school pupils). Women are mainly occupied as housewives, and their work revolved around domestic matters such as cooking, cleaning and bringing water from wells. However, in the past they were engaged in traditional cotton weaving, palm weaving and the weaving of goat and sheep hair to make mats. Being replaced by modern substitutes, these traditional handicrafts have died a natural death. Thirdly, Keli people despise domestic work as a means of earning livelihood. It is despised by both males and females alike.

( It had been impossible for me to get someone who could work for me as a domestic servant - or even to prepare food only. It is not unique. It happened to all people who were originally from outside the village and who happened to take temporary residence in the village). Fourthly, the 20-30 years age-group is almost

(27) However, a large number of the Kalab worked as domestic servants with the British officials before independence. This can be explained at any rate, by the fact that the British were considered superior -also. There was direct and indirect benefit in working with British government officials, materially and immaterially.
missing in the private as well as the public sector — except for the teachers. Teachers are at an advantage, because of their age in matters that need physical activity in addition to the original advantage of being educated. The phenomenon of the absence of youth is a general pattern in the whole area of Shendi District. In a government agricultural scheme the age of farmers were such that persons of over sixty years of age were 33% ; and the percentage of people over 50 years was 35.5%.(28)

In conclusion of this chapter, we emphasize the following points. The internal economy of Keli village was indeed very poor and insecure, at least at the time of the situation described, of supporting a great part of the working population. Agricultural land, the only possible economic potential, was not central to the village’s economy because of natural and social factors. Other non-farming economic activities were not revolving around permanent assets of durable nature. The weak and amorphous nature of the economy makes it easily vulnerable, i.e. these are no rigid spheres in the economy.(29). Transference from one sphere to another

(28) Eneir op.cit. p.40

is rather easy e.g. if a casual worker is to engage in the public sector jobs (to be a messenger, for example) no special qualifications are required. But with the change in the status of land after the establishment of the scheme with the effect that rights over land have become permanent rights, permanent rights are different from rights over meat or vegetables, for example. The implication of this is that with permanent rights over means of production a new form of social stratification based on clear differentiation will emerge.

Another point that should be made in this conclusion is that before the change of land status dependence of the village's economy on the remittances and other forms of income that were sent by the Keli emigrants in Khartoum resulted in a serious consequence. That is through the partial control of the main source of livelihood of the bulk of the village's population, Keli emigrants came to play a significant role in directing and influencing Keli's internal affairs. This is the topic of the next chapter.

CHAPTER III
EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

In the last chapter we said that the internal social processes will not have their full meaning without the consideration of an important external factor - the emigrants. In the following chapter we shall analyse the role of Keli emigrants in the economic and social life of the village, and the processes whereby this is done.

Migration has been one of the characteristic features of the Shendi area, and the northern Sudan in general, throughout history. Historical ecological and social conditions have all combined to contribute to the intensity of the phenomenon. (1)

Migration in the Shendi area can be divided into two main types: voluntary and involuntary, both of which in Keli's case are temporary.

Voluntary emigration in the form of distant travel in pursuit of trade has been experienced for a very long time. Commercial contacts were established in places as remote as Darfur in the

(1) TOPHILL, J.D. : Agriculture In the Sudan (pp.736 ).
west and Egypt in the north. Also many of the Ja‘aliyyin, of whom the Kaliab are part, worked as soldiers in the British invading army in 1889. The drift away from the area has remained to be a continuous flow to Khartoum and to some other places like the Southern Sudan, up to the present.

People in Shendi area were forced to abandon their homes unvoluntarily in two instances. The first was during the Turkish period, after the Shendi massacre; the second in the Mahajjya (Katamse incident) (see chapter 1).

The people of the region were compelled to take temporary refuge in some distant places in order to escape the bloody events.

Finding themselves in a state of destitution and striking poverty, many of the Ja‘aliyyin manpower, amongst whom are the Kaliab, attached themselves to the British army. They worked as soldiers, servants, cooks, messengers and such manual jobs. Up to the first decade of the present century those who worked with the British army took up what it seemed to them at the time to be a temporary residence in Khartoum (up till now all Kaliab migrants in Khartoum do not think of themselves as permanent settlers
in Khartoum).

This chapter is divided into three sections and a summary. The first section is about Keli's emigrants in the Southern Sudan; the second is about Keli's emigrants in Khartoum, Sudan's capital; and the last is about the relationship of emigrants in general to their home village and the means by which their interests are safeguarded while they are away from the village.

The aim of this chapter is to assess the degree and causes of the emigrant's influence as an external factor - as well as its apparent decline after the establishment of the agricultural scheme.

I. The Kaliab emigrants in the South:

One of the Kaliab, (K) by name, worked as a cook with the British army that proceeded to the Southern Sudan to establish a new administration there. But because of (K's) exceptional ability in communicating with the natives and facilitating the army's mission, he was allowed to carry out commercial activities in the South, specially in Equatoria. He did not need much
capital, for barter was the medium of exchange and things which he bartered with were very cheap e.g. beads and salt. In return he got ivory, elsony, ostrich feathers and the like. He became prosperous. He then invited his many sons, he had more than four wives at different intervals - and other close relatives to work with him in the South. They practised trade, an occupation with which they, as Ja'aliyyin, had been identified with for a very long time. (2)

In order to establish business in the South, two methods were followed.

The first method is: - a group of brothers (usually full siblings) would come together and raise funds by adding together their small savings or they might agree to sell something that they own jointly. The total was given to one of them (in many cases the eldest) to go to the South and start business. Or the second method, a person who did not have access to a reasonable amount of capital might work in Khartoum for some time until he

(2) Shendi was a major trade route in the Funj Kingdom (1505-1821) OFoney, R.S. and Spaulding, J.L. Kingdoms of the Sudan Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1974 (pp. 79-81).
was able to cover travel-expenses to the South.

In either case, a person who had chosen to work in the South did not start a business on his own if his capital was sound, he would join an already established merchant as a partner. Such merchant gave preference to immediate relatives. Or, if the amount of capital was small inadequate or non-available altogether, the new potential trader would work on a salary basis. The salary given to a new trader was exceptionally low and the work was directly supervised by the original business-owner.

The novice trader was provided with food and lodging (usually with the employer) after some time he would be in a position to collect some money (as his expenses were almost nil), and on gaining experience, he would work with his employer or somebody else as a wakil (commercial agent). The choice of the new business owner depended on the novice's former experience. (Here, by wakil I mean somebody who is required to run and supervise the commercial business of another person in another place in the South). The wakil usually got about 50% of the profits. After some time he would be able to erect his own separate establishments.
The enterprises of a trader spread over a wide area of space in the South; he needed wakil to look after his enterprises in more distant areas. It is apparent that all work was based on mutual trust between the business owner and the wakil. Goods were purchased from Khartoum by a wakil and were then distributed throughout Equatoria Province, where the bulk of the Kalab immigrants to the South were concentrated. The goods were distributed by means of lorry transport.

The main commercial centres of the Kalab are Juba, Torit, Yei and Kaya—all of which are in Equatoria Province. The number of the present Kalab merchants amounts to sixty merchants. Forty of them are in Juba. There are various ways whereby social contacts are maintained between them. Unmarried persons or those who do not have their wives with them, prefer to live with people from Keli, or, in lieu of that with people from neighbouring villages of their home.

Those who have their wives with them (there were only two at the time of the research) provide lodging in their own houses for their employees, who are mostly probably from Keli. Kalab merchants working in one place, be it Juba or some other place, exchange visits of different kinds. At the end of the working day,
they gather in one house to chat. On Fridays when they are free they have lunch in one of the houses of the married persons. On other occasions they go on picnics as a group. In times of difficulty they raise funds to assist the unfortunate fellow. These social activities usually revolve around a principal figure. In most cases he is the oldest commuter to the South and eldest merchant and he is usually of good economic position. He is regarded more or less as the patron for the rest of the group. He also acts as an information-centre at which they get the news of their fellows in other parts in the South.

While working in the South, Keli emigrants still maintain links with their home village through the remittance they regularly send to their families - their wives, children, parents, grandparents and needy paternal or maternal uncles and aunts. They also take the opportunity of many social occasions to send gifts. Through the patron they know all about the various events that take place in the village - e.g. marriages, deaths or major projects like the building of the Girls Secondary School. Their financial contribution to such projects is of a considerable significance.
However, due to the fact that Juba is extremely remote from Kelli and that the air fare is very high (the return ticket is 20.102), emigrants spend from three to five years at a time before they return to Kelli. The interval depends on whether one is newly married or not; newly married persons are expected to return for visits sooner—two years for example. All Kelli emigrants in the South, when they come to the village, on holidays, they stay for about six months. Their well-assured economic position as rich merchants, enables them to do so. There is no particular time for their vacation, they can come any time during the year—when they come they come as individuals and not in groups.

Kelli's economy depends largely on the income that pours in from the South in the form of money, clothes, etc., which is sent by the emigrants to their left behind dependants.

Whenever there is a project to be carried out communally (e.g. building of a school) the merchants who are away in the South count considerably. They are expected to contribute with the largest share of the stipulated total, and in fact they do. There are indeed extremely rich Kialiab merchants in the South. Such (C) and merchants as E's Sons, (C). In spite of this, the influence of the merchants in the South on the internal affairs
of Keli is not very significant compared to that of Keli emigrants in Khartoum. Although the traders in the South are the main contributors to the village's economy, they are not the real contributors to its internal affairs. How is this paradox resolved?

The economic process that links the traders in the South to the village is a one-way process. Any money that is sent home is for consumption only. Investment opportunities within the village are hardly lacking, as is indicated in the previous chapter. In other words, they are not involved in any economic enterprise in the village's economy and that any surplus they have is re-invested back in their trading activities in the South. Consequently, their relationship with the village does not involve economic interests. Again the social contact of these traders with the village is not continuous and effective. Link is only possible through correspondence and telegrams (in case of emergency) or after the three to five years interval, through infrequent visits; therefore they are not in a position to follow closely all that takes place in the village.

There are two main implications of this. The first is that such people as K's sons, who have a considerable economic and numerical powers in the South, are almost completely excluded from
the positions of dominance in all aspects of the social life of
the village, particularly politics.

K's sons despite their riches, have no economic interests
in the village at all. Because of their widely dispersed's
business in the South and because they have lived for longer
periods there, their visits to the village are not very frequent.
It is impossible to come across any of the names of K's sons in
the membership lists of the various committees in the villages.

(1) is second to K's sons (work as a corporate group)
in wealth. He is the wealthiest Kaliabi individual merchant in both
the South and Keli village. He is very influential in the village's
affairs, as will be seen later on. He has become influential, however
after his settlement in the village more than ten years ago (3).

Unlike others in the South (1) is engaged in economic
ventures in the village - perhaps he was the first one to do this.
He owns a small shop, a bakery, a flour-mill and an agricultural
water-pump. One should mention that, taken individually, these

(3) Kaliabi merchant settles in the village when he feels that
he is becoming a bit old to cope with the enormous activity
demanded by trading in the South provided that his business
is well maintained by dependable vaila.
enterprises are not highly profitable because of the limited amount of demand. Also we should notice that the bakery and a flour mill serve basic needs, and that due to the fixed small demand, competition is not likely to occur since it would not be economical.

The first implication of physical remoteness combined with ineffective social contacts is, as we have explained, non- participation of the economically powerful immigrants in the South. The second implication is the inability of traders in the South to rise as a unified, influential distinct group in the village. These merchants have their houses in Keli built of the same material as that used by the other villagers viz mud. Inside, however, the furniture differs greatly. Most of it is made out of materials which have been brought from the South. For example their anagrib (plural of angareib: a traditional Sudanese wood-bed) are carved out of mahogany; the tables and stools are made of teak-wood. (4) When the merchant in the South is on holiday, he spends lavishly on food and other items; when they go to Niknyila Tuesday market they buy a lot of things, in large quantities. When one is invited to their houses, one notices the great gap between them and other people in everything. If you happen to meet any of them in a group

(4) Both mahogany and teak trees grow in the forests of the South and their wood is very expensive.
you can easily identify him by his fine expensive clothes, shoes and his valuable watch. In spite of all this they do not form a stratum in the sense that they act as a group. That is, they are not treated in any special way by their co-villagers. Despite these differences one notices in public gatherings e.g. deaths, on marriage occasions, they are invited and treated just as the others. No special place is reserved for them, nor are they served special food. They mix with all villagers indiscriminately. Any of them who tries to behave in a contrary way to this & to show his dislike of being thus treated, is informally boycotted and ex-communicated. In other words, he will find himself alone without supporters (as his other colleagues are far away in the South). Therefore, it is not strange to understand why the Kaliab regarded their community as egalitarian. But actually as it is clear from the above description, they are not. There are potentially differentiating factors - wealth for example. The differences are overlooked, perhaps consciously in favour of keeping the community intact. Any attempt on the part of Keli emigrants in the South manifest and stress the differences may result in the rest of the community's refusal to look after the
emigrant's social interests in the village. So egalitarianism may be interpreted as a social mechanism to ensure the smooth running of the community.

II. Keli emigrants in Khartoum:

The majority of the Kaliab emigrants are found in Khartoum; they are mostly engaged in petty jobs such as domestic services (in colonial period) cooks, messengers, watchmen, owners of horse-pulled carts etc. Recently a few have had chances to work as petty officials. There is only one Kaliabi who is a senior government official in the Ministry of Education. Another one in a socially prominent position is a university teacher. The majority have very low incomes; that is why they have their families behind in Keli. All of Keli migrants in Khartoum, with few exceptions, prefer to leave their families in the village where expenses are far less than in Khartoum. For example there is no cost for water (drawn freely from wells) or transport (there are no buses or the like), lodging, or electricity (as there is no electricity in the village).

A social factor that assists very greatly in leaving one's family behind (which may have come about as a result of the
the emigration phenomenon is the **xorilocal type of residence**. The newly married girl lives with her mother till she begets her first child; usually the period extends to two years. This system helps and fits as a mechanism for coping with the migratory pattern. The other mechanisms will be discussed in the next chapter.

The social contacts between Khartoum emigrants and their home village are by far more frequent and strong than those of the emigrants to the South.

The physical distances between Keli and Khartoum is relatively short (about 200 Km) and the transport rates are reasonable (about less than a Sudanese pound). One can go to the village and come back the next day if he feels the need for doing so. These emigrants take every opportunity to see their families; either by train or bus. The occasions on which they do so vary in time and nature. There are some regular visits e.g., during the two **Bids** (each of which is a four-day holiday). Visits during the two **Bids** are strictly observed — absence in either of which indicates

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(5) **Bid** is a religious ceremony with a fixed date according to the Hijri calendar (one is after Ramadan, the fasting month, the second is when pilgrimage to Mecca is made).
that there is something wrong between one and one's family
( be it his wife or parents ). Ordinary non-religious
holidays are also spent in the village e.g. May Revolution
Day, Independence Day etc. Another factor to account for the
strong link that ties the emigrant to his village is attendance
of the social occasions of close kin (a) e.g. in case of death
or marriage. In death it is only the close emigrant kins, that
are directly related to the deceased who attend the occasion;
while in marriage, plus the directly related close kin, other
distant relatives or merely any Kaliabi usually participate in
the occasion, if he has free time.

