Norwegian University
of Life Sciences

Master's Thesis 2016
30 ECTS
Noragric

Internally displaced persons in Sudan - A study of livelihood and coping strategies under protracted displacement

Janne Gundersen
Master of Science, International Development Studies

The Department of International Environment and Development Studies, Noragric, is the international gateway for the Norwegian University of Life Sciences (NMBU). Eight departments, associated research institutions and the Norwegian College of Veterinary Medicine in Oslo. Established in 1986, Noragric's contribution to international development lies in the interface between research, education (Bachelor, Master and PhD programmes) and assignments.

The Noragric Master theses are the final theses submitted by students in order to fulfil the requirements under the Noragric Master programme "International Environmental Studies", "International Development Studies" and "International Relations".

The findings in this thesis do not necessarily reflect the views of Noragric. Extracts from this publication may only be reproduced after prior consultation with the author and on condition that the source is indicated. For rights of reproduction or translation contact Noragric.

Declaration

I, Janne Gundersen, declare that this thesis is a result of my research investigations and findings. Sources of information other than my own have been acknowledged and a reference list has been appended. This work has not been previously submitted to any other university for award of any type of academic degree.

Signature………………………………..

Date…………………………………………

Abstract

The numbers of displaced people in the world due to conflict is now the highest ever recorded. This study looks at the situation for internally displaced people in general, and in Sudan in particular with exploring specifically the livelihood situation for IDPs who lived under protracted displacement in Wad Al Bashir, a camp for internally displaced persons in Khartoum in 2007. They had come from various parts of the country, and had lived there for different amount of time, some planned to remain others dreamt of going back home. My objectives were to see what strategies they were using to make a living for themselves and their families under very difficult circumstances, and whether establishing or joining community based organisations (CBOs) were part of these coping strategies?

The findings showed that their challenges were great and they were left to find new ways of living. With an estimated number of 1,7 million IDPs in Khartoum at the time, jobs were scarce and very low paid, this was further complicated with strict imposed government legislations. Several CBOs had been set up in Wad Al Bashir, working under different capacities, however there were large potentials to expand their outreach in order to benefit more people. The vital role the CBO's played (or had the opportunity to play) could be given more recognition and support, with time they could also be self-sufficient. It was also a unique opportunity for the different tribes to come together, and work peacefully together towards the same goals.

Conflicts in Sudan and South Sudan are continuing and as long as the root causes for displacement are set, the numbers of displaced are still very high and are likely to rise. The two countries has every chance to prosper and develop and will most likely do so once the power struggles are set aside

Acknowledgement

.

Abbreviations

AUW - Ahfad University for Women

CBO - Community Based Organisation

CPA - Comprehensive Peace Agreement

GoS - Government of Sudan

HAC - Government of Sudan's Humanitarian Aid Commission

IDMC - Internal Displacement Monitor Centre

IDP - Internally Displaced Person

INGO - International Non Governmental Organisation

IOM - International Organization for Migration

LRA - Lord's Resistance Army

NCP - National Congress Party

NGO - Non Governmental Organisation

NRC - Norwegian Refugee Council

OCHA - United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs

SPLM/A - Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WFP - World Food Programme

Contents

Chapter 1, Introduction and background

At the entrance of year 2016 the numbers of displaced people in the world due to conflict had passed 65,3 million, out of these were 40.8 million displaced within their own country thus being labelled internally displaced persons (IDPs). This is the highest figures ever recorded. Five countries have featured in the top ten list of countries with the largest displaced populations every year since 2003, among these are both Sudan and South Sudan.

Due to various prolonged conflicts Sudan has had an immense problem with forced displacement. During the civil wars, millions of people fled to other parts of the country, and the majority of these went to the relatively safe areas in and around the capital city Khartoum. Sudan has over an extended period of time been among the countries in the world with the highest number of IDPs in the world. In 2015 it was estimated that a minimum of 3 182 000[1] people were displaced within Sudan due to conflict. In contrast, the population in whole of Sudan is 40,235,000 persons (UN DESA, Population Division). The numbers of IDPs in South Sudan were 1,697,000 out of a population of 12,340,000 persons.

The death toll has been immense and apart from loss of human lives, loss of livelihood, and income opportunities, social networks and hunger has also had a huge impact on the people.

