

# Sudan

## *Ethnicity in Sudan*

### *Power relations*

Sudan became independent in 1956. The first relevant period is 1956-1972. In 1972 a peace agreement established a regional government for Southern Sudan. This second period ends when the regional government is dissolved in 1983. The third period is 1983-2005. In 2005 a new peace agreement changed power distribution.

The numbers regarding population sizes are uncertain. For this survey estimates from Soviet Atlas Narodov Mira, Fearon's list, and other sources were combined. There seems to be consensus that the Arabs make up 40% of the population, and that 30% lives in the South. The largest and most relevant groups are listed as separate entities, the rest are part of composite groups (Other). The same group sizes for the entire survey period are used, because the shares are probably similar in every period. However, detailed numbers are hard to find, and there was no information about the individual shares of Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla. The result of this survey gives the impression that all of Sudan is dominated by three Arab groups that make up 15% of the population. The reality is more complex, but the categories and the definition of political power cover up this complexity. Sudan has always had ministers, generals and governors from ethnic groups other than **Shaygiyya**, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla. However, these have generally held the less important positions in the cabinet, and quite a few of them have held the position at the mercy of the dominating groups. Even though individuals held positions, it would be wrong to say that these ethnic groups had real political power.

The focus on power at the national level hides complexity at the sub-state level. Many discuss the alleged Dinka dominance of the regional government in the South, but in this survey all groups that participated in this regional government are coded as having "regional autonomy".

On 5 January 2005, the government of Sudan and Sudan Liberation Movement/Army signed a peace agreement called Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The agreement gives the post of first-vice president (FVP) to SPLM/A. When the agreement was signed this position was held by Dr. John Garang (Dinka) and he was sworn in as FVP on 9 July. After his death 30 July 2005 the position was held by Salva Kiir (Dinka). Also, SPLM/A were given 28 percent of

the seats in the National Government. As most of the top positions in SPLM/A are held by **Dinka** they are coded as a junior partner in the government. However, also some positions are held by **Nuer**. Most importantly the vice-president in the autonomous South Sudan is Riek Machar from the Nuer group. However, their influence is not deemed as significant enough to be coded as a junior partner to the government.

Although still being the politically most powerful groups in Sudan, the Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla shift from dominant to senior partner in government due to the power given to the Dinka through the SPLM/A. On 14 May 2006, Eastern Front signed the Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement (ESPA). Eastern Front constitutes two rebel groups: Free Lions, a **Rashaida** based group, and Beja Congress, a group with a **Beja** constituency. However, the ESPA is more an agreement between Sudan and Eritrea and doesn't give any real influence for the Beja or Rashaida. Hence, the groups are still coded as powerless.

The rebellion in Darfur by the SLM/A and JEM started in 2003. The rebellion mostly consisted of people from the **Fur**, **Masalit** and **Zaghawa** ethnic groups. After the start of the rebellion members of these groups were targeted by governmental violence and hence they are coded as being discriminated during these years. The Presidential Advisor position given to Mini Minawi (a Zaghawa rebel leader) in the Darfur Peace Agreement was just a token position. Hence, the Zaghawa group is not coded as a junior partner to the government.

Up until mid-2011, the ethnic power relations did not change much in Sudan. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement was still the dominating legal document and that kept the NCP and SPLM/A as the two prime political parties. Thus, the Shaygiyya, Jaaliyyan and Dangala (Arab) -which dominates the NCP -is coded as the major partner and the Dinka - which dominates SPLM/A - as the junior partner in the government. On 9 July 2011, however, South Sudan gained independence, which radically changed the political life in Sudan. The ethnic groups based in South Sudan were not more relevant in a Sudanese context. The split of Sudan also decreased the population in Sudan from 38 to 30 million, which changed the relative size of the various groups in Sudan. With South Sudan seceding, NCP dominated the political life which meant that the status of the Shaygiyya, Jaaliyyan and Dangala (Arab) changed from major partner to dominant. This group is even more dominating considering that the major opposition parties (Umma Party and Democratic Unionist Party) are dominated by the same ethnic groups. In Darfur, the war continued throughout the time-period and this means that the Fur, Masalit and Zaghawa are coded as discriminated as the government discriminated these three groups that dominated the rebellion in Darfur. The same applies to the **Nuba** in South Kordofan.

