**European Master in Migration and
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SEDENTARIZATION IN EASTERN SUDAN
CONCEPTION, (DIS-) ADVANTAGES AND EFFECTS
FOCUSING ON PREVIOUSLY (SEMI-) NOMADIC PASTORALISTS FROM THE BENI AMIR TRIBE

Nomadic pastoralism – a lifestyle ever more under pressure

While having to cope with conflicts and natural phenomena in a flexible way, the resilience of nomadic pastoralists is progressively challenged to an extent, which increasingly leads to sedentarization (African Union 2010, Bokrezion et al. 2006, Casciarri and Ahmed 2009, Fratkin 2005). Within this text the perspective of the Beni Amir people from Eastern Sudan should be examined regarding their view on the sedentarization process. The approach is based on the grounded theory and analyse from a critical perspective. The focus lies on the narratives addressing sedentarization, the concepts of the sedentary and the nomadic life, and their prospects at the new dwelling places.

The shift of lifestyles from nomadic pastoralism over semi-pastoralism towards a life as sedentary pastoralist is not only furthered by natural circumstances, scarcity of land, and mass movements, but also by human-made conflicts as well as by politics and development aid (Appelgreen 2014, Bokrezion et al. 2006, Casciarri and Ahmed 2009, Nur 2001, Pantuliano 2002). This process does not stop at the border of Sudan – a country assumed to have one of the biggest nomadic populations worldwide (Casciarri 2009, Young et al. 2012). In the 1990s, the herds of pastoralists reduced in size, and the households became increasingly stationary even though the cattle moved (Bascom 1990, Pantuliano 2002, Randall 2015, Salih 1994, Sulieman and Ahmed 2013). The shift to sedentarization has continued. It was intensified through the relatively recent conflicts between the Sudanese government and the Eastern Sudan Front (Beja Congress and the Free Lions) that affected large parts of the East Sudanese population and primarily pastoralists. Despite the ceasefire following a peace agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Eastern Sudan Front (ESPA) in 2006, the conflict continues to affect the people (United Nations Peacemaker 2006, Calkins 2009, Gebru et al. 2013).

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According to several authors the shift towards a sedentary lifestyle is accompanied with drastic social and economic changes (Bascom 1990, Casciarri 1995, Manger 1996, Fratkin 2005, Osman 2009, Sulieman and Ahmed 2013). Changes observed in different sedentarized communities include a decline of income opportunities paired with difficult housing in inadequate areas and a lack of access to basic services like water, electricity, and access to nutrition (Fratkin 2005, Fratkin et al. 1999, Vralstad 2010, Ahmed 2009). Neverthless, participation of women, the variety of food, and access to health care and education has increased at least formally (Fratkin et al. 1999, Köhler-Rollefson 2012, Pantuliano 2002, Casciarri 1995).

Some of the most powerful tribes in the East are the Rashaida, Beja, Hadendowa and the Beni Amir. The Beni Amir tribe is unique among the Eastern tribes due to its strong connection to Eritrea (Bascom 1990, Calkins 2009, Al-Hardallu and El Tayeb 2010). Within Sudan, the Beni Amir people live in the surrounding of Kassala and Gedaref reaching up to Port Sudan and many of them settle along the outskirts of the cities. The research at hand focuses on the city of Kassala, which is located around 15 km from the border to Eritrea and 80 km from the Ethiopian border.

The conducted research seeks to explore the reasons and the consequences Beni Amir face when dropping out of pastoralism and their opportunities at the new dwelling places. Even though pastoralists constitute a significant part of the Sudanese society, they are a minority with regard to representation and influence (African Union 2010, Shanahan 2013, Bascom 1990, Eneyew 2012, Heathcote 2012). By analysing the narratives of the Beni Amir, the research sheds light on marginalization processes of major population parts in Sudan and Eritrea and the collateral factors encouraging emigration.

Therefore it is worthwhile looking into the pastoralist selfperception, in order to understand the sedentarization process from their view and evaluate the difficulties they are facing upon settling. This is of increasing importance due to the economic crisis occurring after the 2011 secession of South Sudan, which cut the North from the majority of its previous oil revenues (Buchanan-Smith et al. 2012).

Theoretical Considerations

One of the tasks of social sciences is to link the individual with the broader context, the society, and the history (Castles 2012). The literature in coherence with the narrations of the pastoralists has revealed a connection between different critical approaches all founded and subsumed in the Critical Theory (Bokrezion et al. 2006, African Union 2010, Heathcote 2012, Bomann 2005, Schroeder 2014). An overall critical approach becomes imperative since the depiction of nomadism has often been misleading while the marginalization of nomads is real (Bokrezion et al. 2006, AfricanUnion 2010, Heathcote 2012). Critical theorists provide "*human emancipation in circumstances of domination and oppression*" (Bohman 2005: 1) and critiques the status quo by raising questions of "*power, privileges and oppression*" (Schroeder 2014: 5). Critical Theory, as one of the grand theories

has shaped a selection of middle-range theories, which were considered as theoretical framework of this paper. This includes Postcolonialism, Postmodernism, Islamic Feminism, Critical Race Theory, and Critical Indigenous Theory. The uniting thought behind this variety of theories is the belief that power relations create knowledge and thoughts and that these in turn are constructed in a specific social and historical context and cannot be observed without understanding these connections (Schroeder 2014).