This thesis will look into the livelihood situation for IDPs in Sudan in general, with a closer look back in time at the situation for IDPs in the Khartoum area with a focus on Wad Al Bashir, one out of four designated camps for IDPs based on field research conducted in 2007. In addition to data from the field research I will be using secondary data. At the time of the field research there were an estimated 4,465,000 IDPs[2] who lived in the whole of Sudan and many of these lived in the wider areas of Khartoum, many of these were from southern Sudan, and had been living there for extended periods of time, sometimes for generations due to the conflicts in their areas. Others again came from other conflict ridden areas, such as Darfur, Kordofan and Eastern parts.

---

[1] The numbers are from IDMC

[2] The OCHA Regional Office for Central and East Africa, in its Displaced Populations Report, January - June 2007

The total number of IDPs in Sudan has decreased significantly from a peak of around five million in 2010. This is due both to large scale movement of southern Sudanese to South Sudan and the fact that former southern Sudanese IDPs, were after the separation no longer counted as IDPs in Sudan. However, since 2011, the number of IDPs has been steadily increasing,[3] much due to the situation in Darfur.

Total displacement (conflict)
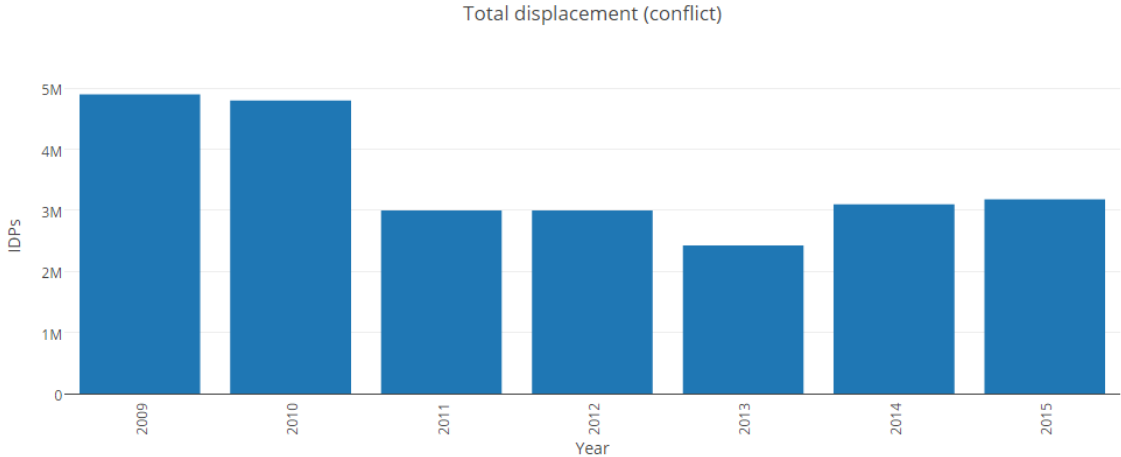
Data for some years are undetermined.

This chart depicts the total number of people in situation of displacement related to conflict as of December 31 of each year. (Source: IDMC)

Although extended time has passed since doing the research in 2007, the topic, livelihood under protracted displacement is none the less still very valid and can still stand as an example for protracted displacement both in Sudan and elsewhere, even if the situation in Sudan has changed profoundly since then. The thesis will also be looking into changes that has happen in Sudan since then, which has had large implications for many southerners in particular.

---

[3] Sudan IDP Figures Analysis, IDMC

Objectives and research questions

The main objective of this thesis was to get a deeper understanding of the situation and the livelihoods to IDPs in Sudan who live under protracted displacement due to conflict and to see what strategies they were using to make a living for themselves and their families under very difficult circumstances. I wanted to focus on the area of Khartoum were many of them lived.

The main research questions were as follows;

-What is the livelihood situation for IDPs in Sudan in general and Khartoum in particular?

-Which coping strategies do the IDPs apply?

-Are establishing or joining community based organisations (CBOs) part of these coping strategies?

Historical overview

There have been many conflicts during Sudan's history and the reasons for them are manifold and also widely disputed depending on the sources. I will briefly outline a historic overview as it is important to get an understanding of events that have led to today's situation, but will due to limited space not go very deep into it, also bearing in mind the words of Sudanese scholar Mustafa Abusharaf (2009); "it is easy to vastly oversimplify a complex, contentious past that has been written, read and interpreted differently by Sudanese people themselves".