On the other hand, people in the village exchange visits
with emigrants in Khartoum by coming to Khartoum. Somebody who
wants to marry may come to Khartoum to inform Kaliab in Khartoum
and an asma ( invitation in which money is paid ) is held to
help him. All the Kaliab in Khartoum will come and pay, provided
that he paid them on previous occasions. Also, a wife may
pretend to be ill, if the husband is absent for some time, and
takes the opportunity to stay for a considerable period of time.

(a) This category is defined as relatives ( uncles and females )
on both the paternal and maternal sides. Preference is for
paternal side than maternal.
Thus, the Khartoum emigrant finds himself in a continuous and mutual involvement in the social life of the village.

Emigrants in Khartoum have the same social interests as those of their fellows in the South with the difference that they are in a position, due to their proximity, to be more concerned with these interests. Besides his interests in his "left-behind" family and his interest in ownership of agriculturally land, the Khartoum emigrant is very much concerned with everything that goes on in the village. This interest is organized and expressed through a formal institution: Keli Sons Club at Khartoum. Below I shall discuss the club's role in the running of Keli's affairs.

III. Keli Club:

The club was formally opened in 1952 with the aim of promoting social life in Keli. By this is meant provision of social services. In fact the club has been the actual planner and executor of all the establishments that are in existence now.

(7) Though was mainly unused land yet its ownership represents a social attachment.
the Boy's General Secondary School (opened the academic year 1975-6). Until recently, the economic, political, educational... etc. planning had largely remained in the hands of the central government in Khartoum. Thus the club as it is situated in Khartoum, the headquarters of the central government, has played a significant role in mediating between Keli people and the government senior officials. Through the long experience they have had, Keli emigrants possess a high organizational capacity and communicational capability.

Every Kaliabi in Khartoum is considered a member in the club by the definition of being a Kaliabi. He is required to pay a regularly monthly subscription fee. In fact they mostly do not. A member who does not pay his subscription fee is not banned from participating in the general assembly meetings. Very few indeed, not more than ten, if not less, who come to the club as regular attendants. However, all the Kaliab in Khartoum are very keen as to attend general meetings where village-wide issues are raised. The club is not responsible, and does not consider it one of its tasks to observe the personal behaviour of any of its members, though this may be attempted informally.
The Kaliab emigrants in Khartoum do not live in a closed group. On the contrary they are very sociable people, and they join the different organizations of their respective residence places. They live in places and quarters dispersed throughout Khartoum; nonetheless, they exchange visits and have a very good communication system whereby if something happens to any of them most of the others will know in few hours; the one who knows makes sure that all the others who live in places nearby have known about the event. At this point I would like to clarify the apparent paradox that these people are involved in the social activities in all the quarters they happen to live in and they maintain close links between one another as Kaliab in Khartoum at the same time.

If we pay attention to the two events that bring the emigrants to a gathering, we find that the first case is the club's general meetings (where village affairs are discussed), the second is where one of them is hit by misfortune or having a social occasion.

We notice that the two cases are related to the village's domain. Therefore, while nothing in Khartoum's life brings

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(8) By this I mean sallers that take place in the village or in town but the main port of which will be finished in the village e.g. somebody dies in Khartoum, the mourning period is spent in Kali.
them as full urbanites, they cluster in times when a matter is an all village concern.

Though they dwell in town they still have many relatives, and hence many social relations, closely attached with the village, most of them cannot afford, economically speaking to bring their families with them to Khartoum. In terms of aspirations, they aspire to return and live in Kali when they are old. In these terms they do not live a non-urbanite life in the sense of not having a close network of the Kliaf in Khartoum. Often they do not meet as a group, unless there is something to make them meet - i.e. something of major importance. Meanwhile they maintain close and good relations with their urbanite neighbours in Khartoum’s quarters.

The club represents the point of contact between the village and the Khartoum emigrants. It is also a point of contact between the village and emigrants in other parts of the country. All major decisions are made by the club’s committee. This has been possible for some reasons. One, as I mentioned, the club - being in Khartoum, is in a favourable position to follow up the administrative steps; an issue takes in the governmental offices.
Because of rather young age, Khartoum emigrants are more active and more enthusiastic. Two, economically speaking they control, (in terms of numerical power) the largest part of the village's income through the regular amounts of money they send. Thirdly, the distance to the village is relatively short so there can be direct observation and supervision of all that is taking place in the village. The club's executive committee represents and expresses the interests of Keli emigrants and takes the responsibility of observation and supervision of the projects that concern the village, as well as supervision over every thing that is related to the village's life and which affects the bulk of the population.

I am interested in analysing the situation at the period that immediately proceeds the establishment of the scheme, it is essential that part of the discussion should be devoted to the role that had been played by the club's committee in that situation.

The committee was responsible for the holidays general meetings in Keli during the Ride to discuss, at large, the village's general conditions. In these meetings they discussed how things had been done and whether plans had been carried... During the period of my research, discussion was centred around...
how the plan of establishment of the Girl's Secondary School was going, the efficiency of work etc. They were interested in seeing how the different committees and councils in the village had been carrying out their duties. It was quite clear that the committee's representatives were treating their village counterparts in a way that made the latter seem as if they were in an inferior position - as if they were being interrogated. In other words, they, the committee representatives, were really supervising the village's committees and different bodies. I noticed too, that through its strong grip, the committee influenced the choice of the members of the various committees within the village.

In the period I am talking about, the committee was headed by a brother's son of (S).

I brought this point about S's brother's son to link it to the major project that was taking place during the period of my stay. The Girl's General Secondary School was the main preoccupation of the village. The idea was initiated and executed by the Club. A total of more than ten thousand Sudanese pounds were raised for the building of the school.
Merchants in the South were assigned to pay a hundred pounds contribution as maximum. The Khartoum emigrants paid ten pounds in average per person. Keli residents paid as low as two and a half pounds. The contribution could be paid either in advance or over a period of months (the amount being fixed: i.e. if a person was to pay ten pounds he could either pay it at one go or over two months. (five pounds each time) or three months etc.). The number of the girls in Keli does not justify the establishment of the school. However, this could be interpreted in terms of the efforts of (S) and his brothers’ sons - who are teachers with the help of his brother’s son, the club’s chairman. The whole thing may be looked at as an incident of how a ‘group’ of teachers - may come together in Keli to do something which will ultimately serve its purpose.

The achievement of building the school (education being important as it is in the Sudan) will maximize teachers' position in the competition over controlling the new situation engendered by the establishment of the agricultural scheme. This is substantiated by the enthusiasm of the village’s teachers and control of the work, as well as by the rather very short
period taken to complete the project (six months only).

However, during the first days of the scheme the club's influence had apparently decreased as a direct result of the conditions of the new situation. The new situation's problems are different in that they are on-the-spot problems i.e. none of which needs to be referred to governmental offices at Khartoum. At the same time it was more than a week's job, hence, the committee representatives could not come to the village to handle the situation themselves. Thus the whole thing was practically left for the people in the village without being influenced practically by the club.

Mechanisms for maintenance of the migratory system:

There are some mechanisms which Kaliab emigrants employ to indicate their concern and consideration for their left behind interests (families and land). One of these mechanisms is the occasional visits they pay to the village. In the case of emigrants in the South, frequent visits are compensated for by very long vacations in the village. Khartoum emigrants, on the other hand, deal with the problem of absence with very frequent
short visits, whether regular or irregular. Again emigrants' willingness whether in Khartoum or the South, to maintain the relationship between them and the village is proved by the regular sums of money, plus the presents and gifts they send home. At the same time, these Kalab emigrants in both areas want to make sure that their interests are well-looked after in the village. A unique system has emerged as a result: the mechanism whereby a male caters for the affairs of some householders.

Since the majority of the married persons in Keli live outside Keli, and because of prevalence of male dominance concept, it is expected that a male has to look after the families whose main males are absent (and who do not have mature males). Such a male is most probably a kin of the absentee or may be a mere neighbour (in cases where a close kin lives at a distance from the absentee's household). The designated guardian is, very often, somebody who is old (over 45) and has a direct contact with the family under his responsibility. The money that is sent to this family comes through him. He is responsible for its day-to-day necessities; to check that it is all right every now and then. If it, the household, goes short of
money or anything it will turn to him for help. The family does not take any serious step in a matter that is of a public nature (e.g. marriage consultation or children's circumcision ceremony) without seeking his advice. He is also responsible for the behaviour of members of the family inside and outside the household—i.e. private or public: if the household lord could not come to the village on occasions that demand his presence (e.g. naming of a child or a circumcision ceremony), he delegates his duties to that man. In other words, this guardian acts on behalf of the absentee family supporter in all things that concern the absentee household. He is usually permitted to do what he feels proper without referring to the original head of the household. One male may be responsible for more than one household. Through this household guardian system, the emigrant ensures some influence over his living-away family, and that his household is properly run in his absence.

Summary—

By way of summing up this chapter I would like to classify and emphasize three points. One, is that despite the enormous wealth and capital K-li emigrants in the South have, they have
active role in controlling or influencing the village policies. This was justified by the fact that this capital is not employed within the village. The remittances sent are for consumption and not for investment. Also, physical remoteness of the South has rendered close contact and actual supervision of the village's affairs extremely difficult. Two, related to the above point is the point that there is actually inherent latent differences between the Kaliab despite their claim what they are egalitarian. The differences in economic position are suppressed because their manifestation may not be in the emigrant's favour.

Three, some emigrants live in places other than Khartoum or the South (e.g. Wad Medani or Port Sudan) but numerically speaking they are not very significant, nor are they economically. Therefore, they can be lumped together, analytically, with the Khartoum emigrants. As a matter of fact, Keli club at Khartoum acts as a central body for all such emigrants in village-wide matters - to provide them with information and asking for their financial help in some cases (e.g., building of the Girl's School). Another point is that Keli village has a the majority of its population as old people (over 50); it is this category which runs the internal affairs of the village - community. However, the whole community
depends to a very large extent on the income that comes from outside the village in the form of regular amounts of money sent by the migrants. This explains why emigrants' influence over the village's affairs is very great. Intensity of this influence varies according to distance and number of emigrants. This is why Khartoum emigrants are more influential yet, at the time of describing the above state of affairs, conditions were changing. The village population found itself forced to cope with problems that should be dealt with on the spot e.g. mistakes and problems in land registration, allocation of tenancies etc. Referring to Khartoum emigrants was useless for two reasons: 1. for time factor (as these are day-to-day problems 2. the problems are not of the type that is solved centrally (e.g. land registration - land register is deposited in Shendi town).

Therefore, Keli people, in the village, found themselves in a situation that they had to cope without help from outside i.e. handling of the new conditions has become a purely internal matter - which means only internal resources (especially the human resource) have to be used. How have they managed this? This is the subject matter of the next chapter.
CHAPTER IV

SOURCES OF INFLUENCE AND COMMUNITY LEADERS

Starting from the premise that the socio-economic situation is now totally internally controlled within Keli boundaries - and not controlled by external emigrants as it was in the past - we propose here to explore the village's internal conditions in more detail. In this part of the thesis I shall discuss the resources that are available for the actors through which they can influence others. As political activity nowhere stands on its own, and since the environment within which political behavior occurs includes other social, economic and religious structures (1) some of the apparently non-political aspects are discussed. Then non-political aspects will be discussed in so far as they affect the overall sphere of influence. By influence here I mean the ability of some people to control and direct others in certain situations without the use of the prestige or power of formal political office. In this sense I use the term "Community leaders", to include the category of persons whose ideas and actions influence the thoughts and behavior of others in any social

(1) Bailey St. & Sp. p.145.
The social situation in Keli is now in a state of flux. Before the scheme the village's affairs and community issues were planned, executed and controlled by emigrants from outside the village. Leadership in the village was very weak. When the scheme came into existence things have changed and much of the political weight has come to be confined within the boundaries of the village and it is exerted by the villagers themselves. But there are no strong formal political institutions to cope with the new changes.

The pre-scheme social rules and values are still held normatively; pragmatically they have been overlooked; or even broken, in many cases. Some of these values are discussed in the

(2) This is a modification of the definition given by Beal and his colleagues for the term leader "An individual is a leader in any social situation in which his ideas and actions influence the thoughts and behavior of others", See Beal, C., Bohlen, J., and Sandeloff, J." Leadership and Dynamic Group Action" The Iowa State University Press, Iowa, 1962, P.35.
first part of the section on sources of influence. The second part of the section comprises the formal political bodies, and the final part gives a brief account of how some institutions which seem "purely" social or non-political are used to influence other people; these I classify as informal political institutions.

In a brief section I enumerate some criteria that can be used to mark certain persons as influential to the overall sphere of influence. In the final section I am concerned with the individuals who appear to be influential in almost all the situations that I happened to come across. For their capacity to influence all situations in which community issues are raised, I call them community leaders. The more a community leader attains of the mentioned criteria, the more is the degree of his influence over situations that involve community issues. I should stress the point that the situation is in a state of flux, hence it can not be described as one of a defined leader/follower relationship.

That is, the situation has not yet crystallized. Sources of influence are the resources that individuals depend upon to effect their influence. Individuals get differential access to these resources, and they use them differentially. Then the question becomes who gets access to what resources and how he uses them-sources of influence are thus resources and constraints.
at one and the same time resources whose access strengthens one's position in the sphere of influence, and the lack of which constrains one's ability to influence others.

Sources of Influence:

Attitude towards women:

An aspect of relevance in this chapter to women's position. To describe the social make up of Keli's community, we can say that the bulk of its population is - due to large scale emigration of its young males - constituted of rather old men (over 45), women and children. All children at the age of seven and above are school pupils, and those below school age are much associated with their mothers and womenfolk general. Normatively, it is regarded that men, especially old men, are the guardians of both women and children. Apparently, it seems that men are extremely strict in their behaviour towards women; in actuality this strictness is only true in public situations, otherwise more women have much time of their own. One might enquire how women spend their time in the absence of husbands and adult males.

The women of Keli village employ a number of ways to cope with the abnormal state in which they are living now (abnormal
in the sense of being without husbands or adult males. So the family life is, naturally, partially incomplete. They, for example, exchange mutual visits in large groups; in these frequent visits, they chat, gossip and listen to fortune-telling women, while drinking coffee and tea cups. Marriage and death ceremonies are occasions for prolonged sociability.

For example the mourning period extends for forty days for women (in men's case it is not more than seven days); during these forty days they come at least once a day to see the bereaved family, and for the first seven days they have to take most of their meals with the kinsmen of the deceased. Ramadan, the fasting month, is yet another occasion on which women come together to pass time. During the month, women play a very popular game tab which is played by a large group of players of both sexes (older men do not usually play it) almost from sunset to dawn. Also women have their own associations e.g. sanadi (singular: Sanadu) (3). However, segregation is rigidly observed in all these

(3) Sanadu (literally speaking means box) is a group of people pooling fixed amounts of money to be paid to each of them in turn, usually it is monthly.
activities except for the tab game in which young males can take part.

Women respect old men very much, and always try to behave themselves as far as possible in their presence. If there is a group of old men in front of a small shop or in the street, women will keep away and avoid passing near it, they will also stop talking till they are out of earshot.