Following the Critical Theory and its analysis of power hierarchies embedded in all relations, notions of power, control and discipline in the context of the nation state need to be explained, especially since control and its absence, were distinctly mentioned by the pastoralists and the professionals. Within the context of Sudan it is mainly the government and certain influential Arab tribes, which exercise discipline and control (Jok 2007, Idris 2012, Walters 2006, Appelgren 2014). That control is inter alia achieved through cultural means and by the capability of the dominant group to maintain power over social institutions. As theorised by Gramsci, this concept of cultural hegemony was included into the analysis of the pastoralist's narratives as well (Cole 2015).

The aim of this research is to find out about the effects of the settling from a nomadic point of view and to find out about their perception of the advantages and disadvantage of their change of lifestyle. Relating to common knowledge, disadvantage often comes with poverty, yet it is not limited to mere lack of money, since social oppression does not stop with the distribution of wealth. Conversely, the end of social oppression does not necesarrily mean sufficient money for a fulfilling life. So, both have to be tackled at the same time and yet cannot be completely distinguished from one another (Wolff and De-Shalit 2007).

The relatively insecure environment of the East of Sudan poses several risks to sedentary pastoralists. The insecurity affects the ability to maintain satisfied living conditions and is reflected in a certain set of functionings – roughly the opposite of disadvantage. According to Wolff and De-Shalit *"being disadvantaged in a particular way is primarily a matter of not being able to achieve the functioning"* (Wolff and De-Shalit 2007: 38). It can be derived that vulnerability and risks are disadvantages in themselves. Disadvantage can be understood "*as a lack of genuine opportunity for secure functioning*" (Wolff and De-Shalit 2007: 9).

Independently from the previous critical theory complex, the New Economics of Labour Migration and the Push and Pull theory have to be considered as well. Among migration theories, which were previously discussed in the field of nomadic migration the Push and Pull theory assumes a dominant position (Vralstad 2010). Due to its limitations in explaining migration decisions, considerations on migration were extended towards the New Economics of Labour Migration, highlighting that migration decisions are taken within the household and even by extended families or wider communal groups. It shows that rational-choice decision-making aims not only at maximalizing income, but also looks at opportunities to diversify income and minimalize risks. The latter applies especially in contexts of poverty when unexpected circumstances cannot be balanced by savings (Cassarino 2004, King 2012).

From methodology to methods

By acknowledging the intercultural context, an interpretive understanding on knowledge production was apparent (Bryman 2012). The aim to create accepted knowledge out of subjective experiences was approached by social constructivism (Välikangas and Seeck 2011, Castles 2012). In a next step Critical Indigenous Methodology seemed appropriate, considering the colonialist past of Sudan and the aim to research on indigenous communities. Since my own bias was already detected as influencing the thesis within social constructivism (Bryman 2012), the critical indigenous methodology provides an opportunity to consider and manage the risks that come with it (Schroeder 2014, Bohmann 2013, Moreton-Robinson 2009). In line with these considerations, the following methods were chosen: a qualitative approach (Castles 2012) and more specifically the constructivist grounded theory from Charmaz (2006). Semi-structured individual and group interviews were identified as appropriate tools to scrutinize the views of the interview partners (Flick 2011, Mack et al. 2005).

In order to explore the change from nomadism to sedentarism the target group Beni Amir people and experts from NGOs with pastoralist Beni Amir background were approached through snowball sampling (Flick 2011). Even though the focus during the interviews lies mainly on males, due to their easier accessibility, their orientation towards the outside world and involvement in councils and in the decision-making (Bokrezion et al. 2006, Krätli et al. 2013), the views of elderly people, minors and women were included as well.

One of the research aims, providing the Beni Amir people an opportunity to articulate their opinions, was impaired by language restriction. Working with translators provides some challenges, but is especially difficult if working with interpretations of people's verbal accounts. Therefore, not just interpreters with a Beni Amir background were preferably chosen, but also a back-translation of chosen parts was conducted as suggested by Nurjannah et al. (2014).

As a way to encounter biases of the researcher, Breuer et al. (2011), suggests different methods like memo writing and self-reflexive questions. This approach was implemented throughout the whole process. A chance posed the interpreters who acted as cultural mediators as well as some of the interview partners whom I met repeatedly and reflected preanalytical findings.

The research was conducted between October 2015 and April 2016 by interviewing 17 persons in individual or group interviews and meeting them up to five times.