After prolonged civil wars in Sudan and a process that involved many different actors and took several years, a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was finally signed in 2005 between the Government of Sudan (GoS) and the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement/Army SPLM/A. A part of this agreement stated that the Southern Sudanese would have the right to self-determination through a referendum vote that were to take place in January 2011. Just few months after signing the CPA, and three weeks after he had been appointed Vice President, John Garang who fought for a united Sudan, died in a helicopter crash, being replaced by his deputy Salva Kiir, who was a known secessionist. In the

following 'interim period' the SPLM governed Sudan alongside President Bashir's National Congress Party (NCP), both parties had committed themselves to 'make unity attractive' (Copnall, 2014). The ruling National Congress Party (NCP) saw the separation as an opportunity to strengthen its grip on power and further its Islamist agenda (Sørbø et al 2013). At a speech in late 2010 Bashir proclaimed what would happen if the south would go for separation: "If south Sudan secedes, we will change the constitution, and at that time there will be no time to speak of diversity of culture and ethnicity … sharia and Islam will be the main source for the constitution, Islam the official religion and Arabic the official language" (Sørbø et al 2013). However, in January 2011, an overwhelming majority of the South Sudanese voted to secede and in July 2011 Sudan officially split into two countries, Sudan and South Sudan. Although this was received positively by many, there were numerous unresolved challenges and many still remains. The borders were also disputed and have resulted in several violent clashes between SPLM/A and GoS. There were also high hopes for peace within the new country South Sudan but there have unfortunately been numerous violent clashes and widespread violence broke out in December 2013. Earlier that year South Sudan's President Salva Kiir had fired all ministers and deputy ministers, as well as Vice-President Riek Machar. The conflict, triggered by fighting in Juba on December 15th between soldiers loyal to President Salva Kiir, a Dinka, and those loyal to his former deputy, Riek Machar, a Nuer, followed growing political tensions. Kiir maintains the violence was a coup attempt by Machar.

Before the separation, Sudan was the largest country in Africa consisting of a multitude of ethnic groups and languages. Physically on the map there are also visible differences, where the northern states are dry desert land and the south is covered by grassland swamps, and some tropical forest (Collins, 2008). The country was a mixture of contrasts and in many ways represented Africa with its diversity and contrasts.

Maps over Sudan and South Sudan (United Nations).[4]