In public settings both sexes respect and obey rules of segregation. Women rarely come through the front door of the shop, they buy their things, through a back-window. Within a household's buildings, the women's side is often separated from that of men by a wall with a narrow entrance linking the two sides. However, members of the same household of both sexes move freely between the two sides. In marriage or death ceremonies, males and females stay in totally separate places. The general public repudiates any attempt to intermix.

So, male are counted by society to be superior to women; that women, as inferiors, are expected to treat men with deference and respect. The implication of this is that protection,
looking after and control of women are essential signs of manliness. To mix with women in public domain loses one much of one's dignity and affects one's social status.

Keli first:-

One of Keli's other salient values is its people's love for their village. The first impression I had was that Keli appears to be a sacred symbol that is worshipped by the whole Kaliab community. In all the meetings, formal and informal, people said such things as we should do this for the sake of Keli. Many people had to do things, though they might do them reluctantly, merely because they could not refuse doing something for Keli's sake. I remember in one informal discussion the principal Girl's General Secondary School's headmaster pointed out that this position had been imposed upon him by the Khartoum's Club committee; and those present told him that it is his duty to serve Keli. He answered, "this is why I have accepted it despite the fact that I have many strong personal reasons to reject it. By working in the village I have sacrificed a lot of things; I will take

(4) This is expressed in the many songs they have composed for Keli in which they show how glorious Keli is. Also they have many songs when e.g. Keli football team plays against other villages.
the job for the sake of Keli only". The Kaliab do not get bored of repeating "we love Keli". All that we do is for the good of Keli. This is manifest in their insistence to raise the name of Keli. For example; last January, Keli people insisted that the invitation for the opening of the Scheme which was attended by the President, be directed in the name of their village only (despite the fact that the scheme comprises about fifteen villages), and therefore to undertake all the expenses incurred by the great celebration. It is, indeed, very prestigious for one, and it brings one high social status at the same time if he is described as one of those who serve the area (Keli).

The explanation of the origin of the name, I assume, is embedded in a set of complex relations. Historically, the village suffered very much from the bloody events it had experienced; sometimes, as a consequence, people were compelled to migrate to other distant places. When they were back to the village, the few able-bodied males who survived were forced by circumstances to join efforts and to look after fatherless families in order to rebuild the village (materially and immaterially). Another factor may be that the Kaliab think that they are "sons of one
man" awlad va'il va'hid, i.e. descendants of one ancestor; hence, they consider themselves as Kinsmen. Nonetheless one does not discard the idea that the value is only instrumental i.e. a mechanism to preserve the cohesion of the otherwise maladjusted society (for lack of an important section of its population). The instrumental aspect is quite apparent from the way the village's teachers in other villages were summoned to work in Keli (this was done through the help of a senior Kaliabi official in the Ministry of Education). Therefore, I am inclined to say that the matrix of the value to raise Keli's head is both socio-historical and instrumental. It is quite evident that Keli emigrants are the most keen to raise the slogan of Keli first. It is a symbol for their attachment to the village and a sign of their presence and continuous interest. This is done through the communal projects the emigrants undertake, e.g. The Girl's General Secondary School. Therefore, one expects that the idea will come to an end with the new situation where all affairs are totally internally handled.

The Kaliabi as Kinsmen:

Another value is of great influence over people's actions. The new arrival to the village is immediately struck by the often

(5) This means to promote it, make it prominent, honourable and superior.
repeated emphasis Keli people make that they are kinsmen, and that all the village inhabitants are sons of one man, aulad rajil wabil (Chapter one). As a matter of fact very few claim descent from any one other than the village's two forefathers. In this sense the community can be seen as a rather homogeneous ethnic unit. In situations where strangers are present much emphasis is put on the village's ethnic homogeneity and that all its population are kinsmen, ab| (6) Also, in cases when village-wide issues are being discussed, reference is made to the concept to call for solidarity e.g. in a meeting that discussed residence of scheme workers in the village and the problems it had created, many speakers made the statement that (niha ab| ya jammah) 'we are kinsmen, | group' To reconfirm the need for solidarity - if there is an incident of conflict between some close relatives, they will be told 'into ab| ya ukhawanna' 'you are kinsmen; 0 brothers'. The notion of being kinsmen, looked at as a mechanism to preserve the solidarity of a community that has to retain its migratory system, has reflected itself in many situations especially in cases of villagers against outsiders. Every man is considered (6) The term ab| has many meanings in colloquial Arabic it means (1) kinsman (2) one's homeland (village) (3) one's nuclear family.
responsible for the behavior of women in the presence of strangers (from outside the village); accordingly, he can advise, direct or stop a woman in cases of misconduct.

The notion, too, implies assistance of one another in times of need, particularly if one needs collective help. One of the villagers (a butcher) got up one morning to discover that his two donkeys were not there. It was evident that the thief was an outsider since stealing is almost nonexistent in Keli. All available men—more than twenty—gathered in front of (X’s) shop to discuss the matter. Finally it was agreed that they should divide themselves into two groups; one to take X’s donkey to Mikenyia to report the case to the police-station there, the other to take the Land Rover to report to Norab police station. All of them were very excited and acted enthusiastically, ignoring, it seemed, the hardships involved.

(Incident took place during Ramadan). When I exclaimed that about the fact that the villager should be assisted collectively; the answer given to me was that “we are all kinsmen. If we do not help each other in such events when can we do that?” The notion implies collective assistance and help one another.

Any older male is responsible for all females irrespective of
whether she is closely related to him by kinship or not.
An adult male may also be responsible for supervision over
and control of a household (or households) whose respon-
sible male(s) is (are) absent. So again the notion may be just
functional to serve the purpose of ensuring proper maintenance of
the community in the absence of the bulk of its married and
unmarried male youth. Thus it is in the favour of the emigrants
that the notion be upheld.

Egalitarianism:

Any Kabiwi will tell you that all people of Keli have
some sort of social equality. They do not deny economic or social
difference but they would tell you that anyone in the community,
irrespective of his economic or social position, receive the same
kind of treatment like anyone else. In marriage and death
ceremonies, the rich and the poor, the educated and illiterate,
mix together without differentiated places, and the two are
served the same kind of food. In public meetings everybody feels
free to express his opinion without any restrictions on him in
regards to his social status. While collecting contributions for
the establishment of the Girl's School, the Club's committee
was very keen that contribution be demanded from all people regardless of financial ability, through, it is true, contributions varied enormously - ie. 100 ag a maximum and 2.5 as a minimum. The justification for this I was told, is that every Kaliabi feels he is no less than others; so, if we did not give him a chance to contribute, he would feel insulted. Deviation from the norm of egalitarianism means ridicule by the rest of the society, or people may go as far as boycotting the deviant. One of the reasons people offer to explain why K's sons (the wealthiest merchants in the South) do not play a significant role in Keli is that because people think of K's sons as being rather pompous so people have forgotten about them. Keli people further comment that persons should ignore their wealth and social status and that they should treat others equally regardless of any differences arising from social economic position. A possible explanation why this is so is that if the internal social structure is highly differentiated or stratified,

(7) The fact can be explained in the following terms: since K's sons have lived for a very long time in the South, and they do not have interests in Keli, they do not bother much about the social values in Keli.
the Keli community may not work as it is now, with the core of its population living outside the village. To put
the argument clearly one might argue that the emigrants might not
find people to look after their households while these
emigrants are away. The community should be kept intact and
with less differentiation if a system like that of the male
guardian, is to be maintained to look after the emigrants
households and other interests in the village.

However, in terms of material things, there are tangible
differences between individuals, and although from outside, all
houses look very much alike, their contents may greatly differ.
The houses of wealthy people contain valuable furniture, while
poor people have humble contents. On the level of individuals the
quantity and quality of food consumed by households is not the
same. It is, therefore, fairly legitimate to infer that the
notion of egalitarianism, is only true at the ideological level,
without being underlined by an egalitarian economy. Somebody
like (x) is extremely wealthy within and outside Keli, while
water-carriers, as we indicated, are of lower economic status.
Egalitarianism is, thus, not true on all levels it is an ideal
Without an egalitarian economy that actually supports and justifies this claimed egalitarianism.

Religious values and religious occasions:

Keli community, like the majority of the Sudanese communities, professes Islam. It pays much care to Islamic rules, on the normative level and the popular religious feeling is very strong. As a matter of practice quite a large number of the population of the community is not well versed in the Islam of the holy book, nor is it strictly adhering to the essential Islamic practises e.g. many people do not practice the five daily prayers regularly; or, during Ramadan (the fasting month), many people do not fast (but they cannot show this publicly) as far as the public level is concerned. Individuals are expected to partake in all public religious events. Reluctance to share in these events is socially disapproved. On the other hand persons who celebrate these communal religious events are highly regarded; in other words, enhancing their social status. Every member of the society is very keen to be seen attending the collective Eid morning prayer, to appear to be fasting during Ramadan and to attend regularly, the Friday mid-day prayer. Those who are physically capable of doing
all these things but do not are talked about mockingly.

By and large, popular Islamic beliefs constitute a major part of the Kalab day-to-day activities. If somebody is ill, he goes to the dispensary, but at the same time he consults the feqir (religious man). If somebody loses something, the feqir is believed to recapture it by performing certain practices.

The village's butcher who lost his donkey came to the feqir to perform certain acts to enable him recover them. The non-religious matters may be put into religious contexts, e.g., temporal matters are discussed at the mosque (after Friday prayer); or, the playing of tak game is closely associated with Nasradan. On the other hand, social occasions incorporate a large body of popular religious practices. In marriage, for example, the first step in it is the writing of the deed of the contract, said which is a purely religious procedure. The se'ira (procession) of the的新 couple, in the third day, is taken to visit the tomb of a famous religious man, Sheikh Badji, in a nearby village. Unmarried girls take some strips from the cloth-folds inside the tomb and wind them around their wrists for good luck. This is believed to bring them husbands very soon. At the end of the marriage ceremony a ma'lid party
(a recitation commemorating the birth of prophet Mahamad) is held.

Such religious occasions as Eid, Ramadan, and isra wa mi'raj (8) are chances for consciously or unconsciously enhancing one's social status. Last isra wa mi'raj might [X] invited all available males to his house. School teachers and some of the scheme workers were also invited. A group of madhahim (singers of religious poems) celebrated the event. Food was served to all those who attended. Next day all the village talked about [X's] good deeds and thanked him.

On collective religious occasions large numbers of people gather in one place. They discuss various topics. Therefore, it is an opportunity for influencing and formulating decisions. The host temporarily at least, a better chance of influencing others in that particular situation.

Thus actors in [X] find themselves bound to comply with and obey the above mentioned values and concepts: protection,

(8) The day the Prophet is believed to have ascended via different stages in Heaven.
segregation and inferiority of women; upholding Keli's name; they are kinsmen; egalitarianism in social treatment; and finally religious values. Compliant are socially rewarded, relative to the degree of their contribution. Reward is in terms of promoting one's social status; non-compliant are adversely affected and they can hardly, if ever they do, find their way to higher social positions. In other words, the values just mentioned are both constraining factors and potential resources that can be exploited in different ways. Also, I would like to note that the different values and concepts I have listed must be looked at as elements within one unified unit. Promotion of example is Keli, for if it is supported by appealing to the concept of having kinsmen; Islamic clauses, at the same time, encourage and call for assistance of close kin. So, social and religious values in the present context are better understood when viewed as interrelated elements which have a feed-back effect. And in the final analysis they may be derived from one origin - with exception of the religious rules. They all seem to be manifestations of one goal: the maintenance of Keli village with its existing emigration system.
Other sources of influence:

Wealth is an extremely significant potential source of influence. In the chapter on the village's economy (Chapter II and III) we showed that economic chances within the village are really very restricted. Keli's economy is a consumption economy. The regular remittances and things that are sent by Keli emigrants are used for consumption and consumption only. On the other hand, agricultural activity, the only possibly expandable economic potential, is very limited and without great profits (or surpluses). So most people are dependent on income from outside the village. However, one's economic position in Keli is determined by the intensity of one's economic activity within and without Keli, in other words, his wealth. Wealth enables one to participate in financial contributions for communal projects, this, one's social rank will be enhanced. Therefore, one's ability to influence others will increase accordingly. But this is further consolidated by one's presence in the village and one's actual control of internal economic resources. For example, I attended a meeting of the village's people in which the issue of supplying the fuel of the artisan well—which is usually done by (X) X,
protesting that some of the issues that concern the well were
made while he was in a trip outside Keli without consulting
him; and he threatened that he would no longer supply the fuel
and it was better for them to see somebody else. As a matter
of fact nobody in the village has the necessary funds to do that;
so, by exclusion, he was the only one who can do that. The present
members apologized and assured him that nothing of that kind
would happen again. This is an example of how wealth. (material
capital) enables one to exert pressure.

Other criteria are age, sex, personal qualifications, length
of residence in the village, and taking of some occupations. The
older the person, the wiser he is thought to be, and the more
respected he is. But young age can help in that a person will be
physically active. Sex—whether a person is a male or a
female—qualifies him differently. Males are the dominant sex
and have more chances to influence others. Females, on the other
hand, are at a disadvantage, and they occupy an inferior social
position in the community. To be a person of influence is closely
associated with male sex. Also long residence in Keli adds to one's
power to influence others. Somebody like (a) who has lived for
forty-five years (his age) without staying outside Keli for
more than ten days is really influential. His influence in community affairs has come about as a result of deep knowledge about everything in the village; he is always referred to for information and consultation. Finally, certain occupations by virtue of inherent qualities give their occupants potential source of influence. Shopkeepers can really be very influential not through their economic power but rather through the fact that they are places where people gather to chat, discuss things and get information on the village's affairs and news about the emigrants. Nonetheless I expect that their role will be more influential in the future for they, most probably, will act as finance sources (as will be shown in the conclusion) - in which case they will in addition, be economically influential. Teachers, too, are potential men of influence. People think of them as wise and knowledgeable "educated". They are mostly listened to and their advice is sought. Part of these qualities have been transformed into material power after the establishment of the scheme as some of them got tenancies. Their role will be even more significant in the future because one expects that they will dominate the committees that will be formed in the future to run the scheme.
II. Formal organization

Formal organizations in Keli include the following:
the village people’s council, the village co-operative;
youth union, Father’s council, the village Development
Committee; and lastly, the Socialist Union Basic Unit. Nonethe-
less I am going to include the village’s Sheikhs in the
category of formal organizations because their roles are controlled
by the rules of Local Government. Taken chronologically,
I will deal with the Sheikhs question first.

Historically speaking, as I have shown, the Sheikhs
system was introduced by the Turki to assist with the collection
of taxes and the administration of the local people. The village
population was divided into three kinship units, :Khashm-
Khiit(s) (lineages, in the broad sense of the word). The three
lineages, Haydab, Darashab, and Ashamag, were represented
by three heads, each being responsible for collection of taxes
from his own lineage. The British retained the system, and after
some time, sheikhs (all over the Sudan) were given more

By formal organizations I mean those which have formal
set of rules and proceeding that govern their working.
administrative powers. They occupied an intermediary position between the government and the people. Any governmental orders and decisions went through them. Their economic and social status was high in society through acquisition of agricultural lands. By the time I carried out my research their powers had greatly been reduced by the present system. Their role was limited to collection of taxes of agricultural lands - but as there was no agriculture, they were in fact without real tasks. Accordingly they had lost much of their previous powers and status.