Conception, (Dis)-advantages and Effects

Deriving from the above-described analysis, over 110 categories were identified and over 900 codes assigned. The findings will be presented as often recommended in the constructivist grounded theory with a biographical relation on the experience. In order to get a sense of the sedentarization situation and living conditions of two Beni Amir men at

the time of the interview will be presented. They were chosen not to display the biggest scope of sedentarization processes and its effects, but as two ordinary examples of Beni Amir from different social class background and variations in between (Silverman 2006, Flick 2007, Brüsemeister 2008).

While I experienced Mohamed Ismail as a more common example and Mohammed Mussa rather as an exception, I do not have reliable quantitative data to verify this impression. I found it worthwhile to describe their experience in more details, because they were the persons I had the most contact with and consequently their narrations were mentioned more often than those of others. Another reason speaking for their detailed description is that the different categorizations are grouped along their two different experiences and status as either professional in the field or nomadic-pastoralists and along the second line of differentiation as either forcibly settled or rather voluntarily settled.

Mohamed and Mohamed

Mohamed Ismail[1] is a 36-year-old Beni Amir man and father of three children under five. He is married to a wife of Beni Amir background and lives in the outskirts of Kassala among his relatives. During the research period he worked as *„small business man"* in one of the animal markets and bought and sold animals. For an intermediate period he owned a small kiosk (dukan) and sold basic groceries. My first visit in his place in October 2015 was in an area where he had built his house out of straw and mats. The land plot was not officially assigned to the residents, but was used by them nevertheless, since other areas were uninhabitable. Therefore, his house was not connected to electricity or water network. He used a motorbike to get around since the area was not reachable by public transport. In his yard he tended small animals like goats and chicken. The yard was open and family members and neighbourhood joined us. The atmosphere was sociable, friendly and it was noticeable that the people knew each other well and were comfortable around each other. It was only I being the outsider in this situation.

When I visited him again in April 2016 he had started to rent a house including a yard with small animals closer to the city, shielded from the view of outsiders, and reachable by public transport. He explained to me that just a week before they were connected to the water network, but would be pushing to be connected to other amenities as well. During our talk he also mentioned that he had reserved a room for a small shop alongside the wall of his yard, which he had to close after a relative from Eritrea asked him for money. I interviewed him four times in different groups, together with relatives or neighbors focusing on his personal experience as settled pastoralist. Regarding his milieu he explains:

> *"We are all pastoralists, but our backgrounds are different. There are some from a rich background, we are from a poor background."*
> *"If a settled pastoralist here has one goat, he will be lucky because he can collect firewood and sell it. We are even in a better condition. You can see that our children wear clothes. But if you move*

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[1] For securing the respondent's anonymity, their names were changed as well as basic features, which would expose their identity.

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around, there are also children who are naked or who have only torn apart clothes, because they cannot afford it. They cannot buy clothes for them."

Mohammed Ismail moved together with his family and extended family to Kassala when he was around eleven years old. He explained the reason for his sedentarization:

"When we are in the Damra[2], our life was nice. Before the conflict. We had food. We had a big number of cattle. In that area was a lot of grass. The rain was enough. Everything was ok. After the conflict happened in the eastern area we lost everything. We lost our cattle, even the place where we took our cattle to for grass. It was all covered by underground bombs - mines. We cannot take the cattle to that place anymore and we started to decide to come to the city in order to save our lifes."

Mohamed Mussa is a 75-year-old Beni Amir married to two wifes. One belongs to one of the ruling tribes (Ja'aliya) and the other one is from the Beni Amir tribe. The earlier mentioned wife was currently pursuing a Ph.D. He has children and several grandchildren and has reached a high stance in the Beni Amir community since he functions as a history bearer. His original profession was teaching, but during the time of the research he collaborated with NGOs and the government on awareness raising projects for pastoralists. He spoke Beni Amir, Arabic and Basic English. The translators were fascinated and impressed by his sophisticated abilities to express himself.

After several meetings in an NGO for pastoralism he is directing, he invited me to his home. He picked me up with the car of the organization he worked with and brought me to a residential area within Kassala, where he had just moved into a new house with a yard.

He was interviewed five times individually as well as in group interviews mainly in regard to his lifelong professional experience in the field, but also for his personal background as previous nomad. During the sessions his passion for the topic became obvious and he offered support wherever possible. The atmosphere was professionally distanced, but pleasant. About his nomadic-pastoralist experience he narrates the following:

"I myself have a pastoralist background. No matter, if my name will be publicised or not. Whatever I say, it will be true. Nothing can make me change my opinion. I have a strong relation to pastoralism. I can still remember when my family was moving as nomads. One day I fell down from a camel. I was a kid and my family found a place where they could stay maybe one month or two. So when the camel sat down, I fell down in front of my mum. This is one of the things I remember from my time as nomad".

Mohammed Mussa came to Kassala after he had already finished his first education. When his family moved further towards the area of Gedaref and got involved in farming, he decided to remain in Kassala.