[4] http://www.ohchr.org/SiteCollectionImages/Countries/sdmap.pdf
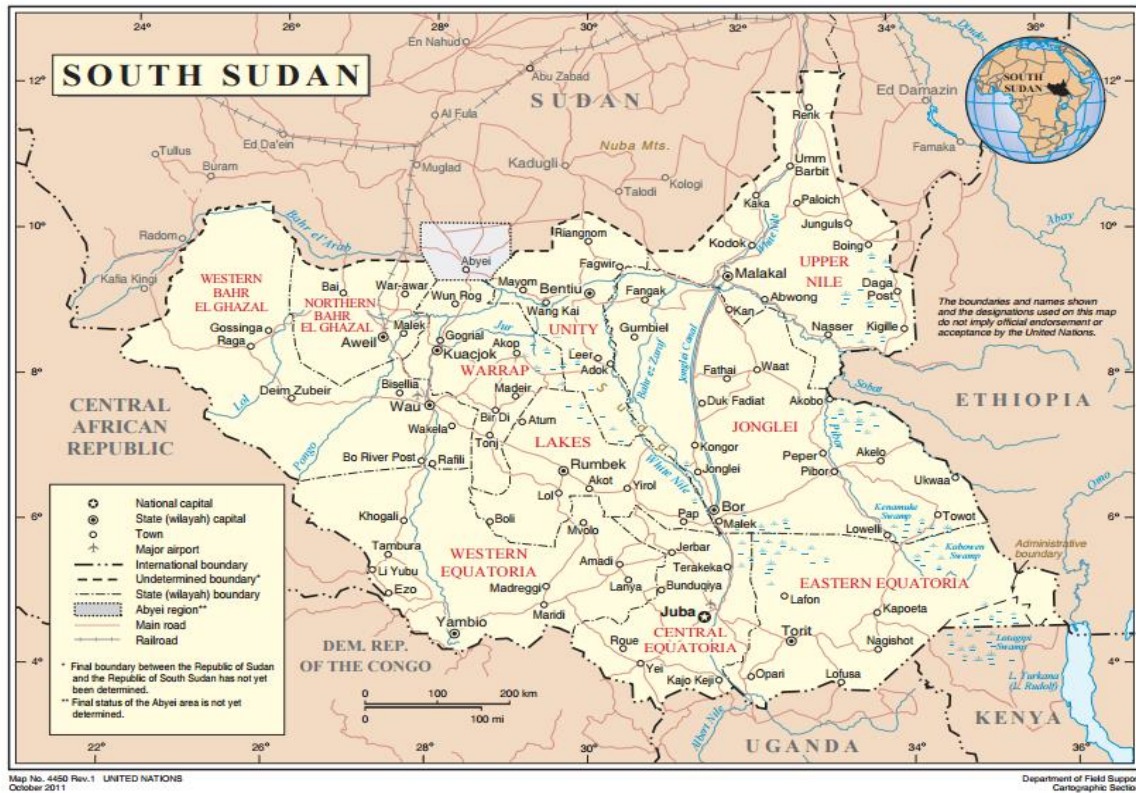
Sudan gained independence in 1956, when joint British-Egyptian rule over the country ended. Just prior to the independence there broke out an armed conflict between the Government in Khartoum and southern separatists. This conflict ended with a peace agreement that was signed in Addis Ababa in 1972 between the central government and the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM). It granted self-government for the South but not self-determination (Johnson, 2011). However important terms of the Agreement were never honored and although the government in Khartoum did not interfere in the affairs of the autonomous South, promised economic development did not take place (Ibid). The conflict resumed again in 1983 partly because of the southerners' dissatisfaction with progress towards meaningful participation in political processes and concerns over the unequal distribution of development resources in favor of the north (Jacobsen et al, 2001). The SPLM/A had also been funded the same year and President Nimeiri had declared all Sudan an Islamic state and that Sharia laws was also to include the South. Nimeiri was overthrown when Omar Hassan al-Bashir came to power in a coup in 1989 and was elected president in 1996. Bashir was re-elected several times since, most recently in 2015 when he gained another five-year term. Most opposition parties boycotted the vote (BBC, Sudan country profile).

The civil war in Sudan has frequently been described as the Muslim north versus the Christian and animist south. In reality there were a number of complicating factors, with several armed factions and militias (Stacey, 2002), not only ethnic and religious. Over the years other factors such as natural disasters, protracted economic crisis, and violent exploitation of natural resources especially oil and so on fuelled the crisis. It's been argued that ethnicity in Sudan to a large extent is a product of state building. Both colonial and nationalist regimes have actively shaped new ethnic identities as a basis for their state-building projects, by intensifying divisions between Sudan's diverse ethnic groups in order to secure their power (Sørbø et al 2013). Many of the conflicts cannot be seen in isolation but also involves other actors. The international community has been heavily engaged in Sudan. It has also been criticism against foreign involvement and Johnson (2012) argues that by dealing with one conflict at a time, the international community ignored, and continues to ignore, the multiple issues that have fuelled Sudan's interlocking wars. It's also been argued that Sudan's conflicts have never been fully "internal" as complex vested interests that include a range of external actors have always helped shape the conflicts (Sørbø et al, 2013). There are also conflicts in the east and there have been massive atrocities in Darfur. President Bashir faces two

international arrest warrants, issued by the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague, on charges of genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity. The charges relate to the conflict in the western Darfur, where thousands of people died of violence, disease and displacement during fighting between government and rebel forces from 2003 onwards. Over some period of time Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) has also been present in the south after being forced out from North Uganda. There are also suggestions that the Government in the north has supplied the LRA with weapons in order to destabilise the South (Small arms survey, 2007).

The second civil war was different from the first in several respects. It was much more deadly and had a much greater impact on the civilian population and it went over a much larger territory. Neighbouring countries were more actively involved, in particular, Uganda, Eritrea and Ethiopia and a vast international aid effort was set up to provide relief assistance to civilians (Johnson, 2011).