But people still believed that the Shaikhs were the best people to cope with the administrative problems because of their long administrative experience. For this very reason the Shaikhs took the lead in the first stages of the scheme and they represented the village population to the scheme administration. Their role, at the first stages, was consolidated further by their well acquaintance and knowledge of land registration. People often

(10) See Ga'afar Bakheit: op.cit.
Perhaps it is only in one sphere and not in all other spheres of interaction are they still functioning.

Now, I turn to discuss the other kind of formal organizations. All the formal organizations that are presently going to be discussed are relatively recently created bodies.

To be more exact; they were formed in 1971 as a result of a new set policy to reconsider the system of local government administration in the Sudan. (11) The new system has the people's Province Council at the top, then come People's Rural and Town Councils; and finally, at the bottom, there are People's village Councils.

I shall discuss only the village council. It consists of twenty freely elected persons, of whom 25% must be females. The Council's work is very broadly defined. It can undertake any 'project' for the development of the village provided that it is locally financed from the villagers own resources.

However, practically, the role of Keli's Council as a formal organization is not very significant but in some aspects. During

(11) To know about the details, aims and framework of this new policy and its organization see M.A.K. the People's Local Govt. Act, 1971, People's Local Govt. Journal, 14 Jan, 1972 pp. 11-17; also in the same issue see J. Hewitt, The Local Government Reform in the Sudan pp. 1-10; for framework and general assessment.)
my whole stay not more than four meetings were held, all of which except one, discussed very general issues e.g. standard of village's hygienic condition, and provision of other services such as rationing of sugar, tea, Kerosene etc. The fourth meeting dealt with the planned visit of the Head of State. It is noteworthy that this had been planned and supervised by Keli club at Khartoum. It is important to note that the things that were discussed in the Council's meeting, were in fact decided informally. The meetings are just to give the decisions their formal shape. Therefore, informal contacts are by far more important than the discussions at the formal meetings. General attendance, I have observed, never exceeded ten, and unanimous agreement was usually reached. Only two, out of the four women in the Council, attended meetings regularly.

None of them, at any rate, attempted to speak. They preferred to take a dark corner, unseen, and kept silent till the meetings were over. Concerning other members, the most influential people are X (the wealthiest figure in the village). His influence arises out of his strong financial position. When the council intends to buy consumer goods that distributed by the council, it is X who provides them with the necessary funds. He buys the
feul for the artisan well-pump. So, in all sorts of financial needs, he is the only one who is resorted to. In this capacity he has a great say in the running of the artisan well and the distribution of the consumer's goods because they are stored in his shop and given out through him. (T₁, S (who is T₁'s father's brother) and (T₂), occupy their seats by virtue of their official status as school-headmaster. They are, as a matter of fact very influential (in the sense of being most listened to). Outside the Council, the teachers are always consulted by people because the educated is identified as wise and knowledgeable in all matters of life. Nevertheless, their presence in the council has formalized their influence, but has not increased it at all. They are the most active members especially (T₁). For the rest of the members—other than the names mentioned—they only accept what has been reached informally.

Second in influence to the village council is the multi-purpose co-operative. Its establishment is also associated with the erection of the new local government system. Its work extends to cover a multiplicity of commercial activities. But it is now confined to dealings in consumer goods only (such as sugar, tea, flour, kerosene... etc) in addition to its
supervision over the co-operative's bakery. Membership of the co-operative amounts to six hundred people, holding about one thousand shares. Knowing that women are majority in the village and that the cooperative provides for everyday necessities, it is logical that women constitute the bulk of the membership. The most influential person in its freely-elected executive committee is 'I' (one of the recurrent names we shall refer to later on). He is influential in the sense of being most active. Besides, he formulates all important decisions and plans for future work. The executive committee of the cooperative is not working well and much of its work has been taken over by the village's council. Throughout the whole period I spent in the field no single meeting was convened - all tasks were performed by 'I' on behalf of the committee. The importance of the cooperative committee springs out of the fact that it controls some basic items that are essential in people's everyday life.

The remaining part of the formal organizations can be described categorically as either just names for non-existing realities, or else as only "occasional" in that they are
dormant and do not operate except from time to time. For example, the youth Union has no actual existence whatsoever. Of course this can be explained by the nature of the social set-up of the community. Youth represents a very small ineffective section of the population. Another defunct organization is the village's Development Committee whose role has been taken over by the council. The Development Committee is headed by 'I' and two of the three Sheikhs as members.

Father C Councils, on the other hand, were originally designed to link students' parents and school. Their activity is periodical only. At the beginning of every academic year they may sit to discuss the needs of schools in regard to maintenance of furniture and buildings. In consequence, the matters handled by these councils arise only from time to time. Also the effect of these matters on the wider local community is limited to a small section of it, and it does not have direct bearing on the village politics.

Informal Organisations:

In this section I intend to take some informal organizations and forms of influence and discuss their nature and how they are manipulated. Too, they will be shown as potential sources of influence. Relationships between them will be depicted in
one simplified model.

For the purpose of simplicity I shall include only three elements in the model: death ceremonies (mourning period), small shops and the village mosque. The three places are places where relatively large numbers of people gather. Death is an important occasion in the village and considered more important than any other social occasion - hence, all people are obliged to attend, at least, first days of the mourning period (seven days for men). Normally people try very hard not to absent themselves in the first three days. Consequently, it is soon enough that such a meeting creates the suitable conditions for expressing, exchanging and measuring various news in both public and private issues.

Shops, the second element, has a social role beside the commercial one. Idle villagers group in front of these shops, pass time by talking and chatting. The shop is a quasi-information centre. At it one can get the latest news that concern the village. Each shop has its, more or less, non-fixed group which meets daily at irregular time, yet sun-set is the favorite period. Chatting
group frequently consist of neighbours and nearby close kin and comprises about ten persons in some cases. Village wide affairs as well as personal matters are discussed.

Our third element, the mosque, appear significantly in the model. The majority of the village population are keen to attend Friday Prayer (regardless of whether they practise their daily prayers or not). It is commonplace that publicizing of any issue takes place within the premises of the mosque, after the Friday Prayer. If somebody wants, for example, to direct a public marriage invitation he does that at the mosque and when the prayer is over; if he did that nobody could blame him for not being informed.

Now, my suggested model is that shop groups are mostly appropriate for private discussions and preliminary stages of view formulating. That is, topics here are cruelly discussed. At the mourning place (if there are) in lieu of which any public occasion will do some refinement takes place. The public gathered in the mourning place reflects various interests and views. Then, all the discussions are brought to the shop group to be reviewed once again, and they will be modified and
and prepared for more public discussions. The process continues for sometime till concrete views are arrived at. At the mosque the process reaches its final stage. The final discussion of any topic is made at the mosque after the Friday prayer.

The Case of Distribution of Tenancies:

At the stage of handing over tenancies to villagers, there was a general feeling that preparation of the plots would be two costly and difficult to be done by the tenant alone without the help of the scheme administration. That general feeling crystallized in the arguments forwarded by the village representatives (at that time they were the three Shaikhs and 'S') to the administration. The administration rejected all the arguments. The first step to be taken by the representatives was to meet (X) and talk to him informally at his shop. 'X' in turn took the pains of telling the shop-group and those who happened to buy from him that day. Next day he discussed with other people at a mourning place what should be done. That which had been from previous day's crude discussions. At the mourning place they, (X the Shaikhs, 'S' and the present) agreed to submit a petition to the administration demanding the reconsideration of the matter. The
details of how the petition is to be submitted was discussed in front of 'X's' shop, between 'X' and the shop group. This was again discussed at the mourning place. The result of the informal discussions at the mourning place resulted in an invitation from 'X' to the three Shaikhs, 'S', 'I', 'J', 'T' and 'T', to an informal meeting at his shop. At that meeting he suggested the formation of a group to represent the whole village to sign the petition. They agreed on this and on presenting the case at the mosque after next Friday Prayer - T was entrusted with the presentation of the broadlines of the case. Next Friday all attendants of the prayer had known about the case before they came. In that meeting, 'X' after the presentation, suggested even further, the names of those to sign the petition. All this was unanimously agreed approved of and full support was given to the steering committee, headed by 'X'. They were given the green light to act on behalf of the village. Finally, 'X' called the petition group to a brief meeting in his house for its drafting and signing.

Community leaders:

This last section tackles the question of who are the men of influence in Kel - Justification for the use of the term
influence rather than leadership is that 1) the normatively egalitarian spirit prevents actors from assuming roles of leadership 2) the present situation does not permit describing some people as leaders, but in a restricted sense (as it is transitional and still in the making). Identification and measurement of the degree of leadership is a problematic issue for the political scientists (12). For the purpose of discussion I shall apply three criteria for identification of men of influence: 1) occupation (formal positions) 2) to be identified as man of influence by other people 3) Empirical identification of persons capable of influencing situations. I would like to emphasize that in a small village like Koli which is somewhat ethnically homogeneous, it is relatively easy to know men of influence. One can see the major part of influence process occurring before his eyes in a limited pace and with actual participants in action in formal and informal settings.

Applying our three criteria, the category of men of influence includes the following names: 'X', 'Y', 'I', 'T2' and 'B'.

and to a lesser degree the three Shaikhs. Below I discuss their resources and potentialities.

'X' is an elderly man (about 55 years old) with enormous wealth invested outside Keli, in the South. He is engaged in a multi-commercial activities in the village. Beside ownership of a shop, a flour mill and a bakery; he owns three small pumps stationed on a ten feddans rented land. People go to him to hire his lorry or Land Rover, the only cars permanently available in the village, when they have urgent matters in Shendi town or some other place. Too, he is approached for help when there is emergency case that need fast transport (e.g. cases of illness or death). As a chairman of the village's council he is responsible for the consumer goods distributed by the council. He is contracted to supply the village's artisan well with the required amount of fuel. On the other hand, he is much respected for his religious character; he is a Haj and he memorizes Quran. He takes the opportunity on different religious occasions and celebrate them by inviting villagers to his house. This portrays him as a generous and modest man. In fact he never eats inside his house. All his meals are brought to him in front of his shop and all those who happen to be present irrespective of their
economic or social standing, are warmly invited to eat. As
a permanent resident in the village (for the last ten years)
he knows everything that relates to the public or the private
life of the villagers. In times of emergency and need for
material or immaterial assistance, people would directly come
to him. Thus, he combines two things. First, he is a popular
character (religions, modest, and kind); secondly, his economic
position is a source of his influence (the shop, the bakery, the
mill, the two cars and supply the village's fuel). Some by-product
intangible resources arise from the situation e.g. his commercial
activities involve him in a web of wide contacts inside and
outside the village. As a shopkeeper he gets easy access to
information, through the two cars he secures a high degree of
mobility.

He is, therefore, the most qualified person as the leader
of the village—but he could not be! To answer this we must recall
the community's normative value of egalitarianism, also, in the
past, the village's economy depended largely on outside income, and,
therefore, the internal economy was not an effective determinant
in internal social relations. Analyzing the new situation, however,
his position will not be the same; i.e., his influence may change into power (assuming change of other factors).

'S' a descendant of an Ashaneeg religious family, is an old experienced school teacher. In terms of standard of living, his economic position is above the average. His influence resources derive from that 1) he holds a number of formal positions, the most effective of which is his position in the village council, 2) as a teacher he is respected by common villagers and regarded as a knowledgeable person 3) his descendence from the religious family and his own conformity to the religious rules guarantees him more respect 4) many people in his family are teachers so he can depend on them for support 5) his brother is the na'soon of the village and leader of Friday prayer; and finally, his long residence qualifies him for knowing about everything in the village, hence, ability to influence other people.

'T', and 'Z' are also school teachers and are thus, respected and highly regarded. Being relatively young (below forty), they are very active, and devoted to communal issues (cloud Keli First). Their respect and compliance of religious rules, again is a social asset for them.

'D' is a shop keeper whose very long residence in the village (for forty five years he was never out of it for more
than ten days) and his very long experience in handling its affairs in addition to his high intellectual and organ-
izational talents were all elements that contribute to make him a popular figure. He is one of those who play the role of guardian for headless households. In his capacity as a guardian, he knows much about the internal matters of many households and is in much closer contact with them; his influence, then, can be great. He is also a holder of a number of formal positions.

Ta’ is another person of sound capital invested outside Keli (in the South). His long experience in commercial activities in the South has gained him as an invaluable skill as a negotiator and mediator. This asset he made use of in the following way. As he is very skillful in informal contacts and maneuvering, he acted informally as a middleman between the administration of the scheme and the villagers; the result of this is many benefits to him (something that we will discuss later on).

So all these people are the most qualified persons to be termed men of influence. In fact all village’s affairs are decided and determined by these people. However, we must recall
that this is only a transitory situation which has not
crystalized yet. Some are more influential than others. The
most influential of all of them is 'X' followed by 'S',
'I', T₁, T₂, and 'P' respectively. The Shaikhs have
already lost their influence over the village's issues.

Conclusion:

To conclude, my aim here has been to indicate and describe
briefly the type of environment that both constrains the actors
and, at the same time, furnishes them with potentialities for
social action. I have attempted in this chapter to point out
some of the major sources of influence and how they can be
used, at the same time, as potential resources by the different
individuals. Age, sex, length of residence, certain
qualifications, and shopkeeping and teaching as influential
occupations per se, in addition to the above-mentioned sources,
complete the set of criteria that access to which and skill in using
them make a person profoundly influential in the domain of
the village's affairs. Formal and informal institutions as means
and contexts in which influence over communal issues is practised
are also briefly outlined. In the end I introduced the persons
who seem to be leading in the uncertain and uncler social situation
that came about as a result of the establishment of the scheme. How much of the criteria a person disposes is a measure of the degree of his influence. 'X', for example, who enjoys much of the required criteria is the most influential person in the village. He is the wealthiest man in Keli. In this capacity he controls the internal economy (supplies of rations, fuel for the pump, the bakery, the flour mill, etc.), plus the transport means. His wealth is also employed in other sources of influence. For example he can contribute significantly in terms of funds in the creation of the village's proposed projects (e.g. building of schools). His supply of funds enables him to celebrate all religious occasions of communal nature and to invite as many people as possible. Again, in terms of age he is respected very much; he is very religious, length of residence is quite reasonable, with wide experience and a shopkeeper. All decisions that concern the village at large are made with his initiative, consent and blessing.

However, real influence is exerted through control of material economic means of production in the near future. Indication of this are in fact witnessed now. Many of the mentioned criteria are transformed into acquisition of tenancies that will be the main means of production in the economy of the village. To own more than one tenancy means control of means of livelihood of many people. This is discussed in the next chapter and the chapter after it in more detail.
In the previous chapter we discussed the potential internal sources of influence and the main leading people in the village and the resources each of them has. The present chapter is a continuation of the argument. It lies into two main parts. The first part deals with general factual information about the scheme; in part two I analyse the attitude of Keli villagers towards the advent of the scheme. In the last part emphasis is made on how the resources were used by the different individuals especially the leading people to exploit the new situation.