## *Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan*

### *From 1956 until 1971*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab groups	0.25	POWERLESS
Other Northern groups	0.17	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.15	DOMINANT
Dinka	0.1	POWERLESS
Other Southern groups	0.09	POWERLESS
Beja	0.06	POWERLESS
Nuer	0.05	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.05	POWERLESS
Azande	0.02	POWERLESS
Bari	0.02	POWERLESS
Fur	0.02	POWERLESS
Latoka	0.01	POWERLESS
Masalit	0.01	IRRELEVANT
Shilluk	0.01	POWERLESS
Zaghawa	0.005	IRRELEVANT
Rashaida	0.002	IRRELEVANT



Figure 848: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 1956-1971.

### *From 1972 until 1982*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab groups	0.25	POWERLESS
Other Northern groups	0.17	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.15	DOMINANT
Dinka	0.1	POWERLESS
Other Southern groups	0.09	POWERLESS
Beja	0.06	POWERLESS
Nuer	0.05	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.05	POWERLESS
Bari	0.02	POWERLESS
Azande	0.02	POWERLESS
Fur	0.02	POWERLESS
Latoka	0.01	POWERLESS
Masalit	0.01	IRRELEVANT
Shilluk	0.01	POWERLESS
Zaghawa	0.005	IRRELEVANT
Rashaida	0.002	IRRELEVANT



Figure 849: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 1972-1982.

*From 1983 until 2002*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab groups	0.25	POWERLESS
Other Northern groups	0.17	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.15	DOMINANT
Dinka	0.1	POWERLESS
Other Southern groups	0.09	POWERLESS
Beja	0.06	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.05	POWERLESS
Nuer	0.05	POWERLESS
Bari	0.02	POWERLESS
Azande	0.02	POWERLESS
Fur	0.02	POWERLESS
Latoka	0.01	POWERLESS
Masalit	0.01	IRRELEVANT
Shilluk	0.01	POWERLESS
Zaghawa	0.005	IRRELEVANT
Rashaida	0.002	IRRELEVANT



Figure 850: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 1983-2002.

*From 2003 until 2003*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab groups	0.25	POWERLESS
Other Northern groups	0.17	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.15	DOMINANT
Dinka	0.1	POWERLESS
Other Southern groups	0.09	POWERLESS
Beja	0.06	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.05	POWERLESS
Nuer	0.05	POWERLESS
Azande	0.02	POWERLESS
Bari	0.02	POWERLESS
Fur	0.02	DISCRIMINATED
Latoka	0.01	POWERLESS
Shilluk	0.01	POWERLESS
Masalit	0.01	IRRELEVANT
Zaghawa	0.005	IRRELEVANT
Rashaida	0.002	IRRELEVANT



Figure 851: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2003-2003.

*From 2004 until 2005*

Figure 852: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2004-2005.

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab groups	0.25	POWERLESS
Other Northern groups	0.17	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.15	DOMINANT
Dinka	0.1	POWERLESS
Other Southern groups	0.09	POWERLESS
Beja	0.06	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.05	POWERLESS
Nuer	0.05	POWERLESS
Azande	0.02	POWERLESS
Bari	0.02	POWERLESS
Fur	0.02	DISCRIMINATED
Latoka	0.01	POWERLESS
Shilluk	0.01	POWERLESS
Masalit	0.01	DISCRIMINATED
Zaghawa	0.005	DISCRIMINATED
Rashaida	0.002	IRRELEVANT

*From 2006 until 2011*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab groups	0.25	POWERLESS
Other Northern groups	0.17	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.15	SENIOR PARTNER
Dinka	0.1	JUNIOR PARTNER
Other Southern groups	0.09	POWERLESS
Beja	0.06	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.05	POWERLESS
Nuer	0.05	POWERLESS
Azande	0.02	POWERLESS
Bari	0.02	POWERLESS
Fur	0.02	DISCRIMINATED
Latoka	0.01	POWERLESS
Shilluk	0.01	POWERLESS
Masalit	0.01	DISCRIMINATED
Zaghawa	0.005	DISCRIMINATED
Rashaida	0.002	POWERLESS

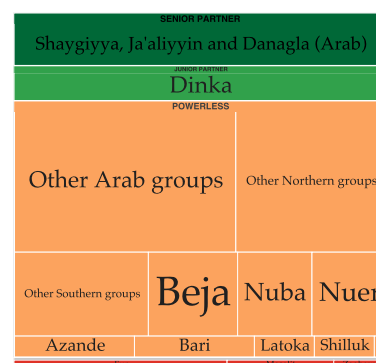


Figure 853: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2006-2011.