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was not a North-South deal only, but an agreement intended to lead to a just peace for all the marginalized peoples in the country and to make unity attractive for Southerners (Johnson, 2011). Now 11 years after signing the agreement there are still many challenges and a number of issues remain unresolved, including disputed borders, citizenship issues, oil (shipping of southern oils through northern pipelines) and border lines. They are also exacerbated by the hostilities in Darfur, and conflicts in other parts of the country. The last years has also seen a rapid increase of violence and massacres in the south.

This thesis will focus on Sudan, but will naturally also include South Sudan, many of the people I met in Khartoum has also gone back home and some live under horrific circumstances as the situation in South Sudan has been very serious since war broke out in December 2013. Humanitarian needs are staggering. According to the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) it is estimated that some six million people need humanitarian assistance - more than half the population. Over two million people have been forced to flee their homes. Over half of all school-aged children are not attending classes. Despite these figures, aiding the people has shown to be difficult and by the end of April only 20 per cent of the aid appeal

for South Sudan had been funded.[5] In a statement to the Human Rights Council Panel Discussion on the Human Rights Situation in South Sudan NRC add that "due to this lack of respect for human rights by all the parties, IDPs face serious protection issues during all phases of their displacement. Some have been killed, abducted, arbitrarily detained or subjected to ill-treatment, torture and sexual violence. Many places in which IDPs have sought refuge do not provide enough safety and security – some have even been attacked- and lack access to basic services".[6] The conflict has continued throughout 2015, forcing 198,707 (UNHCR) South Sudanese to flee into Sudan, both increasing the vulnerable mobile population and further straining existing resources.

Organisation of the thesis

The thesis consists of five chapters. The first chapter gives an introduction to the thesis with a short historic account, problem statement, objectives and research questions. The second chapter looks into the methods that have been used in collecting the data. The third chapter goes deeper into the situation for internally displaced persons in general and for Sudan in particular. The forth chapter looks at the findings of the field research in Wad Al Bashir camp for internally displaced persons conducted in 2007. The fifth chapter has some concluding remarks.

Chapter 2, Methods

This paper is based on information collected from a variety of sources from different fields of study in addition to personal research and observations based on two months fieldwork in Khartoum from end of October to late December 2007.

Regarding the theme, aim and main objectives of this paper, I found desk study and qualitative methods to be the most suitable methods. The thesis is based on written materials from a range of sources and in this research it was also important to gather in-depth subjective

---

[5] NRC, 26.04.2016, http://www.nrc.no/?did=9217689#.VyyBIvl96M_
[6] Oral statement by the Norwegian Refugee Council's Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC) to the 27th session of Human Rights Council Panel Discussion on the Human Rights Situation in South Sudan Geneva 24 September 2014

information from people living and/or working in the camps for internally displaced persons, to get a deeper insight and understanding of their situation. Qualitative approaches are needed to provide understanding both of individual and community-level social action, at the same time quantitative research is important for obtaining comparative data to describe macro-social changes linked to migration (Vargas-Silva, 2012). Criticisms against qualitative methods have been that it can be too subjective, difficult to replicate, problems of generalisation and lack of transparency (Bryman, 2004). Qualitative research was however important for this study because I wanted to get in-depth information from the people I would talk with, from their own point of view and experiences.

This research is interdisciplinary in nature and it looks upon issues from various fields of research. Most forms of migration research are likely to require a mixed-methods approach. For some scholars "the very phenomenon of migration itself is interdisciplinary – a practice that extends across diverse ways of being in the world and therefore requires diverse ways of capturing and understanding these activities and patterns (Vargas-Silva, 2012). The objectives and research questions of this paper were wide and complex to start with and depended on a number of people and literature to answer various questions. I made an attempt to visit and talk to people from a whole range of fields, and hoped to be able to talk with internally displaced persons in and outside designated camps, community based organisations leaders, traditional leaders, university academic staff, staff from NGOs, CBOs, government officials, key informants and others concerned and involved with IDPs.

The conducted interviews were semi-structured with guides/checklists with questions and topics. The questions depended on who I talked to and what information I was interested in depending on which objectives and research questions that needed to be answered. I had premade all the checklists depending on who I would talk with. The interviews was more of a conversation rather than a formal interview with the respondents, allowing for other relevant questions to arise based on observations, responses and topics the respondents wished to discuss. Informants was also encouraged to bring forward any other information they might wished to share, thus getting a feeling of what the important issues for the respondents were. Using a semi-structured interview guide are useful in several ways because one are able to vary the sequence of questions and one are able to follow up with questions in response to what might come up in the conversations (Bryman, 2004). It was also easy to formulate more specific research questions out of the collected data (Ibid).