"The conflics between Eritrea and Ethiopia permanently affected us. It affected us, because of the flow of the incoming Eritrean refugees, the unending immigration of the fighters. Now this

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[2] "Dammar, *sing.* damra, *are the semi-permanent nomadic settlements, describing the place where some households set up their homes."* (Krätli et al. 2013: 42)

situation affects the lifestyle. The entirety. The rain was so good and the water sufficient, when the trees where there, but the people started to cut the trees. When so many people came through the border everything became unnormal and my whole big extended family decided to move from this area to Al Gedaref. Only two families remained here in Kassala. Why did they move to Gedaref? Because they wanted to keep their remaining cattle and animals there and start a new life there. There is sufficient rain in that area, so instead of just being nomads, they additionally became farmers. So they stayed there. Originally I was one of them, but I decided to stay behind in Kassala. I am here since then. The rest of the family is in Al Gadaref."

Sedentarization categorization

The reasons for sedentarization were found to be manifold, but could be allocated to two main categories: the ones who highlighted their need for survival and the others, who cherished the opportunities that a sedentary lifestyle in a city would bring about. Mohamed Ismails personal fate belongs clearly to the earlier. Even though Mohammed Mussas family experienced challenges that could have led to forced sedentarization, they continued semi-nomadic movement and engaged in farming. Mohammed Mussa decided to settle voluntarily himself and stayed behind in Kassala. He took a bit more distanced stance. Despite identifying the reasons for unvoluntary sedentarization, he also highlighted the positive aspects and supported the idea of voluntary settlement in order to get access to basic services like education.

Survival sedentarization

"There was the conflicts and there was the flow of weapons. The rockets burned the houses and the grass and wells and trees. So the cattle did not have trees and water. Diseases spread. The second step is that you sell 2-3 of your cattle in order to feed the others. But it is a process. Then they became less and less." Hussam Altahir

"It was a so difficult for us. Nobody wanted to come. They have lost their lives. Everyone was forced to come. All of their cattle died. It was very difficult. But more people had to go through this. They all came." Mohamed Kamal

The survival sedentarization is founded on an accumulation of multifaceted reasons including human-made conflicts and environmental constraints, which overlap and exacerbate each other. A vicious circle of conflicts renders standard coping mechanisms impossible. The resistance of people, who try to avoid the sedentarization until the end, shapes the survival sedentarization. It influences the process of sedentarization since it leads to the complete loss of cattle. Unlike in other conflicts, in which the need to leave the everyday life might be immediate and abrupt, the sedentarization happens over the course of weeks, months, or years. Nevertheless, it is experienced as a sharp caesura in the life of affected pastoralists. The process leads to the involuntary dropout from nomadic pastoralism towards consequent rural-urban migration to the cities and their surroundings.

Opportunity-driven sedentarization

> *"It was not a difficult decision, it came natural. The life was like that at that time and we understood that we should better settle in Kassala, because it was easy times then and it would be good to send our children to school and we would be closer to our other relatives and other public services."* Hatim Osman

> *"Then my role came into play. So I said to my father 'thank you very much because of your good relationship with your friend I had the chance to go to the school, so now I want to take all my brothers to the school'. So he said 'Do you think so?' and I said 'Yes' (…) So I convinced my father to take all my brothers to school."* Amin Bassam

The opportunity-driven sedentarization is taken from a position of relative strengths. It is a choice triggered by the access to education. The people have sufficient time to adapt to the situation in the cities by establishing homes, arranging ways to deal with their cattle and by learning a new profession. The process may extend over generations and their wish to return is not very pronounced. The shaping factor is the people's view on sedentarization in a city as their best option while highlighting opportunities like education, healthcare and investment.

Policy-induced sedentarization

> *"The government is also not helpful in giving them space for mobility. The government is rather interested in building model villages so that people can settle. (…) They build some places with schools, water and they said the animals can walk in the surrounding and the people should stay."* Ahmed Omer

> *"And the nomads started to settle down because the mobile schools are no longer of any use to them. So they started to settle down. Now this is the mandate of the council here. When they settle down the council should help them in having this education or health services."* Amin Bassam

A third category is conceivable and was indicated from the professionals in the governmental organizations. This form of sedentarization is induced by the policies shaping the surrounding of pastoralists. The sedentarization is incited by services, which are provided under the condition of sedentarization. These services might be so essential that the people would perceive a need to settle. This third category holds characteristics of both of the above- described categories, but it is not driven by the need to survival and can be resisted until a certain point. In that way, the people have more scope of action to plan their sedentarization. Nevertheless, it cannot be seen as wholly voluntary. This category was not found among my respondents and is rather unlikely to be found a lot in the East, since the availability of services in the whole area, both on the outskirts of cities and along the migration routes, is underdeveloped.

Conceptualization
After exploring the reasons for sedentarization from the sedentary pastoralists point of view, the conceptualization of the sedentary life and the nomadic-pastoralist life should be

reviewed. The two different conceptions are constructed in opposition to each other, even though the actual living conditions do not necessarily differ that much. In some cases, rather the ideas of city and nomadic life are reflected in the narrations, not the factual situation. It becomes visible while addressing the services in the city, which theoretically exist, but are not reliably accessible.