*From 2012 until 2013*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab groups	0.32	POWERLESS
Other Northern groups	0.22	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.19	DOMINANT
Beja	0.09	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.07	DISCRIMINATED
Fur	0.03	DISCRIMINATED
Masalit	0.015	DISCRIMINATED
Zaghawa	0.007	DISCRIMINATED
Rashaida	0.003	POWERLESS

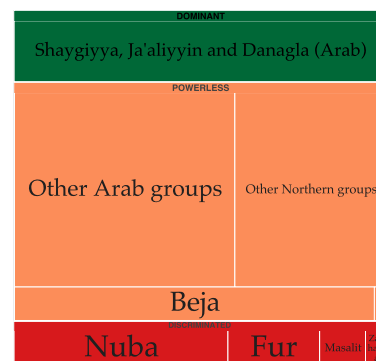


Figure 854: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2012-2013.

*From 2014 until 2017*

Group name	Proportional size	Political status
Other Arab groups	0.32	POWERLESS
Other Northern groups	0.22	POWERLESS
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	0.19	DOMINANT
Beja	0.09	POWERLESS
Nuba	0.07	DISCRIMINATED
Fur	0.03	DISCRIMINATED
Masalit	0.015	DISCRIMINATED
Zaghawa	0.005	DISCRIMINATED
Rashaida	0.003	POWERLESS

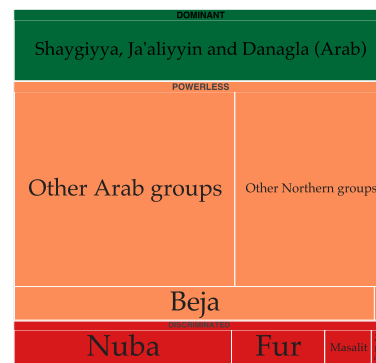


Figure 855: Political status of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2014-2017.

## *Geographical coverage of ethnic groups in Sudan*

*From 1956 until 2003*

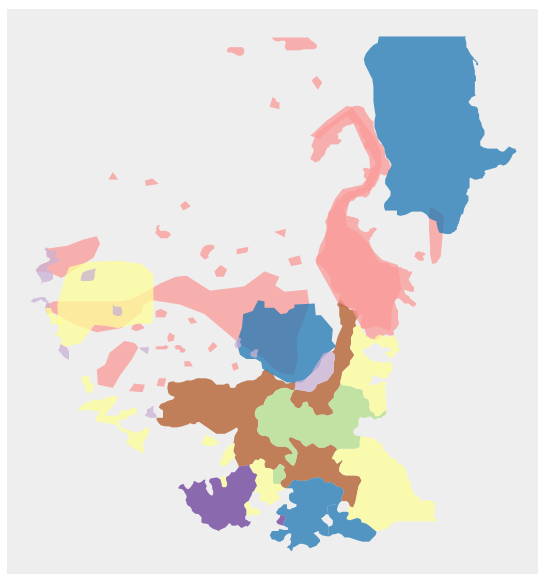


Figure 856: Map of ethnic groups in Sudan during 1956-2003.

Group name	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Type
Other Arab groups	357 927	Regionally based
Beja	254 098	Regionally based
Dinka	165 444	Regionally based
Other Southern groups	157 801	Regionally based
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	111 945	Regionally based
Fur	93 890	Regionally based
Nuba	83 490	Regionally based
Nuer	80 800	Regionally based
Azande	45 944	Regionally based
Bari	45 558	Regionally based
Latoka	15 187	Regionally based
Other Northern groups	14 603	Regionally based
Shilluk	11 470	Regionally based

Table 288: List of ethnic groups in Sudan during 1956-2003.



*From 2004 until 2005*

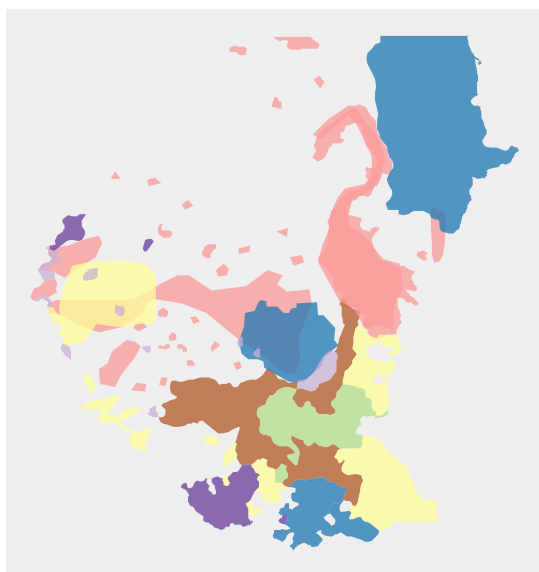


Figure 857: Map of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2004-2005.