Part one: About the Scheme:

Keli Agricultural Scheme is one in a series of governmental schemes - Salawa, Wed Hamid and Kaboushiyia - to be established in Shendi area in the near future. Two schemes, also governmental - Seidab and Kitiyyiah - have already been in existence for many decades. The latter two schemes and in this respect all Northern Province's agricultural schemes - were established
to provide the British colonial government at the time with the necessary food supplies during the Second World War. By that time the Sudan seemed to approach the verge of a food crisis. In both schemes *dura*, the country's staple crop, was grown as the major agricultural product. Another reason behind the erection of these earlier schemes was to avert the risk of famine in years of low flood. Neither of the *Kaidat* or *Kitiyyiab* schemes has been planned with respect to the betterment of the social conditions of the indigenous population.

The aim of establishing *Kéli* scheme - and the other future schemes in the region - is to provide a means of livelihood for the inhabitants of the region, and to curb the increasing rate of emigration. Farming, the main occupation, had ceased to be dependable means of livelihood for living for long for a number of reasons. As a result of fragmentation and fractionation.

(1) Rothilli, Agriculture in the Sudan p. 749
(2) Claxton, T.W. Mechanisation in Agriculture 1943-48 n.d. No publication place. Sudan Section U. of S.
(3) Barbour op cit. 144
process of land holdings, because of Islamic law of inheritance, agricultural plots had become so small that it was uneconomical to develop (4). Ecological conditions, furthermore, had also been unfavourable. Rainfall varied considerably from one year to another (5). Also a result of the great yearly variations in the is that flood level neither the size of the irrigated area nor the cropped land was constant. For example in 1964 size of irrigated area under dura cultivation was approximately 136,000 feddans; in 1965 it became 46,000 feddans approximately, then in 1967 it went up to 122,000 feddans and to fall again in 1968 to 46,000 (6) (figures are applicable to the former Northern Province as a whole). It is to be implied that this high variability is certainly reflected in the annual production of dura, the main crop. The economic condition of the farmer, in turn, became extremely miserable. For instance, his net income of the sales of agricultural product was Le. 32 (7) per annum - an income which he supplemented

(4) Average Feddan. per person is 0.08 Whitton 198; Whitton, B.J. Regional Development - the case of the Northern Province in Saw, B.J. Agricultural Development in the Sudan


1969-70 No.10 p.6

(6) Ministry of Agriculture, Bulletin of Agricultural Institutes

(7) Adam, F.E. Mode of Agricultural Production (in Arabic), Bulletin of Sudanese Studies Vol. 4 No.1, 1973 pp29-43

Note: Compare this income with the minimum wage in the Public Sector - which is about Le. Sudanese pound per month
by what he got from the sale of \( \textit{yhome} \) - made handicrafts, and animal products. To escape this state of destitution a great deal of the able-bodied population has continued the drift out of the area in pursuit of employment elsewhere.

Keli as a specific case is not much different from the general description given above. Up to 1971 Keli basin or Khero had not been adequately watered by floods for over twenty years, according to the local estimations. Though the gross irrigable area of the basin is 11,000 feddans, the average of the annually flooded area between 1966-1970 was 2,000 feddans only. The Roserres Soil Survey report states that agriculture and land use in Keli basin in 1964 was nil. Besides failure of floods, the type of soil in the basin requires much effort to raise due to its many deficiencies. It is classified as of grade three or four in terms of suitability for agriculture. Khero land is of restricted suitability for irrigation and consider to approach marginality. By deduction one can say

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(8) A basin is formed as the river swings from side to side it leaves a succession of depressions, or basin representing the former course. It is cultivable Barbour p.155.

(9) Ibid p.141

(10) Kheir, op. cit. p. 76.

(11) Roserres report p.34

(12) Kheir, op. cit. Appendix II p.(11)

(13) Ibid.
the development of the Kari land needs a very large amount of capital. Farmers being poor as has been described, they would not be able to bear such economic undertakings. For the wealthy people of the area the risk bearing of the extensive agricultural economic ventures was too high to attempt. In other words, government only can raise substantial funds to bring about large agricultural development with its various implications.

Keli Scheme, the government hopes, will accomplish the following goals:
1) to increase the size of the irrigable land
2) to prevent the damages that are caused by the desert creep which may really take up a considerable part of valuable agricultural land
3) to increase the farmer's economic chances
4) the farmer's standard of living will accordingly rise
5) to reduce the rate of emigration to towns

As part of the overall national policy for development, it was announced by the authorities in their public speeches that Keli Scheme - together with the other schemes of the area - is intended to enable the Sudan attaining food self-sufficiency.

(14) Keli Scheme: Brief report compiled by the Ministry of Irrigation, Sudan - n.d. pp. 5-6.
In its first stages it is counted as a subsistence scheme with a two-fold limited purpose: to offer employment and provide the population of the area with locally consumed food crop(s). Some cash crop will also be grown very soon in order to supply the tenant with cash. It is also expected that the surplus of the agricultural products can be marketed locally inside the Sudan.

The Scheme comprises an area of about 2000 feddans. All the greatest part of this land lies within the Kuru (Keli basin). A very small portion is in the Sagia land. The Scheme passes through fifteen villages, and extends over an area of thirty six kilometers. The number of tenants to benefit directly from the scheme is 1550; their number in Keli village is 380 tenants.

Work commenced at the end of 1975. The Ministry of Irrigation staff began earthwork preparations first. Then it was followed by clearing of trees and levelling of earth. It was a tremendous work. Acacia trees and bushes were uprooted by gigantic motor- graders and similar machinery. Tractor drivers worked day and night moving massive volumes of earth, digging irrigation canals and so forth.
The second step, carried on simultaneously with the first step, was done by the local government authorities. They were concerned with the administrative procedures of land settlement. They worked out the names of all people whose lands were to enter the scheme. The criteria for eligibility of acquisition were one 5-feddan tenancy in the scheme and as follows:

1) ownership of six feddas in the Faru land or one feddan in the freehold type of land (of course it should be within the land of the Scheme)
2) applicant must be an indigenous inhabitant of Keli
3) his main occupation is farming
4) should have a family

After finishing this step all the files were delivered to the authorities of the Ministry of Agricultural Services for Keli Scheme. These, in turn, were to carry out the task of actual distribution of tenancies, to prepare and begin the agricultural operations. Both local government and agricultural staff will have permanent representatives in the Headquarter's offices at Keli village. The duty of the local government personnel is to observe and carry out administrative tasks of different nature. Agricultural staff will concentrate on technical problems of

{15} A report prepared by the Local Government Administration in Keli.
cultivation. It is expected that tenant unions will be formed, as well as agricultural committees, to supervise and control the running of the Scheme, in collaboration with local government and agricultural staff.

On the official opening of the scheme on the third of January 1975 it was announced that its total cost amounted up to Le.3,600,000 (three million six thousand pounds) (16).

Through allotment of tenancies, theoretically speaking, follows the four-point criteria stated above, in actuality, all weight and importance rested on one point only viz ownership of land. Only those who owned land in the Karu or the freehold land were given priority in tenancy distribution; any surplus of tenancies would be distributed to those without land but who should score high in the remaining points (i.e. residents of Keli, farmers and with families) a person, in order to obtain a tenancy, should be able to present six feddans in the Karu land or one feddan of milk bar (freehold land). Holders of milk bar would be given first priority in choosing the plots they desired i.e.

they select the location of their tenancies. It is not necessary that the six feddans (an one faddan) be presented by one person. A group of people could add their fractions together to make six feddans. Also, one could purchase some fractions to make up for the needed portion if his land is below six feddans. He could also buy all the six feddans from any one who desired to do so.

In the case of brothers or close relatives along the father's line (PB, PB's), and if they were living far away in Khartoum or Juba, they made a tawziel (charge) to one of them who stayed in the village to act as a proxy representing all of them. The tenancy (if they all had six feddans only) would be registered in their names but the proxy would be the sole responsible person before the administration. However, if they were heirs and their individual holdings were below six feddans and provided that they disagreed to bring their fractions together, they would automatically lose their rights. But this does not mean that as individuals they could not sell or donate their fractions to other people if they wanted, lest they should lose their land for nothing. Alternatively, the disagreeing individual had a chance of purchasing land to complete his fraction to six feddans.
Tenancy holders by the legal statements in the application form have lost all claims over land thereafter. If they proved to be reckless tenants in the future they would be dispossessed of their tenancies and they would have no right to protest or claim anything.

A new situation:

The advent of the Scheme marks a new phase in the way Keli villagers used to live. Prior to the scheme, as has been shown earlier, Keli community was a relatively close one whose internal administration and economy was dependent on its own emigrating 'sons' in such towns as Khartoum and Juba. Ethnically, it could be described as homogeneous almost with no strangers who were from outside Keli. All its inhabitants, with negligible exceptions, claimed descent from one ancestral origin, and they assumed that they are all kinmen.

The village had a minimal amount of direct contact with the government administration. The administration was represented in the three local fikhs for collection of taxes. No government administrative official stayed in the village at all. The nearest
administrative centre was in Shendi town (On one occasion Keli people rejected the idea of having a police station in the village. They thought it would be shameful for them to resort to the police because they were all kinsmen). Due to centralization of administration Keli depended heavily in the activity of its son's in Khartoum. Even decisions that had direct bearing on the internal state of affairs were taken in Khartoum by the Keli emigrants there.

The village's very long experience of the voluntary and involuntary emigration throughout its history has eventually led to the most adjusted sex ratio, in the present situation (with females number exceeding that of the males) Many young wives and girls were left behind in the village.

The Kaliab are proud of their Arab descent and Islamic faith - both of which carry heavy connotations of honour and shame in matters regarding moral behaviour of women in particular. Hence, Keli people opposed vigorously the presence of strangers in the village. A stranger to be admitted to stay in the village, should be in the company of a Kaliabi and that be, the stranger, would stay with that Kaliabi in his house. In services that require presence of government employees, the Kaliab took pains to ensure
that it ought to be one of their sons, if they had qualified ones; in lieu of that they insisted that the coming government employees should be married. If all these conditions were not fulfilled e.g. In the case of unmarried secondary school teachers, who had stayed in governmental houses and virtually did not have any social communication with the village population except in very rare cases. On such occasions as marriage ceremonies, naming of a child or religious celebrations, their presence incurred prestige on the host.

Thus, this is a brief description of the situation prior to the scheme.

With the coming of the scheme things did not remain the same. Keli was chosen to be the Headquarters of the Administration and agricultural main staff (for its middle position). About fifty people of the scheme manpower had to stay in the village as this was more convenient for them. Such a thing had been the first occurrence of its kind in the recent history of the village. The Kaliab did not show any sign of protest at first. This is explainable, I think, by the fact that it was a government decision first, and secondly, the Headquarters might be shifted to some other village - in which case Keli would lose in terms of its fame (Recall concept of
Keli first).

One should be able to imagine the effect of the presence of fifty people the majority of whom had their age well below thirty in a female dominated, in terms of number, community like that of Keli. The situation becomes more complicated if we know that these workers (17) had been recruited from different departments and disperse areas of the country as the Sudan. The workers' social and moral behaviour was far from being homogeneous. They were not bound by one code of conduct nor were they obliged by administrative rules to behave in a certain way outside the workplace.

The scheme brought with it a new type of administration. Its structure and function were not like those the Khalib had been accustomed to. Again, the administration dealt directly with them with no need to refer to higher authorities i.e. all problems were solved on the spot. Khartoum emigrants did not have the chance to interfere in any way, and Keli people had to engage in face-to-face relations with the new 'imposed' administrative system. And

(17) Hereafter I use the term 'workers' to mean all those who work as government employees in the Scheme irrespective of their actual job ranks.
it is they 'Kalib in Keli' alone who had to make decisions.

If we perceive Keli community as a system, and the scheme with the administrative machinery and the people who have come with it - as another system, we observe that these are two interacting systems. The nature and course of interaction determines the degree to which any of the elements, in either system, undergo modification or radical change. But we should not forget that the relationships and interaction between the elements of the one system do also affect the outcome of the formal interaction of the two systems. However, I am not interested in the formal level of administration which I leave for some other future opportunity. Below, I shall discuss the expressed and manifested response of the various elements in Keli system.

Handling of the new situation:

The encounter that has taken place between Keli village on the one hand and the 'Scheme' on the other can be viewed like any social encounter, from different perspectives. For the purpose of simplicity, however, I shall consider two things only. One I shall discuss the 'group' response, or, how Keli people
reacted collectively to the event of the advent of the scheme.

Two, closely related to the first but can be analytically

distinct is how the main actors (or community leaders) responded

individually guided by their own interests and ambitions.

It is essential to understand that there is a mutual and reciprocal

effect between the collective and the individual behaviour.

The individual behaviour is largely constrained by the community

behaviour and the collective action. On the other hand, the action

of the community can also be greatly moulded by the individual

action of the leading figures. Especially in a situation like the

one I am analysing; now individual behaviour plays a significant

role in determining the shape of Keli community in the future.

The situation at the first days of the scheme was one of

uncertainty and ambiguity. There were many causes for this uncertainty.

First of all Keli people did not know much about the scheme or its

goals. They knew poorly that an agricultural scheme would be established,

and nothing more. The other factor involved is that, as has been

mentioned previously, unlike the situation in the past when all

matters were initiated, directed and executed by Khartoum, with the

establishment of the scheme all matters have to be discussed, solved

and executed in Keli itself. There has been no need to refer to

Khartoum emigrants for the nature of the problems themselves(e.g.
problems of land registration or tenancy distribution and the like; all of which have been administratively dealt with in Keli itself). But as people in Keli had not been accustomed and trained to do this they had to have some time to understand what was going on around them. Thirdly, the situation is new in that Keli people have never come across such a situation before, therefore attitude and behaviour of individuals was not guided by an already existing set of rules or values. In other words people had to find out the best arrangement that was suitable and acceptable by the community, yet it was to lead to the realisation of their own personal interests. In such situations of uncertainty behaviour of people seems, sometimes, to be contradictory. Out of this apparent contradiction in the individual's behaviour emerges a new social framework with more or less distinct features.

Both the group and the individual behaviour are discussed below through the presentation of particular cases. Generally speaking, Keli people's response to the advent of the scheme was ambivalent. They hoped that the scheme would put an end to their maladjusted community by encouraging the emigrants to come back; and they also hoped that the scheme would enhance their own economic and social conditions. At the same time, at least in the preliminary
stages, the presence of a large number of young 'strangers' - all of whom came as workers in the scheme - annoyed Keli villagers very much, for the problems they created regarding their moral behaviour towards the village's females. The individual's behaviour was constrained by the aggressive communal attitude towards the scheme workers, but at the same time every individual sought materialization of his own personal goals and ambitions. This explains for us all the behaviour involved in the cases brought below.

The first case that illustrates a communal attitude of Keli villagers took place when tenancies were being distributed. After the local government officials finished their work of making the final lists of eligible persons according to the criteria that had already been set, they delivered all the lists to the agricultural officials. The agricultural manager, with the aid of his staff, sponsored the process of allocating the tenant's names to the already numbered tenancies i.e., tenant A would be in tenancy Y. Some problems appeared. Many people, mostly fathers and sons or brothers, wanted their tenancies adjacent to one another. In the meeting held between the agricultural manager and the village's representative committee for the purpose of allocation of tenancies, the manager tried to meet these requests at first, but after some time he seemed to get bored.
Consequently he insisted on following the order in which the lists were given to him (The lists were prepared by local government authorities according to priority of application). This was reported to the villagers by the committees. There was grumbling and general discontent, and the matter was discussed and re-discussed in mourning places and other social gatherings. But the whole thing did not go beyond more latent discontent; it had never come to the open.