Conceptualisation of nomadic life and nomadic-pastoralists
The conceptualization of nomadic life had one very prevalent concept; the overwhelming presence of the description 'simple' or sometimes 'pure'. "*It was simple, but I like it*" (Munia). "*In the past there was no education, we were not thinking about this at all. We were just living*" (Hussam Altahir). The conceptualization as 'simple' went along with a description of inactivity: "*There you just drink milk*" (Musab). However, it also comes with a certain romanticizing tendency since the life as pastoralist is displayed with an absence of stress despite the involved challenges to survive.

Those, who recently came to Kassala, described a more differenciated picture, portraying the work and effort while leading a pastoralist life. Even though they labelled the life as simple as well, the tasks they described are complex and physically demanding, especially considering the intense heat during the summer months.

They added further characterizations, such as 'isolation': "*If you are a nomad, nobody is taking care of you at all. No government. No people. No communities. No one. You will be alone in this*" (Mohamed Ismail). As a positive consequence of the isolation they highlighted the strong sense of community: "*In our past lifestyle, we were together whatever happened. If someone married, if someone passed away, we participated*" (Badri).

Those, who left the nomadism because of additional opportunities, expand the simplicity of the life to the nomadic-pastoralist himself "*What I mean is that their way of thinking is low*" (Hatim Osman). Education is here several times mentioned as a way to treat assigned deficiencies enumerated by the interviewees.

Conceptualization of city life and city dwellers
The description of the life in the city is constructed in a binary opposition to the nomadic life. One prevalent concept is related to gaining a new understanding; it might be called 'enlightenment' and is only seen in contrast to the life before. "*We were living like blind people*" (Munia). This category is related to all different previous nomads. "*I have gained a new understanding and new experiences and new norms. Understandings*" (Hatim Osman).

Directly in opposition to a nomadic life are the aspects that relate to activity and speed. The speed is tied to more complex, even complicated, life environment, which would lead to more necessities and technik. Again, both lifestyles are opposed, while the earlier is connected to traditionality, the latter is 'modern' and 'civilized' and holds the advantage of accessibility of service. The depiction of city life as more civilized leads to a comparison between the settled nomads and the city dwellers, in which the settled nomads identify themselves as minor and in need of change: "*If you look at these people you think of yourself*

as small" (Dimah). Unlike the strong sense of community in the nomadic life, the city life is described as more materialized. *"Here everything is by money. There you just drink milk. Here for everything you need to spend money for"* (Musab). From the nomadic pastoralist side the life in the city is depicted as sinful, and especially considering the gender relations *"Boys and girls, they are moving together. This is not acceptable"* (Hussein).

Despite the difficulties in the cities and the romantic conception of nomadic life, and even though many stated that they would like to return to pastoralism, similarly many said that they would like to stay in the city. Among them especially the young, the literated and the women *"I prefer instead of nomadism to stay here in the city, but the situation is not god here in the city. To live in a city is good, but the situation is not good; the economic situation"* (Saba).

Effects of the conceptualization

The conceptualization of the sedentary lifestyle as the norm and the nomadic lifestyle as the deficient deviation leads to a form of 'othering'. Adopted from the British, it continued through the Sudanese nation-state expansion (Jok 2007, Idris 2012). In consequence, the pastoralists try to assimilate themselves and acquire, for example through education, an equal status.

> *"When we came first to Kassala. Our nature and our culture were so different from the people in Kassala, but with time we started to change ourselves to be like them. And of course their life was better than our life."* (Almaz)

Aligned with Gramsci's theory, the mainstream sedentary hegemony determine the social norms and draw power from social institutions like NGO's working for pastoralists; disciplinating them into becoming what is considered as 'good citizen' (Moreton-Robinson 2009, Cole 2015).

The theory of cultural hegemony also finds that such cultural hierarchies can be internalized as it happened among pastoralists. Their conceptualization of city life and nomadic life reproduces a hierarchy favouring sedentary lifestyle over a nomadic lifestyle. Strongly accentuated concepts like simplicity and tradition stand in opposition to modernity, complexity, and development and display a deficit in orientation also among pastoralists with regard to their identity. This narrative is so strong that it can be established despite better knowledge of the complexity of their venture (Moreton-Robinson 2009).

The drive towards assimilation gives the sedentary mainstream population relative power and control over their nomadic counterparts through influencing the daily discourse and shaping many cultural practices like clothing, eating, housing, language, and marriage (Applegreen 2014, Cole 2015). As indicated in the Critical Indigenous Theory, the identification of being indigenous can endanger own culture, ideas and believes, and even reduce opportunities (Sium et al. 2012). Cultural hegemony also comes with the capitalist notion, that success (in this case education) can be achieved if only the subjects work

sufficiently enough[3]; even though this has been proven wrong, by pastoralists whose income restraints and family duties lead to a dropout. Distinctly mentioned by the pastoralists was the role of people they considered 'the educated.' From their understanding, these were the people who held control over the city and had influence on formal positions. Through monetary disadvantage many settled pastoralists could not achieve education and could not improve their social position through jobs, instead those, with the relative advantage of education, remained in their superior position (Applegreen 2014, Cole 2015).