Group name	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Type
Other Arab groups	357 927	Regionally based
Beja	254 098	Regionally based
Dinka	165 444	Regionally based
Other Southern groups	157 801	Regionally based
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	111 945	Regionally based
Fur	93 890	Regionally based
Nuba	83 490	Regionally based
Nuer	80 800	Regionally based
Azande	45 944	Regionally based
Bari	45 558	Regionally based
Latoka	15 187	Regionally based
Other Northern groups	14 603	Regionally based
Shilluk	11 470	Regionally based
Zaghawa	10 330	Regionally based
Masalit	4 791	Regionally based

Table 289: List of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2004-2005.

*From 2006 until 2010*

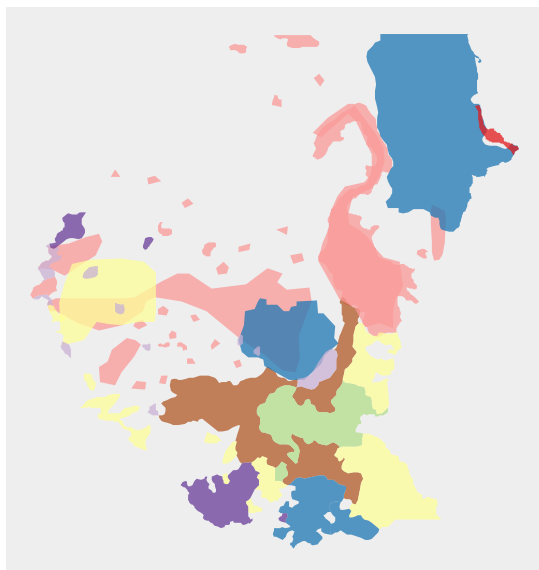


Figure 858: Map of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2006-2010.

Group name	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Type
Other Arab groups	357 927	Regionally based
Beja	254 098	Regionally based
Dinka	165 444	Regionally based
Other Southern groups	157 801	Regionally based
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	111 945	Regionally based
Fur	93 890	Regionally based
Nuba	83 490	Regionally based
Nuer	80 800	Regionally based
Azande	45 944	Regionally based
Bari	45 558	Regionally based
Latoka	15 187	Regionally based
Other Northern groups	14 603	Regionally based
Shilluk	11 470	Regionally based
Zaghawa	10 330	Regionally based
Rashaida	5 832	Regionally based
Masalit	4 791	Regionally based

Table 290: List of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2006-2010.

*From 2011 until 2011*

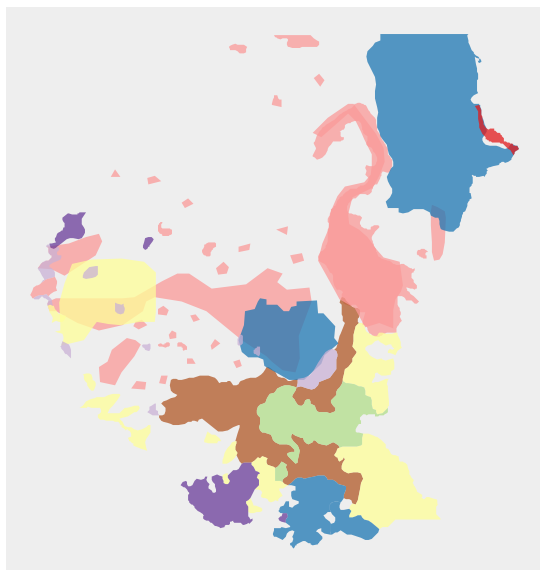


Figure 859: Map of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2011-2011.

Group name	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Type
Other Arab groups	357 927	Regionally based
Beja	254 098	Regionally based
Dinka	165 444	Regionally based
Other Southern groups	157 801	Regionally based
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	111 945	Regionally based
Fur	93 890	Regionally based
Nuba	83 490	Regionally based
Nuer	80 800	Regionally based
Azande	45 944	Regionally based
Bari	45 558	Regionally based
Latoka	15 187	Regionally based
Other Northern groups	14 603	Regionally based
Shilluk	11 470	Regionally based
Zaghawa	10 330	Regionally based
Rashaida	5 832	Regionally based
Masalit	4 791	Regionally based

Table 291: List of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2011-2011.