Another case occurred when the actual handing over of tenancies was to take place. Tenants protested through their committee that the tenancy land needed a lot of work before it was ready for cultivation. They argued that they did not have animals or tractors to do the levelling and the rigging, and that it was impossible for them to do it manually. In their informal discussions, they arrived at the decision that they should boycott the reception of the tenancies. The idea was initiated by X and strongly supported by S. The period decided for the handing over of tenancies was a matter of few days only. Some of the qualified tenants who were emigrants in Khartoum came to receive their tenancies. They were pressed by time and they could not wait more than few days. Therefore,
they began, against the general feeling, to receive the tenancies before seeing the outcome of the negotiations between the villagers and the administration over the demand made by the villagers that the irrigation authorities should repeat the levelling and the ridging processes. This acceptance of tenancies by a part of the tenants made the case very weak for the rest, and so the rest yielded and they received the tenancies. Thus, the informal decision of not to receive the tenancies was rendered ineffective and was not carried out despite the formal step the villagers had taken by forwarding a written petition to the Scheme authorities. The clash of interests of Keli emigrants in Khartoum was eventually reflected in the failure of Keli people to take effective measures. In Khartoum emigrants did not have much time to stay in Keli and thus their interests forced them to accept the tenancies for what they were. On the other hand, and affected by the emigrant's attitude the other village tenants feeling that they had lost their case they accepted the tenancies, too.

The other following cases are a continuation of villagers' communal attitude towards the scheme administration and workers in general; the aim behind bringing such cases is to indicate clearly how collective action gave way to individual action - or more
personal interests have diverged from, and sometimes overridden, the communal normative values.

In their normative value system Keli people reject altogether the presence of bachelor strangers in the village in order to protect their womansfolk. When the scheme workers came to take residence in the village they were not welcomed by the villagers. Nonetheless, hoping that the scheme might have its benefits Keli people did not react violently against the presence of the workers at first. This how the workers came to find houses to let. These houses lie at the far southern end in the new extension of the village. They have been built by Khartoum emigrants and the traders in South. The houses are left unoccupied as it is usually the case that the emigrant's wives live with their - the wives' - parents. The emigrant's usually thinks of having a house ready for use when he is back again after some years he stays working outside the village. The owners of the houses, motivated by the high rent paid by the workers and they were, therefore, persuaded to hire them out. Again here we see how emigrant's interests interfere to undermine the normative rule against the residence of bachelors in the village.

Within Keli there were no many places where workers could go to spend their leisure time. There are no places of entertainment
except for the occasionally opened village club. The workers were neither accepted nor welcomed at the club. And Keli people virtually did not have any collective social relations with them. They did not exchange group visits with one another on any social occasion. The nearest place for the workers to enjoy themselves by having local liquor and 'recreation' was Milakkiya; apart from this, they spent their time in the village chatting and playing cards inside their houses.

By night they might go out for a walk outside the village, or they might sit in front of their houses chatting till late in the night. Keli male villagers usually went to bed very early in ordinary times. This is how some of Keli women and girls found chance of meeting and having love-affairs with the workers. Some of these illicit sexual relations were discovered by the villagers and relations between the villagers and the workers became very tense. The wrong-doer females, though the whole village came to know them, were not punished; they were only scorned by their close relatives (the father or some closely related male in the father's line if she was unmarried; if she was married then it would be her husband or her brother if the husband was absent). Again here the normative
role of protection of women and common guardianship of womansfolk
has fallen into disuse.

Another case to exemplify the ambivalent behaviour of
Keli people is further demonstrated by the following case. One
junior official of the scheme workers wanted to marry in his far
away village. Before he went to his village he was encouraged and
persuaded by T to hold a tem party in Keli and make a dancing
party so that his fellow workers and the villagers might contribute
and assist him financially. The junior official did so. Very few
people from the village came among whom were I, S, W and few others;
but they did not stay long. We should note here that this may seem
an incident of co-operation between villagers and the Scheme worker,
however personal interests were the primary motive behind this
couragement and persuasion. The junior official was the person
in charge of the files containing the lists of eligible tenants; so
I, S, and W supported him because he was of use for them to make
things easier for them e.g. when they wanted to alter the names of
tenancy owners, when they sold or bought tenancies illegally.

When the dancing party started, some of the Gundata (that
quarter of the village) girls began to move towards the junior officials
house, but they were harshly stopped, prevented and abused by an elderly man from that quarter. Very shortly after that all the village knew about the incident. While the party was going on, with the workers only, young children began to throw stones inside the house. Since it was very dark that night, the workers could not identify or catch any of the children. Next day the workers reported the case at the Miniyie police station. The case was recorded against unknown doors. In this case I draw attention to the fact that Keli people could not stand openly against the workers; most probably because as individuals, they feared being exposed to legal punishment and their personal interests might be jeopardized.

However the situation changed with the temporary return of some emigrants. Last Ramadan, the fasting month, the working hours of the working house for tractor-drivers and similar workers were changed to begin after sun. -set till one or two o'clock in the morning; then they are free the whole morning. In Ramadan Keli villagers undertook very little activity during the day because they stayed up very late on Ramadan nights. This gave the workers, especially the tractor drivers, the chance to receive Keli girls and women during the day; with whom the workers had had prior appointments. Keli emigrants in Khartoum heard about the incidents
and they were very angry. They sent a representative to talk
to the leading people in the village (K, S, I, T₁, T₂, W, and D).
The representative carried to the village the bitter blame of
the Eltoum emigrants and their scorn for what had been running
on in the village without being stopped. Two modes of action emerged.
to harass the workers
A secret committee was formed, led by S, in order that they could
abandon living in the village—for example, by persuading children
to throw stones at them, call them bad names, etc. The second mode
of action was undertaken by the Village's Council. It was agreed
that the council should summon those who cooperated directly with
the workers; particularly the shopkeepers, butchers, the house-
owners or their proxies who dealt with the workers. The decision
was that if those collaborators did not comply with the council's
decisions to discontinue assisting the workers by renting houses to
them or selling them things, the villagers would ex-communicate the
non-conformists. However, none of the collaborators turned up.
Gradually the matter was forgotten and nobody seemed enthusiastic
about raising the issue again after the representative left the
village. In other words one can say that the reaction observed in
this particular case was not because Hel veteran felt to do so,
or that they were organized in such a way that there was harmony in their action. The two modes of action were simply the result of the influence of the emigrants and even the details were engineered by the representative. For lack of well established and precisely defined leadership in Keli the whole thing collapsed. As individuals as I mentioned Keli villagers sought their own personal interests which might be seriously harmed if they took any serious open measures. Even when they decided to summon the collaborators, the councillors thought it better to be confidential and to call them one by one. Yet the emigrants who had the real interest in upholding the value of 'we are all kinmen' and the value of males' direct supervision over women's behaviour, wouldn't let the incident pass easily.

The Eid that followed that Ramadan many of Keli emigrants in Khartoum attended the occasion as usual. The representatives of Keli Club at Khartoum held a heated meeting with the representative committee of the village (consisting of $X_1, S, I_1, T_1, T_2$) and discussed the matter with them. The emphasis of the Khartoum representatives was on the moral aspect of the problem and how that incident would damage Keli's name. As a result of the informal discussions some of the emigrants male youth took some drastic steps in regards to the worker's residence inside the village. They brought huge trea-
trunks and blockaded the side-streets of the village; the main road only was left unblockaded. They also formed watch groups armed with heavy sticks to patrol the village after eight O'clock in the evening. The watch group could stop any person, provided that he was not a kahlabi, after that hour and ask him to explain what he did at that time. They were ready to apply force in cases of resistance. The workers did not react to this and kept quiet till the kahlabi was over. After the kahlabi the emigrants in Khartoum returned to their work in the capital. With their return the workers removed all the 'obstacles'; no man in the village continued the night-patrols. This is, furthermore, explainable in the light of the premise that the influence of the emigrant on Kali villagers has been greatly minimised since Kali villagers became the decision-makers of all the matters that concerned them. Also the new situation has necessitated a new kind perception of action according to new personal interests. The group interest has no longer been the dominant and the directing motive.

In order to understand the group, as well as the individual, behaviour and attitude towards the workers of a scheme, we have to examine the personal interests involved. Personal interests are
the main cause behind taking any collective action as emigrant's interests and those of the villagers are no longer coinciding as they did in the past; each of the two groups now has its own set of interests which is divergent from the other's. Hence, any collective action is doomed to failure. Below I analyse the keli villagers' individual interests that have made them act the way I am describing.

The workers with their unprecedented huge number in the village have affected some sections of the village's internal economy. The workers gained a lot of money from the over-time hours they worked; but there were no entertainment places that could absorb the surplus of their money. Therefore the greater share of their incomes was spent on the food stuff and things that they bought at the small shops in the village. Economically speaking, the sections that benefited mostly were some shopkeepers and butchers. Also of the sections that had vested interests in the presence of the workers were the messengers and watchmen who were employed by the scheme administration. In effect the 'group' of the shopkeepers, butchers, messengers and watchmen had a concealed reluctance to terminate their economic connections with the workers.
"5 and 6 were the two shopkeepers whose shops were nearest to the worker's houses. Before the workers came the size of their sales was very little because they were in the least populated part of the village. Their turnover increased immensely after the arrival of the workers; in fact the two shopkeepers had apparently become prosperous; and so had the butchers in that part of the village. This group of beneficiaries played a significant role in assisting the workers - for example, by locating and mediating and hiring out unoccupied houses to the workers. When these 'collaborators' were summoned by the council, they opted for their personal benefits versus the possibility of a communal social action against them (or perhaps they might have sensed the decision-makers' hesitation in executing it because they themselves - the decision-makers - also had their personal interests in the workers' stay in the village).

The shopkeeper 7 was the one who directly benefited from the presence of the workers for the largested group of workers lived around his shop, and they made the bulk of their shopping at it. He helped the workers in many ways and he acted as
a consultant in all matters that related to their relationship with the village. He had maintained very strong friendly relations with them. They came to his shop to chat with him most of the time and he bestowed, by the virtue of his age, parental care over them. They revealed their problems and worries to him and sought his advice. It was evident that he was trying to strike a compromise between his loyalty to the village and his own personal interests; but if it came to be an either-or situation as when he was summoned by the council - he gave priority to the personal interests. With the distribution of tenancies he succeeded in getting three tenancies through his personal relationship with the administration officials.

Some of the other leading figures found themselves facing the same problem of striking balance between the community upheld values and their own personal interests. Some whose own daughter was suspected to have a love-affair with one of the workers, led the secret committee against the workers. He could not, due to his official position as a councillor, work openly against the government, represented by the Scheme administration. His age and wide experience as a school teacher were invaluable assets for him to deal with
the sensitive situation. He had to deal directly with the scheme administration in his capacity as one of the representatives of the village's committee. And since for any far-sighted person, it was quite clear that tenancies were going to be the backbone of the internal economy of the village, S, being a far-sighted person, had to maintain good relations with the officials since originally he had not enough land to be allotted a tenancy. So, S's chance to obtain a tenancy depended on maintaining good relations with the administration staff. This explains his seemingly contradictory dual situational behaviour. At the administration office he appeared very co-operative; he treated the officials very nicely and in a friendly manner; and he used always to assure the administrators that everything was going very smoothly on the villagers' part. Conversely, he did not only lead the abortive secret committee, but he also supported very strongly the idea that the villagers should not receive the tenancies under the condition I described previously. As a result he gained people's confidence as somebody who safeguarded the communal values and interests, but, ironically, he was in the first patch of tenants who received their tenancies after the emigrants in Khartoum did so. S was able to get three tenancies: one in his name and the other two in the name of his minor sons.
Though X did not lead the anti-worker's campaign, it was waged with his full knowledge, consent and blessing. But at the same time, just like S, he tried hard to maintain good relations with the administration officials. Though he kept to the community attitude of not having close mutual contact with the workers as a group, this did not prevent him from using his wealth to invite one or two officials at a time to his Ramadan grand meals or similar social occasions. Though his control of the internal economic and transport resources all decisions and steps taken were virtually planned and their details were worked out by him. He was the centre of all the social and the 'political' activities of that period (at the preliminary stage of the establishment of the scheme).

I, another leading person, manipulated his mediating abilities very skillfully. He directed many invitations to key officials for Ramadan meals and for other special meals when Ramadan was over. He used frequently to pay morning visits to the administration's offices and to spend much time chatting with the junior officials. He assisted the workers by spotting vacant houses and by rendering them many services; for example, his insistence the file-keeping official holds his tea party in Keli, and he helped him by
distributing the invitation cards. Like the rest of others, I never paid private visits to the worker's homes though they are few meters away. However, the return he got for his services was his knowledge of all the plots that did not complete the stipulated six feddans. In consequence he had a chance to employ his mediating skill. He himself bought some fractions from those whose plots were less than six feddans; in other cases he mediated as a broker in the sale of some other fractions of land. He has got out of the situation with some money and a total of four tenancies.

T₁ and T₂, the teachers, undertook the actual execution of the technical part of the matter. They prepared the lists of persons and their rations of essential commodities distributed by the council. All things that need be in writing were done by them. And because of their rather young age most of the activity that demanded physical energy was also carried out by them. In meetings and informal discussions people listen to them with respect and thought high of them. Especially that was so in the first stage of the scheme because, and through their wide contacts and education, they knew all the information and the goals of the newly established scheme. Each of them was able to get more than
one tenancy not because of their personal contacts with the scheme officials but through the brokers like I. They did not maintain any relationship with the scheme officials at all. It might have been so because they could not invite the officials occasionally to their houses; at the same time it was impossible for them to stand in the face of the whole community and visit the workers at their houses. They did not have like the shop-keepers, joint economic interests with the scheme workers. Their real interests it seems will be after the construction of the Tenant Union Committee, and I expect that they will occupy key positions in those committees.

The three Sheikhs of Keli were put to a hard experience and test to prove their existence and value. Before the scheme their powers were virtually non-existent (aside from the occasional collection of agricultural taxes - agriculture that was practically non-existent) but at the beginning of the scheme they gained much for their invaluable knowledge of land registration procedures. Two of them were actually engaged in the transactions of the land fractions that was going on. Nevertheless, the case I cited of the tenancy distribution revealed their incompetence to
understand the technicalities of the new situation. Accordingly they lost much of what they had gained of the people's confidence in their ability to handle administrative questions; consequently other people replaced them, X, S, I, and T1 and T2. The new category consists of wealthy experienced shopkeepers, teachers, and persons with special mediating qualities.