Advantates/Disadvantages

The confinement of pastoralists in the tension of forced assimilation and impeded participation lead to the findings concerning effects and (dis-) advantages. The pastoralists connected the advantages and disadvantages from the sedentarization with a wide scope of practical and ideological changes. These shall be compared to the categories of functionings suggested by Nussbaum (Wolff and De-Shalit 2007)[4]. The initially identified forms of sedentarization were key denominators for the development of the functionings. It can be seen as the first and initial influence and depending on the form of sedentarization the core functionings were differently affected.

Life, Bodily Health, and Bodily Integrity were the three first three categories of Nussbaum's list. The closest corresponding to these functionings was the access to healthcare, nutrition and housing, which includes electricity and water. Overall the access expanded for both groups. Before the sedentarization, in many places only a limited mobile health station provided healthcare. Electricity was unavailable in most houses, and the water had to be fetched from afar. After sedentarization the nutrition was enriched by variety but shortened in availability. Despite a relative improvement, the availability of these capabilities depends on a sufficient income. Thus, the provision of land and services by the government is at a daily risk to be lost again. The functionings life and bodily health are also critical since the loss of them weakens other crucial freedoms, like the ability to generate income.

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[3] *"Maybe the one who said so is a minor or has a minor thinking. Personally I know plenty of students who don't have enough capacities, but they continued their education, because they were self-made and motivated. And I know also many others who used to work and study and they were very successful. Even I myself after the death of my father I was working and study, I was self-supporter and most of the eastern students live in Khartoum, they were working and study at the same time"* Mohamed Mussa.

[4] Relating back to Nussbaum's list of functionings with the additions from Wolff and De-Shalit it is first to say that certain categories, here 'play' and 'emotions' could not be related to specific findings and further research might be necessary to generate sufficient categories (Wolff and De-Shalit 2007). It may also be a hint that they are still in the state of improving their physiological and security needs and were not in the state to improve individual needs.

In order to acquire the full functioning of **Sense, Imagination and Thought** the three findings education, gender relations, and the relationship with sedentary people need to be considered. Unduly high costs are related to achieving education, like opportunity costs and direct costs, which is why it cannot be considered a genuine opportunity. The access to education has increased, but is easier for boys, than for girls. For pastoralist women, the abilities to be heard, to produce art, to enjoy the freedom of expression and other aspects of this capability, are limited by public opinion and often subjected to the rule of men. Still, an improvement can be observed since stronger information sharing with and among the women as well as a stronger say in their matters was unanimously reported. In connection with the widened freedom of women stands the relationship with sedentary people. The drive for assimilation undermines the freedom of expression and thought and confines them to socially accepted forms. The mentioned aspects of the functioning all depend to a certain extent on the availability of sufficient income and the convenience of the government. The difficulties to achieve this capability concern voluntarily settled pastoralists less.

The category **Practical Reason** is connected to comprehension of values and norms and a critical appraisal of their own life. The opportunity-driven settled pastoralists had the ability to engage in these freedoms and proved it by deciding to change their life. They formed a new idea of what they consider a 'good life', which stronger leans towards the mainstream society. Forcefully settled pastoralists are limited in actual planning by their lack of income, by the loss of their savings (cattle) and by the forceful settlement. Again the strong influence of the mainstream society and their self-conception as 'inferior' hardly leaves them with other options than assimilation and undermines their own conception of 'good', as in the example of increasing monetarization of social bonds over the sense of community and sharing. Another aspect of the category 'practical reason' is to engage critically with one's life. During the nomadic movement, their isolation made the observation of other lifestyles more difficult. With the influence of the mainstream society they engage increasingly in critical reflection but have to resist pressure.

The capability to engage with others, to maintain self-respect during work and in private life as well as mutual acceptance is called **Affiliation**. This function has improved for opportunity-driven sedentary pastoralists since they could expand their relationships and thus reported fewer tensions when settling; contrary to forcefully settled pastoralists. The latter described a certain distance from other people in the region and reported to feel inferior. Assimilation towards the mainstream society can weaken bonds with the pastoralist community and limit the possibility to engage in traditions. This is worsened by the loss of cattle, which are essential for many traditional practices. Maintaining self-respect during work is compromised, if working in the previous profession is prevented, and if the own kin discard the change. The opportunity for affiliation is also strongly connected to the ability to find and keep a job, which depends especially on the government. The functioning affiliation provides in all aspects improvements for women,

since they could expand their scope of action towards their community, their surrounding, and work opportunities. The advance is not unlimited since, as before, any improvement depends on their surrounding and can quickly be withdrawn.