*From 2012 until 2017*

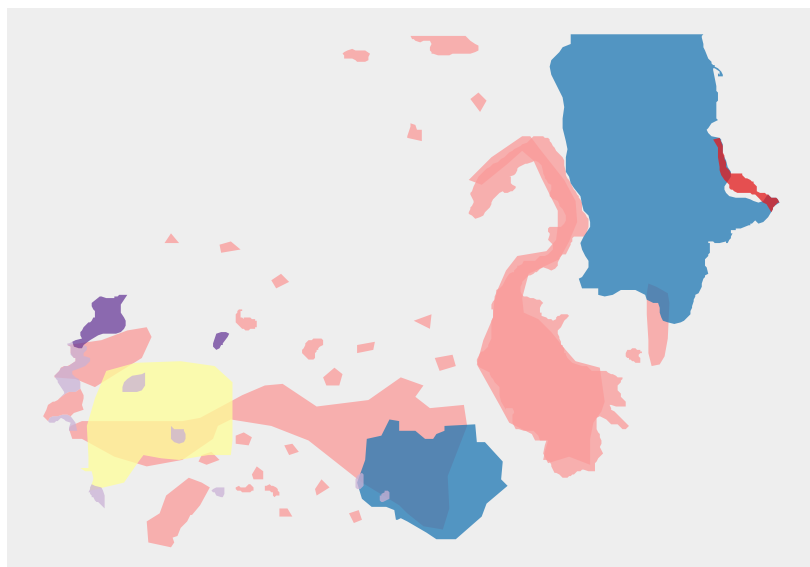


Figure 860: Map of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2012-2017.

Group name	Area in km <sup>2</sup>	Type
Other Arab groups	355 422	Regionally based
Beja	254 098	Regionally based
Shaygiyya, Ja'aliyyin and Danagla (Arab)	111 521	Regionally based
Fur	93 890	Regionally based
Nuba	82 585	Regionally based
Other Northern groups	13 205	Regionally based
Zaghawa	10 330	Regionally based
Rashaida	5 832	Regionally based
Masalit	4 791	Regionally based

Table 292: List of ethnic groups in Sudan during 2012-2017.

## *Conflicts in Sudan*

*Starting on 1963-12-30*

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Sudan	SSLM	Other Southern groups	1963-12-30	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SSLM	Dinka	1963-12-30	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SSLM	Latoka	1963-12-30	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SSLM	Azande	1963-12-30	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SSLM	Bari	1963-12-30	Explicit	Yes	Yes

*Starting on 1971-07-21*

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Sudan	Sudanese Communist Party		1971-07-21			
Government of Sudan	National Front	Other Arab groups	1976-07-01	No	No	No
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A	Shilluk	1983-05-15	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A	Nuba	1983-05-15	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A	Dinka	1983-05-15	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A	Nuer	1983-05-15	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A	Beja	1983-05-15	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A	Other Southern groups	1983-05-15	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	NDA	Nuer	1996-04-19	Explicit	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLM/A	Masalit	2003-04-08	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLM/A	Zaghawa	2003-04-08	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLM/A	Fur	2003-04-08	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	JEM	Zaghawa	2003-10-03	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLM/A - MM	Zaghawa	2006-01-22	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	NRF	Fur	2006-07-02	No	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	NRF	Masalit	2006-07-02	No	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	NRF	Zaghawa	2006-07-02	No	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLM/A-Unity	Masalit	2007-04-28	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLM/A-Unity	Fur	2007-04-28	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SLM/A-Unity	Zaghawa	2007-04-28	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	SSDM/A		2010-04-29			
Government of Sudan	SSLM/A	Nuer	2011-03-25	No	Yes	
Government of Sudan	SSLM/A	Nuer	2011-03-25	Explicit	Yes	
Government of Sudan	SPLM/A-North	Nuba	2011-06-05	Presumed	Yes	
Government of Sudan	SRF		2011-11-21			
Government of Sudan	SARC		2014-02-27			
Government of Sudan	Darfur Joint Resistance Forces		2014-03-01			

*Starting on 2011-04-30*

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of Sudan	Republic of South Sudan	Other Southern groups	2011-04-30	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	Republic of South Sudan	Shilluk	2011-04-30	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	Republic of South Sudan	Nuer	2011-04-30	Presumed	Yes	Yes
Government of Sudan	Republic of South Sudan	Dinka	2011-04-30	Presumed	Yes	Yes

*Starting on 2012-03-26*

Side A	Side B	Group name	Start	Claim	Recruitment	Support
Government of South Sudan	Government of Sudan		2012-03-26			