

10 sacks of millet on the rented piece of land, 1 sack will be given to the landowner. Eleven of the 15 farmers had fuṭra agreements.

The ijar/dugundi<sup>7</sup> rental arrangement is a yearly rent paid to the land owner in the form of a specified amount of cash. This amount varies from 2 to 5 L. S. a mukhammas. Only 3 of the 15 farmers who rent-in land did so by dugundi.

The mukṭuu9iya<sup>8</sup> rental arrangement is a lump-sum paid to the landowner giving the renter access to the land till the fertility of the soil is exhausted. For instance, the renter will pay 40 L.S. to farm a single piece of land for 7 to 10 years. This is the least common rental arrangement. Only one farmer in our sample rented-in land in this manner.

In all cases, thus far investigated, all land which was rented was fallow land. Previously cultivated land was rarely rented on a first time basis. One benefit that landowners gain in renting land is that the renter will bear the costs in clearing the land. For those rental arrangements which are on a yearly basis (fuṭra and ijar/dugundi), landowners can reclaim the land after the third year of cultivation, so that in effect the renter is providing a cheap means for landowners to clear their land. The only rental arrangement which does not favor the landowner is the mukṭuu9iya arrangement. Since a renter can continue to utilize the rented land till the soil is exhausted, he is compensated for his initial clearing costs. For this reason, this arrangement is not preferred by landowners, which might explain its rare occurrence.<sup>9</sup> The mukṭuu9iya arrangement can also have adverse environmental consequences because renters may not adhere to proper land-use management practices since it is not their land. This arrangement promotes the over-utilization of cultivated land because renters will try to get the most for their initial investment.

Our findings indicate that differences did exist between the 3 villages regarding renting-in land. Umm Ramad had the greatest number of renters (8 of 15 or 53%) followed by El Geifil (3 of 10 or 30%) and El Kharta (4 of 15 or 27%). Umm Ramad may have had a higher proportion of renters because several farmers had migrated into the village from outside for the facilities and services it offers. Umm Ramad has a primary school, a permanent water source, and a relatively large market.

Considering the other side of rental arrangements, we also made inquiries as to how many farmers were renting their land out. Twenty-eight percent (11) of the farmers surveyed had rented 182.5 mukhammas to other

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<sup>7</sup> During the colonial period, the term dugundi was used to refer to the tax collected by the Shaikh of each village based on his estimation of crop output of each farmer's field. East and North of El Obeid the term dugundi is used to refer to annual rent paid in cash.

<sup>8</sup> The term mukṭuu9iya means a piece of something. The term is sometimes used by farmers when they rent one tract of land by an annual agreed upon price. In El Kharta the term is used to describe a lump sum rental arrangement as described above.

<sup>9</sup> The farmers in need of a sizable amount of money for an emergency may rent by the mukṭuu9iya arrangement.