Related to Affiliation is one capability added by Wolff and De-Shalit to Nussbaums list of functionings **to be able to do good things for others, display gratitude and follow basic norms of etiquette** The ability to do good things for others and display gratitude connects to income, since it is of moral value to pastoralists to act generously towards family and tribe members. Due to the lack of revenue, this particular ability is limited. Even if it is exercised, it may then, in turn, affect other functionings, due to a lack of overall financial resources. A disadvantage to being able to follow basic norms can be seen in exclusion from the majority population. If a cultural hegemony is as strong as between settled pastoralists and city dwellers, the earlier group will always fall short of fulfilling social expectations. Since among sedentary pastoralists as well as among city dwellers, the expectations will be oriented towards the mainstream (sedentary) population, their unwritten rules and traditions may be unknown to the nomadic pastoralists, which means their etiquette cannot be followed.

The engagement with **Other Species** is of special concern to pastoralists. They reported that in all regards this aspect has reduced after their loss of a job. Even though they are still involved in small animal businesses and rearing of small animals, their involvement has decreased. Especially the forcefully settled pastoralists highlight this loss, since the voluntarily settled pastoralists still owe cattle, even though their quantitative contact might have declined.

Control over one's own environment is the aspect strongest related to the loss of income, appropriate representation, land rights, loss of cattle and the influence of the government. Participation in political processes in the context of the Sudanese state was extraordinarily limited due to the isolation along the migration routes. At their damras, their power on tribal governance was influenced by gender and age but unhindered from external forces. Both factors contrarily changed after moving to Kassala. Despite an improvement in the access to services provided by the Sudanese state, their influence is restricted due to their pastoralist and tribal origin. Arguing that before their sedentarization the pastoralist were isolated and governed themselves, their ability to control their immediate surroundings has decreased.

Their access to land has dwindled enormously, since the majority could not acquire own land in the city after abandoning their previous habitat. Lastly, the opportunity to seek employment in the city is hampered by job accessibility to educated people only, due to governmental regulations and monetary restraints allowing only limited investment opportunities (Wolff and De-Shalit 2007).

The sedentarization held roughly as many benefits as it held disadvantages for those forcefully dropping out of nomadism. However, looking at this balance, the life conditions remain in both lifestyles on the verge bare survival. Their marginalized position leaves them with little opportunities; no matter if sedentary or nomadic.

The angle of migration theory
The Beni Amir in Sudan were identified as a part of a mixed migration group. It could be observed that the narratives of the sedentary nomads support the views of New Economics of Labour Migration, since the decision to settle was (if taken voluntarily) mostly taken within extended family. Thereby the affected persons intended to minimize the risk of the (end of) migration movement and diversifying income opportunities by dividing the children into those going to school and those seeking labour, involving women in market-driven opportunities and seeking themselves labour on the market or in any other position they found themselves qualified for. All this while clinging on the remaining cattle they have left (Cassarino 2004, King 2012). Additionally, the push and pull effects of Ravenstein and Lee are relevant based on the narrations of pastoralists. This model shall be paired with the power relations of the Critical Theory and highlight the augmenting political influence on the push and pull factors. Within the context of Sudan, pull factors of urban areas do not simply emerge through available services in cities (health services, education, electricity, current water), but are also politically amplified through the deliberate failure to install these services in reach of pastoralists communities i.e. rural areas, along migration routes or even in a mobile adaptation. This omission is based on a discourse favoring a sedentary lifestyle and expanding control and discipline of the state (Cassarino 2004, King 2012). This discourse leads to a normalization and dominance of the sedentary lifestyle on the cultural level and affects the thoughts, expectations, and behaviours of the pastoralists, creating a further pull factor (Cole 2015). Additionally, the state's failure to provide social services and enable participation leads to a creation of violent conflicts between governmental groups and pastoralists which in return support the push factor (Gebru et al. 2013). Another omission appears in preventing push factors like droughts and the spread of diseases (through the provision of veterinaries). At the same time excluding nomadic pastoralists from land rights, while supporting crop farming and privatization, purposefully accelerates push factors (Shazali and Ahmed 1999, Eneyew 2012, Krätli et al. 2013). On the individual level, the overwhelming push factors trigger the final decision for settlement in urban areas.

Sedentarization – A tool for control
The status quo, but also the process of sedentarization is characterized by control. Within the logic of imperialist expansion of state's control sedentarization is the tool to discipline pastoralists through the extensive exercising of control.

If forcibly settled, the process of sedentarization itself is shaped by conflicts accompanied by a severe lack of control. The lack of personal control goes a lot further than the mere loss

of control over one's environment. Other functionings such as life, health, affiliation and the engagement with animals are endangered as well. Therefore, the process of sedentarization through conflict is signified by the nearly complete loss of control. In comparison to the process during the conflict, the adaptation after the actual settlement sees an improvement of regaining personal freedoms, while engaging in a different form of control: governmental control (Applegren 2014, Walters 2006).