Conclusion:

Some final remarks are made here by placing emphasis on some points. The first point that needs to be stressed is the innovative nature of the Scheme. Such a huge and sizeable Scheme with all that big administrative machinery is something that is absolutely new in the area - which will definitely have its impact on the village social set-up. People in Keli haven't had any similar experience to measure it against. Their former support in terms of decision-making and execution was undertaken by the emigrants in Khartoum. Leadership within Keli was absolutely weak and without any coherent identity - it was potential. The new change that the Scheme has brought about is that Keli villagers had to depend on themselves for all the decision, they had to take. The second point
the situation was not well defined for Kelis about the scheme or how it was going to affect them; so it was a situation of uncertainty. Their former interests coincided with those of the emigrants and the interests of both parties were more or less having the same frame of reference. In the new situation the villagers' and the emigrants' interests diverge — for divergence of opportunities; hence, the values held by the emigrants (Kelis first, we are all kinmen, protection of the womenfolk) have become contradictory with the interests of the leading persons in Kelis village. In consequence all joint between the emigrants and Kelis villagers to take a communal action against the Scheme works was failed.

Thirdly, individuals have used their real and potential resources of influence — whether material or immaterial — to exploit the new situation. I want to emphasize that these resources are not equal at all for all actors. This is why the benefits gained are accordingly not equal. Some have gained more and more, e.g., shopkeepers, teachers, and persons with mediating abilities; while others e.g., the Sheikhs — gained at a particular stage but have lost much of what they had gained. In other words,
there benefits are differential due to original differences in resources.

Fourthly, people's interests are concentrated around acquisition of more tenancies. Therefore one can deduce that despite the differences of race, colour and means of getting the tenancies after all a 'group' of tenancy holders who have common interest - land - will rise. This is because, if all factors remain the same, tenancies will be the backbone of the village's economy and that they will not be for subsistence. For example, one of the sheikhs, B, together with his two sons and three heirs only have acquired, through the milk tax compensation criterion, fourteen tenancies. Or, another person of the emigrants in Khartoum has now six tenancies also acquired by the same criterion; this person has plans to convert his tenancies into an extensive commercial enterprise.

Fifthly, the whole chapter is a refutation of Barth's approach. In it was clear that original differences in resources will generate differential economic and social positions. Those who originally owned land are in a better position to get tenancies; those with more lands will get more tenancies. That people can transfer their differential immaterial resources into differential
material resources e.g. teachers. Only with such a perspective can one account for the rise of an interest group like the one that has emerged in the Keli situation. Barth has never cared for the implications that take place as a result of original differences of individuals' resources. Nor was he concerned with collective groups interests. The theme will be elaborated further in the next chapter.

Throughout the preceding chapters I have attempted to explain a specific social situation that is undergoing a change. Many aspects - social, economic, ecological - have been described to give the necessary background that renders the present ongoing social processes intelligible. The purpose of the present Chapter, however, is to outline my own perception of the situation and to weigh various prospects for change and the possible courses of that change. To state my predictions of how the situation will look in the near future is perhaps not it is essential to state my own definition of the term change and the limits that I am going to restrict myself to. This is the first section. In the second, I discuss the situation in Keli measured by the probable development emerging as a result of the interplay between the various factors in action. My predictions for the situation are mainly based on comparisons between Keli agricultural Scheme and other similar agricultural schemes in the Sudan - specifically the Gesira and Khashm el-Girba schemes; in addition, similar social situation in India (Wangala village as an example) has given
me much insight in reaching the conclusions I have made. The final section is a conclusion that sums up the whole discussion of the chapter.

**Defining the term 'Change'**

Rather than tracing the historical development of the theory of social change (1), or even exposing in depth some concepts on the phenomenon, I will take up the theme of traditionality/modernity dichotomy which has been of enormous magnitude for quite a long time. The justification for taking this theme as a point of departure lies in the fact that it is still very influential though its manifestation is less direct.

My discussion of the concept is based on what is regarded as a classical piece of work on the issue. In his book 'The Passing of Traditional Society' he claims that over the course of centuries (and through titanic struggles) medieval lifeways were supplanted by...

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modernity. These struggles are summarized as the Age of Exploration, The Renaissance, The Reformation, The Counter-Reformation, The Industrial Revolution.(2) This short quotation summarizes the theory's main assumptions in their crude form. The three basic assumptions are as follows. One, that modernization is the stage that has been attained by Western Industrial society, and is still maintained by the Industrialized West. Two, it is assumed that developing countries or societies (traditional) strive to reach the same stage as that which has been reached by the Industrialized West. Three, that there are particular and definite stages through which developing countries (traditional) should pass in an evolutionary way before becoming fully modernized.

A point to be emphasized here is that the socio-economic standard of the West is the image and example for the developing countries. What the West is, the Middle East (for example) seeks to become.(3) Another point of importance states that this traditional/modern societies dichotomy and its requisite stages is applicable to all societies on all continents of the world regardless of variations in race, colour, or creed.(4)

(3) Ibid. p.47
(4) Ibid. p.46.
According to this perspective modernization is the process of passing from traditionality to modernity. Both traditionality and modernity have their own peculiar characteristics. For example, whereas social relationships are diffuse in traditional societies, they are specific in the modern.

Rigidity of and conformity to particularistic values is usually attributed to traditional societies. A society will be described as modernizing if it exhibits an increasing rate of acquiring attributes of modernity at the expense of those of traditional ones.\(^5\)

Lloyd has put forward sound remarks in criticism of this approach. First, the path between traditionality and modernity is assumed to be predetermined and well prescribed; an assumption that lacks evidence. Secondly, the approach, as Lloyd has rightly observed, is concerned with describing direction of change rather than processes of change. Thirdly, the complexity of the historical socio-economic situation of the society or country in question is masked by the blanket labels of traditionality or modernity.\(^6\)

\(^6\) Ibid. pp. 60ff
In other words, the most serious shortcoming of the approach is that it overlooks the peculiar socio-historical process of each society. This criticism can be put in a generalized statement that the approach lacks historical insight.

In addition to the above another aspect is this. Traditions are usually seen as the major source of resistance to economic development and technological changes. In most cases these changes are assumed to be incompatible with the value system of the society in question. Therefore, more emphasis is placed on the 'supposed' sub-cultural values (7) of traditional societies. In this sense cultural values are treated as independent variables which determine to a greater extent other things; while other factors such as the ecological, the economic, etc., are ignored.

(7) Examples of these sub-cultural values (e.g. fatalism, familism, etc.) are to be found in; for example, Roger's B.E. Motivations, Values, and Attitudes of Subsistence Farmers pp. 111-135 in Subsistence Agriculture & Economic Development (ed) G.M. Krieger, Jr. Aldine Publishing Comp., Chicago, 1969
I would like here to make three points in relation to the above discussion. One, I am not interested in whether Keli is now acquiring new attributes of modernity, or not. Two, I am also not interested in showing whether people's attitude towards the new situation (brought forward by the introduction of the agricultural scheme) is one of resistance or acceptance. Rather I am interested in showing how change in the economic resources of a particular community (Keli) is going to affect the relationship between its different individuals. New forms of socio-economic activities may arise, in consequence, leading ultimately to a new pattern of social stratification. I therefore tend to define change restricted to the Keli situation in a very broad sense. The meaning of change for this particular context means to me change in the general pattern of social life. Using this simple definition I proceed to indicate prospects for change arising out of alteration in the status of land, and the introduction of a new mode of administration. Before I do that, repetition and summary with emphasis, of some points may be useful.

In this part I re-emphasize that my main focus is on highlighting how the new (or redefined) economic resources (or means of production) brought about by the introduction of the scheme and their acquisition will open up new opportunities for particular persons.
The new economic opportunities may, in the final analysis, lead to a defined privileged group (economically and politically) in Keli. Possession of previous material (wealth) or immaterial (e.g. expertise) resources provides better chance in competition over new economic resources (land in form of tenancies). We need to go back a little to see how this is so.

Before the advent of the agricultural scheme the picture was something like the following. The physical environment was exceptionally harsh and was not hospitable enough to allow for satisfactory economic productivity. The only possible way of livelihood before the local population was farming. But land was subdivided, through inheritance, into extremely small uneconomic plots plus its natural low fertility - except for the narrow strip along the banks of the Nile, being unstable and with low floods for many years, had made farming a non-profitable and really risky occupation. What we should bear in mind here is that land was 'waiting', as a potential economic asset, unused.

The whole village's economy depended on the remittances sent by the young, able-bodied temporary emigrants to towns (Khartoum and Juba). The majority of the population that was left behind
consisted of old men, women and children. But compared to other neighbouring villages Keli maintained a reasonable standard of living. Investment within the village's boundaries or investment internal economy was almost impossible. Therefore, wealthy people who were primarily merchants in the South were forced to invest in trade activities in the South. The bulk of Keli emigrants were in Khartoum. They were numerically of considerable weight and influence, though they were in a lower economic position than the traders in the South. In addition to the advantage of number the Keli emigrants to Khartoum had the benefit of easy accessibility to the village at frequent times. Also through their numerical superiority Khartoum emigrants had influence over a larger section of the village population by the amount of remittances they sent. Situated at Khartoum, the capital, they enjoyed a favourable position to deal with administrative issues in an administratively highly centralised country like the Sudan.

Before the scheme, then, the influence of Keli emigrants in Khartoum was great. Within the village, due to age (either as old men or children) women were socially regarded as inferior to men.

(2) G. Sorbo in his Khashia el-Girba Scheme material has shown that migration does not mean a poor community. Old Keli Kallas, a famous example of emigrating community in the Northern Sudan, maintained a good economic standard.
formal organizations were non-existent, and informal organizations had little to provide.

The value system in Keli went a long way with the internally largely egalitarian type of economy. On the level of ideas they insisted that they were all kinmen, ahl, that they all worked for Keli as equals to 'raise' Keli's status as much (notion of Keli first); and that their community was basically egalitarian; in terms of social rank all Keli people were of equal social status - every one had an equal chance to express his views on village matters; for instance. All these values seem to derive from one source, Egalitarianism, in its different manifestations, appeared to be a requisite for the maintenance and smooth running of a maladjusted society such as that of Keli

(9) The internal economy was egalitarian in the sense that internal economic resources were non-existent things that could be bought locally were limited and without great variation; economic chances of investment were lacking; so theoretically all the Keli local population were having the same economic basis.

(10) In this discussion I will follow Watt's way of treating the problem of relationship between value system and economy; he says...economic, or more generally, material factors are fundamental not in the sense that they determine the whole life of the society, but in the sense that they constitute the setting or framework within which the society has to live its life" Watt, W.H., Islam and the Integration of Society, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969 p.284
adjusted in the sense of sex (male / female) and age (old/children) disproportion. For example, in a distinctly differentiated society it seems hardly possible that a system like that of the 'responsible neighbour' - in which a neighbour sponsors a number of households whose heads are absent - would ever exist.

Egalitarian values were further supported by the Islamic ideology of equality. The point to be borne in mind here is that this set of values of egalitarianism does not mean existence of real egalitarian social situation. In other words the values, represent a temporary and transitional period. The internal non-egalitarian features we come across in Chapter (IV) indicate an already existing mode of latent differentiation. As I stated in that chapter, the outer appearance of house told us of striking similarity while the inside furniture, food habits, etc., might vary significantly. Hence, I argue that there is already inherent a potentiality for marked differentiation - which may develop into distinct economic and social stratification. This very fact the existence of differentiation, is covered by merely 'outside' and 'exterior' egalitarian features whereas the hidden 'interior' is basically differentiated. The covert economic differentiation had been generated by economic inequalities.
outside Keli (e.g. traders in the South and emigrants to Khartoum). Socially, such differentiations as external manifestations were 'suppressed'.

A point to be mentioned here in relation to the question of egalitarianism is that egalitarianism does not mean at all that all people staying at Keli village had equal access to local material (land or wealth) or immaterial (experience, information, contacts, etc.) resources, though these resources appeared to be insignificant. In Chapter (IV) I tried to enumerate some criteria to show that certain people were in more favourable positions right from the start. 'X', for example, combined enormous capital, employed in trade outside Keli; inside Keli he had diversifled his economic activities and manipulated the meagre economic resources to their full capacity. Also because of criteria of age, religious values, responsible neighbour, long experience outside Keli, etc. he had the most favourable opportunity from the outset. This is just an example of how people had differential potential access to economic resources, and that they varied in their capacities to utilize that access.

Now, the new development that has come along with the achievement of the scheme is the new dimension given to land.
Land was primarily of exchangeable economic value (convertible to cash) but with little value in itself (for farming). Land in the scheme was acquired both characteristics (Though officially its sale inform of tenancy, is prohibited). The compensation basis for the land that entered the scheme was six feddans of bihr (government leased land) or alternatively one feddan of milk hur (freehold land) entitled a person to one tenancy of five feddans. Of all holdings in the former Northern Province, and for this it largely resembles the situation in Keli, 56.10 % of the land was held by people who owned below 2.5 feddans\(^{(11)}\). The deduction to be made from these crude statistics that a considerable number of the would-be tenants do not, as individuals, own single tenancies. This is so because more than two people may add together their small shares of land to be able to make five feddans. Hence, one expects a large proportion of single tenancies will be held by more than one person\(^{(12)}\). On the other hand, one of the village Sheiks with his two sons have thirteen tenancies, registered in their names. This excellent economic position has been secured through his inheritance of many 'lands' in Segas land (milk hur). Persons with

\(^{(11)}\) Adam, F.M. (task force Chairman) Development of Small-scale Agriculture - a report presented to ILO Comprehensive Employment Mission, Economic and Social Research Council, Khartoum 1975 (Table two).

capital (money) have bought many shares from those whose shares did not make six feddan's and who, the poor share holders, thought it better to dispose of their land shares. Few people, through purchase (illegal) or other means (e.g. knowing the administration officials), have been able to acquire more than one tenancy (but registered in their minor son's or brothers' names. For instance A has bought shares equivalent to the compensation of two tenancies and registered them in the name of his son. 'I', on the other hand, exploited his mediating expertise and operated as a broker between those who wanted to sell and those who wanted to buy, the profits he got were transformed into the form of two tenancies. Also people of particular professions (teachers and shopkeepers) by virtue of their position were able to get more than one tenancy: the teachers through their knowledge and information in situation where the majority people were illiterate, and shopkeepers through the symbiotic relations they had with the scheme officials.

Thus, people who had already had big pieces of land, those with capital (money), or with particular skills (mediation), or because of membership in a profession, all have been in a relatively better position in the matter of tenancy distribution, compared to the remaining section of the population who lacked these characteristics. My own interpretation of the situation makes me say that capital (money) owners, and those who can and have already been able to transform other immaterial qualities e.g., experience etc. — into material (money) factors — will rank high in the society, provided that the scheme succeeds.

Prospects for change

Courses in which the general pattern of social life of Keli is going to change hinges on three factors: the success of the scheme, the degree of the administration efficiency, the new social interrelationship generated by the redefinition of status of ‘land’. It is really interesting to note how the new scheme administration has affected Keli social life through the administrations two faces: numerical manpower and the administrative side. The full recognition of the total effect of the administration is however, not possible to ascertain now. Presently we take the main features
of such an effect. Not only the presence of the administrative workers (officials and workers alike) has its impact on the village's economy through the cash they possessed. But only particular section in the economy were affected; particularly the the shopkeepers. The workers engaged in reciprocal relations with this section with the consequence of satisfying their mutual interests. As the system of pay is monthly in the Sudan, workers resort to W, a shopkeeper, to provide them with what they needed on a loan basis until the end of the month. The workers economically were factors of the shopkeeper's economic prosperity, through their relation W, for example, was in a position to get significant information through chatting with the workers. He, out of his interest, offered them services of e.g. locating vacant houses for them to let. They acknowledged his services by all kinds of help when he wanted something administrative to be done. So, there was a mutual reciprocal relationship, between the workers on the one hand and a certain section of the Keli population on the other, based on material and immaterial interests.