The process of sedentarization can have very different effects on the feeling of security. Forcibly sedentarized pastoralists have to face an immediate lack of own control and financial insecurity due to their loss of cattle and were forced to depend on the goodwill of the government all at once. Opportunity-driven sedentarization was connected to an expansion of security by adding further professions and investment opportunities. Still, through their engagement in education, jobs, or business, they had to engage with governmental regulations. More specifically pastoralists had relative freedom in constructing houses along the migration routes; upon sedentarization they have to comply with governmental regulation. The sedentarization often comes with integration or assimilation into the mainstream society, which may stimulate alterations of formerly known traditions and everyday culture (Walters 2006).

No matter, if survival-oriented, policy-induced or opportunity-driven, the sedentarization ends in increased control of the government. In most cases this is paired with a lack of control over one's environment. The imposition of control comes in various shapes. In any case, the process founds on an increasing contact and governing of the state either as a turning point or as a welcomed process.

From a halt of migration to emigration
Due to the previous migratory experience and the cross-border character of their tribe, emigration seems a viable option for sedentarized pastoralists.
The sedentarization of Beni Amir in Kassala and their surrounding is affected by their connection to Eritrea. Existing problems of the refugees extend on the nomadic pastoralists in Sudan, when both groups meet and mix in Kassala. Problems of Sudanese Beni Amir overlap with problems of Eritrean refugees when Rashaida traffic Eritrean Beni Amir, while Sudanese Beni Amir pay the ransom and care for their tortured and hurt peers. These additional problems hinder the (economic) integration of Sudanese Beni Amir in Kassala, while other options like returning to nomadic pastoralism or moving to Eritrea remain impassable.
The strong relation of Sudanese Beni Amir to people, who see migration to Europe as their only chance, echoes with the frustration of the forcibly settled Beni Amir and encourages considerations to emigrate and seek opportunities and protection in European countries. Several of the respondents reported their wish to move to European countries including several who claimed that they would have family members who left towards Europe. Looking from the migration angle the pull factors that supported the sedentarization

process have proven to be limitedly accessible and are replaced with pull factors from Europe. At the same time the push factors remain in place. Both factors are accelerated by the networks, which are already existent along the migration routes through their Eritrean kin (King 2012).

Conclusion and the way forward

All three categories of sedentarization are based in the marginalization of the nomadic lifestyle and a national agenda towards sedentarization. The agenda is reasoned in an imperialist nation-state expansion and the subsequent need to increase the discipline over previously less controlled groups. The former colonial domination exercised not only physical control but also implemented a narrative based on deficiencies of nomads, leading to a normalization of a sedentary lifestyle (Walters 2006).

Education was identified as main reason for opportunity-driven sedentarization and as core hope of those settling out of a need for survival. The government of Sudan instrumentalizes the desire for education to intensify the on-going sedentarization. This process subjects the pastoralists under governmental discipline through official curricula aligned according to sedentary lifestyle, based on a school of thinking leaning on the normalization of sedentarism as the new complex modern lifestyle.

After reviewing the sedentarization and the status quo of the settled pastoralists in Kassala from angles of disadvantage, control, and migration, the role of the government of Sudan was identified as the most influential and often as the most disruptive with regards to patoralists' wishes.

Therefore, only one conclusion can be drawn: the improvement of the Beni Amir situation is linked to the quality of state performance in protecting marginalized groups by the government of Sudan. That would require a change in the discourse shaped by riverine Arab tribes in the government of Sudan, who in turn would influence the media depiction and the remaining part of the less influential society. Their interpretations of development, education, modernity, common good and the nation state would have to change. Also their imperialist notion to include all diverting groups into one nation-state would have to stop. In order to support pastoralists, continuing mobile animal rearing is strongest affected by insecurity and conflicts. Again the main responsibility to generate change can be found in the government: land disputes and conflicts between Eritrea and Ethiopia have to be solved; ideally migration corridors identified, which would allow cross-border migration; the promised services from the peace agreement of 2006 need to be fulfilled; and human traffickers, as well as animal robbers, need to be tracked and legally prosecuted.

Sedentarization does not exclude progress per se as much as it does not enable positive development per se. Therefore, I would argue for a dual approach, supporting, on the one hand, continued nomadic pastoralism and on the other hand integration opportunities for those left with no options to return. Pastoralists, who forcefully dropped out of nomadism, should receive immediate support to resume their profession, through financial aid, veterinary services, uncomplicated loans, and allocated land. Those who are still (semi-)

nomadic pastoralists should be supported by all means to receive all services at the point where they are – along migration routes; through mobile education and health services, with the assistance of technical devices, and veterinary support. The environment needs to be strengthened in order to face increasing droughts and natural disasters like El Niño. Rapid developments in the regions prevent any prediction of future events. Sudanese unstable and unpredictable political situation only aggrevates this phenomenon.

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