But the presence of workers had its problems. Some cases of seduction took place (a logical thing in a sexually maladjusted village). No serious measures could be taken simply because
of the unwillingness of certain categories like shopkeepers, who benefited from the workers to participate in executing any measures against them. Of course the shopkeepers did not openly oppose the measures that could be taken.

As for the administrative side, the scheme administration will be responsible for the supervision of execution of all the agricultural processes. Promotion of social services and community development of the tenants is also a goal to be achieved(14). With the aid of the committees to be formed jointly by the administration and the tenants, the administration sponsors all stages from every - day functioning to the general overall policy of the scheme. Though the administration provides, the tenants with seed it is not responsible for provision of agricultural tools or the marketing of the produce. It sells water at a special rates per feddan (depending on kind of crop).

The social relations of Kali's population have been affected in the following manner. As administrative procedures concerning land registration, tenancy allocation, etc. were carried out on the

(14) Agricultural Production Corporation: Act 16 Khartoum, 1967 p4
spot, at Keli and not in Khartoum, the Keli emigrant in Khartoum have lost much of their importance and hence their grip over the village's affairs was loosened to a considerable degree. To have everything, on the other hand, be decided within the village boundaries is something that Keli people were not accustomed to and had to adapt themselves to cope with. Before the scheme the Sheikhs of the village had an administrative role to play but it was restricted to tax-collection, without much influence in the village's social system. In the first days of the scheme the Sheikhs became extremely significant as they were the most qualified to know about the land divisions and registration procedures. People had to seek their advice and help in these matters. Again they were assumed by people to be knowledgeable in dealing with administrative questions; this gave the Sheikhs more importance. However, in the next stage the Sheikhs proved inefficient and incapable of handling the new situation. They lost people's confidence when they committed a major error during the process of tenancy-distribution because they could not understand the technical maps on which allocation of tenancies was made. A group emerged to replace the Sheikhs. It is constituted of people of experience in mediation and who have knowledge of
a situation that is not very clear to all people (e.g. X, S, I and the teachers).

It is worth noting that the above-mentioned emerging politically influential group is made up of the same people who have already secured an economic base by holding a number of tenancies. That is they are combining two characters: economically superiority and ability to control the situation. The two aspect are definitely interrelated. It is this category, still in its formative stages, that will occupy the highest economic and political positions in the new social pattern that is to appear in the future - if the theme of my argument is accepted.

Provided that the administrative part has demonstrated its efficiency and proved to be successful, we now turn to discuss the aspects of interrelationship on the tenant's part. The number of tenants in K II village is (780) holding an equivalent number of tenancies. Two points should be classified here. First, the number of tenants is not the actual number of tenancy - owners as in many a case more than two or three people held one tenancy only. (but the registration will be in the name of one of them). Two, one
person, e.g. X, S etc., may have more than two tenancies but have them registered in the name of their minor sons or brothers, hence, the fact that the number of tenants is equal to the number of tenancies on the register should not mask the inequality of the situation. This clarification has the advantage of furnishing how people, with regard to ownership of tenancies (means of production) are initially in differential positions. The Wangala (village in India) example presents us with a case where initial differential acquisition of tenancies affected one’s later position in the socio-economic system (15). Before we finish this point on the number of tenants and tenancies, it is important to make the following remark. Out of the total registered names of tenancy - owners only (51) were actually resident in the village by the time of tenancy allocation. The bulk of the remaining people held jobs in Khartoum. The number of people who are going to return will for sure has significant repercussions on future developments.

Besides ownership of tenancies, the number of actual tenants, capital (in the form of money) is another determining

(15) A brief and lucid review of the case will be found in Ilyas’s op cit pp. 80-90
factor of one’s social position in the web of social relationship, that will be created in the future. Capital cannot be seen in separation of factors such as labour, agricultural equipment and possession of auxiliary aiding factors (e.g. means of transport).

Capital is first significant in enabling people to buy tenancies, as has previously been mentioned. In fact I have recorded cases where each of A and B has bought a tenancy for L5.60 — but the price was fastly and steadily rising; in few months it reached L5.120

Again Wangala example is illuminating here. Epstein has shown how rich men in Wangala purchased poor people’s tenancies. If this purchase process continues in keli, it is evident that capital owners will accumulate more tenancies while non-capital owners will lose their own. But this again is dependent on the success of the scheme apronomy economic enterprise for investment.

Preparatory agricultural operations demand a considerable amount of capital. The average cost of preparing the land, sowing etc. was about Ls. 25 (if labour was exclusively hired). The amount should be ready at the spot in a period of two weeks’ time; to be given in the form of wages and current expenses. People who do not afford the amount are threatened by disappropriation of their tenancies — in which case it is better for them to dispose of these tenancies for sale. This is also another way through which drift of
tenancies, in the favour of capital owners, occur.

The question of labour is basic to the situation in Keli. As I have indicated repeatedly, the village looks its effective manpower force through emigration to towns (Khartoum and Juba). The remaining part — old men, women and children — are mostly economically inactive and for the time being, it is not likely that it will be capable of meeting labour demand. Old men are physically unfit because of age. Women are socially prohibited from working outside homes (16). Children are primarily school pupils. Again, under such circumstances, the possibility of labour being provided by the family is ruled out. Barnett cites in the Gezira case that the tenant’s family never participates fully in the tenancy’s work, the tenant, then, has to employ hired labour. But since payments made for this purpose are inadequate, the tenant has to rely on borrowing from money-lenders (17). By analogy this can be extended to Keli case. Since dependence on family labour is not possible, one would expect

(16) Only 2.6% of the economically active population in the Sudan are women. 1973 Economic Survey Estimates, Sudan National Planning Commission, 1975, p.29

(17) Barnett, T. op. cit. pp.195-6
inevitability of dependency on hired labour from the neighbouring villages - especially Jewair village (see Chapter II). By preliminary investigations indicate complete dependence on hired labour. This explains the phenomenon of exceptionally high daily wages, even if compared to town wages. Any tenant who cannot secure these necessary funds will most probably be in a disadvantageous position in the economic competition. Tenants with small amounts of capital are either forced to sell their plots or, alternatively, run them on basis of different forms of partnership. (19)

As Keli people have not practised farming for many years, they do not keep any traditional agricultural tools, leave aside modern machinery. For ploughing a tenant had to use oxen. But in Keli, in particular, and neighbouring areas in general, cattle are not abundant. The rate of hiring a pair of oxen - from neighbouring villages e.g. Jewair or Seyyal - is 15 £ per day, plus supply of labourers with food and tea (two meals). But somebody

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(18) Daily wage in Keli, at the first days of the scheme, was 100 £. which in Khartoum was 40 £ only.

(19) See Appendix III

(20) Percentage of cattle in whole former K.R. Province is 1.4 % (compared to whole Sudan) - the least percentage in whole Sudan provinces except for Khartoum. ILO Report on Livestock in the Sudan, ILO Comprehensive Employment Mission, 1975, p. 79
inevitability of dependency on hired labour from the neighbouring villages - especially Jewair village (see Chapter II). My preliminary investigations indicate complete dependence on hired labour. This explains the phenomenon of exceptionally high daily wages, even if compared to town wages\(^\text{(18)}\). Any tenant who cannot secure these necessary funds will most probably be in a disadvantageous position in the economic competition. Tenants with small amounts of capital are either forced to sell their plots or, alternatively, run them on basis of different forms of partnership.\(^\text{(19)}\)

As Keli people have not practised farming for many years, they do not keep any traditional agricultural tools, leave aside modern machinery. For ploughing a tenant had to use oxen. But in Keli, in particular, and neighbouring areas in general, cattle are not abundant\(^\text{(20)}\). The rate of hiring a pair of oxen - from neighbouring villages e.g. Jewair or Seyyal - is 183 per day, plus supply of labourers with food and tea (two meals). But somebody

\(^\text{(18)}\) Daily wage in Keli, at the first days of the scheme, was 100p.T. which in Khartoum was 40p.T. only.

\(^\text{(19)}\) See Appendix III

\(^\text{(20)}\) Percentage of cattle in whole former N.Province is 1.4 % (compared to whole Sudan) - the least percentage in whole Sudan provinces except for Khartoum. ILO Report on Livestock in the Sudan, ILO Comprehensive Employment Mission, 1975p.79.
who owns six tenancies, thinks of introducing a ploughing machine for his own plots, and to hire it to other tenants. To meet these shortages in agricultural equipment the non-capital owning tenant will most probably have to depend on borrowing from capital owners: a situation that has led to the formation of an exploiting stratum of money lenders in the Gesira Scheme (21).

How much facilities a tenant has is yet another aspect that needs considerations. Owning capital (in its different material forms) cars - in the case of somebody like X, entrepreneurial expertise ('I. and S. j or influential outside contacts(X), shopkeepers and teachers) - all of which make the running of tenancies relatively easier. They can, through such facilities, obtain things that are not available in the village, and even fetch them from distant places. Or, marketing, for example, is relatively easier for some and thus compete more favourably to take the produce to local or outside area markets for consumption (e.g. Khartoum, Khartoum/Athara and Port Sudan) is more easy for people who have access to the mentioned facilities in an area that suffer serious...

inadequacies of basic infrastructure - asphalt roads, good
and reliable means of transport, specialized units in marketing,

Having discussed the two points of the administrative
aspect and the factors on the tenant's part, that seem most likely
to determine the course of change, I return to the third point; the
success of the scheme. The reason behind leaving the point to
this time is that. Success, in my opinion, is closely related to
the degree of perfection the administration carries out its
function, and, on the other hand, on tenant's side. For the tenants,
I think that success of the scheme will be defined by them in
terms of its success as an economic production unit. Despite the
fact that the scheme is initially intended to meet the subsistence
needs of the local population, it is planned in a way that would
enable it to develop into surplus-producing. As a long-term
policy it is hoped that the scheme will grow permanent cash crops
(palm-trees, citrus trees etc.) instead of wheat and durra. But
the realization of such policies will only be possible if with
other factors, the administration succeeds.(22) But we should be

(22) Adam, P. H. tells us that in 1970 the Northern Province
Government Agricultural Schemes were run at a loss; one of
the major reasons behind their failure was the inefficiency of
their administration, Adam, Nde of Agricultural Production
PP. 37-8.
cautious to note that the administration may be highly efficient, yet the scheme may not meet the expectations of the people (22). The intensity of the impact of the scheme on the pattern of life is determined by its success or failure in terms of the mentioned factors and the interplay between them.

Conclusions:

The main points are stressed in this section. The success of the scheme depends upon the success of the administrative machinery. It is also dependent on people's impression about the first agricultural season (24). This will determine, in my view, the number of emigrants who want to return and settle in the village. The second point to be emphasized is the ultimate emergence of a privileged category, who had the advantage of having capital (money) or other qualifications (experience, outside contacts, entrepreneurial activities, particular propensions-tenders or shopkeepers—etc) which have, or are underway of being so, been

(24) In the Gilbe example, Sorbo shows how the first agricultural experience affected better development in the scheme—Sorbo op cit p.13

(22) For example, the Gilbe Scheme administration is highly appreciated, but the tenant's social conditions are still miserable—Barnett, op. cit.
transformed into material resources (capital in form of wealth). Other people who lack these qualifications will occupy the position of the under-privileged group. This social situation is going to change the pattern of social life in Keli, if everything being equal, due to the redefinition of status of land. Land now is a means of production the acquisition of which determines one's position in the socio-economic system. Land (tenancy) now is not as in the past, exchangeable for money (officially forbidden) but, also unlike the past, has a producing capacity with a possibility of surplus being created.

Whether absentee tenant holders are going to come back or not, I think, is not going to alter my conclusion significantly: the emergence of a privileged group. The only difference is that if they did not return the exploited would be the labourers from the neighbouring villages instead of the Khalab (of Keli) tenants. In this case tenancies would be run by their wakil (agents of absentee landlords). Many of the Girba Scheme tenancies are run in this way; actual owners are away in Khartoum and other towns occupying professional jobs and the tenancies are
run by their agents employing hired labour who carry out all agricultural operations.

The heavy costs incurred by hired labour, from outside the village for lack of village local-manpower, and infeasibility of family labour — shortage in agricultural equipment — tools, oxen, etc. are too much for the average tenant to shoulder.

It is logically that the ordinary tenants, would seek loans from capital (money) owners to cover the current expenses for the agricultural operations and to obtain their daily necessities of consumption goods. This picture seems to be conceivable if comparision is made with similar situations. In the Gesira and Girba examples, incomes from tenancies are insufficient to meet the tenant’s basic needs; he is, therefore, compelled to seek part-time jobs for supplementary funds. In Keli’s case for non-existence of part-time economic activities, at least for the time being, borrowing appears to be the only means.

(21) Sorbo op. cit. p.13
(26) Adam, P.H. Mode of Agricultural Production op. cit. p.34
The capital owning category and the other category that could have transformed their immaterial resources into material base (teachers, shopkeepers, etc) would be in position to own more tenancies through purchase of tenancies (illegally) from poor tenants. This emerging category would also, very likely, control those tenants who would depend on them for loans to maintain their livelihood. Hence, I predict that the new emerging category would also dominate the political scene and influence every aspect in the village's political affairs. The examination of the preliminary processes that are occurring now, make me stand in complete variance with Dahl's notion that wealth does not necessarily lead to political power (27). Barnett argues that in the Gesira there is a category of wealthy tenants who do not work the tenancies themselves but employ hired labour; that surplus profits are invested in non-agricultural activities - mainly trade (28). If we accept this discussion, I maintain that this may carry some resemblance to Keli situation. Provided that other economic activities - especially trade - are more profitable than investing in agriculture Keli's wealthy emerging category - with

(27) Dahl p. 112
all that history in trade — would be inclined to invest in commercial enterprises.

Assuming that everything remains equal, which is not possible, and that outside effects are kept to the minimum, it might be in the interest of the prosperous group, at least for the near future, to keep the existing value of egalitarianism as they are — only apparently for sure — to enable them to control the village effectively, politically speaking. Wangala emerging rich group had maintained the traditional values with the result of more consolidation of traditional values and social forms — e.g. village council, panchayat.

A final word, these predictions are made with the view that non-intended consequences are not allowed for; because, by definition, they cannot be accounted for before they take place.
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Note: The table above indicates the female ratio in different age groups after 40 years old (1979).
APPENDIX III

The different types of arrangement between tenancy-holders and agricultural labourers:

1. The agricultural labourer may be paid a Ls.10 monthly salary. All expenses are covered by the tenancy-owner.

2. All expenses are halved between the agricultural labourer and the tenancy-owner. The produce is shared half/half (note that the agricultural labourer undertakes all manual work that is required - while the owner does not do anything practically but shares with his funds only).

3. The labourer gets 1/4 of the produce in case all expenses are undertaken by the owner i.e. the labourer provides 'labour' only. In this case the labourer hires somebody else to help him; and the labourer pays for that person from his own pocket according to the special agreement between them.


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