In addition to the semi-structured interviews, field observation was used as a supplementary research method. Observation as a tool for field research involves observing people's daily activities and their ways of life, thus providing additional information that might not have been disclosed in interviews (Bryman 2004).

Affiliation

I was affiliated to Ahfad University for Women (AUW) whilst in Sudan. The University is exclusively for women, and emphasis is; "placed on preparing women to act as agents of change in building a modern nation in Sudan, or in their home countries. The University is also committed to help improve conditions in rural areas of Sudan through active student participation in population studies, education projects, health care, appropriate technology research and development, and other field activities" (from Ahfad University for Women Prospectus 2006-2009). At the time of the study AUW had 4785 students who came from all regions of the Sudan and several neighboring countries. In 2007 Ahfad University for Women celebrated 100 years since it was established (although it was not granted full university status before 1995). The teaching language was English, but they also had mandatory classes in Arabic. Its vision is still; AUW will be a nationally prominent university and leading institution worldwide known for gender equity, women empowerment, academic excellence, research, civic engagement and social responsibility[7].

I had a local supervisor at AUW, Shadia Daoud, who were head of School of Rural Extension Education and Development (REED). Being affiliated to Ahfad University for Women was positive in many ways. They have a unique and valuable knowledge and awareness of issues concerning livelihoods in Sudan and a focus on gender and women in particular. They are also concerned with and involved in many activities around the country especially issues concerning women.

It took nearly one month before my travel permits from Sudan's Humanitarian Aid Commission (HAC) was finalised, so there were plenty of time to get familiar with the area and I had many informal conversations with both students and lecturers at Ahfad University for Women. I also had access to the library and read local sources and unpublished student

---

[7] Ahfad University for Women, Facts and Figures 2015, http://www.ahfad.edu.sd/images/pdfs/fact-and-fighers-2015.pdf

papers which were very interesting. I was very interested in looking at local sources, as academics, researchers, policymakers and international agencies from the West has dominated much discussion and action involving internally displaced people (Indra, 1999). I was also invited to join the 5th year students in their annual field research for a week, in the urban areas around Omdurman, Khartoum. This was very helpful in order to get familiar with the area and also to see how the students worked in addition to what we would learn from the residents. This area was not connected to any IDP camp, but bared very close resemblance to the one I visited later. The topics the students from Ahfad researched (gendered topics, awareness to HIV/AIDS and female circumcision, etc.) were somewhat different from the ones I was going to research so it was very interesting to participate and get a closer understanding on what challenges they were facing and how they were coping. They interviewed mainly women and I was amazed of the openness and good conversations amongst them. Something I would also soon experience in my own research.

During the two months stay in Sudan I lived with a Sudanese family in Omdurman, and especially through them, but also their family, friends and "housekeepers" (who were in fact IPDs from South Sudan), were given a very good glimpse into life in North Sudan. They showed me an amazing hospitality and remarkable openness and they let me feel very welcome and part of their family including me in their everyday lives.

I was also on a short four days visit to Juba in South Sudan at the end of my stay, to visit a fellow student who also did research for her master thesis. This trip was also very useful in order to get a deeper understanding of one of the areas where many of the IDPs I had met were coming from, and to see for myself how different their life were in Khartoum.

Collection of data

My local supervisor at Ahfad University for Women, Shadia Daoud, set me in contact with the local Red Crescent office, who had activities in Wad Al Bashir, a camp for internally displaced, situated in Omdurman just outside of Khartoum. Red Crescent helped me to get permission from HAC to access the area. It took nearly a month to get the permission but then I was granted travel permit and to access the camp for three weeks. During these three weeks I had very good help from a final year student from AUW who would translate and help with other practical issues. We also had a guide who accompanied us in the camp, she worked for

11

Red Crescent, and had done so for several years and was familiar with both the area and the people, she also lived just outside of the designated camp area. Before going to the camp I prepared different sets of open ended questions, one for NGOs, CBOs, camp residents, and one for HAC authorities. The interviews were done in English where possible, otherwise the translator was used.

During the three weeks I spoke with 61 households, representatives from the NGOs and CBOs, some teachers and other people we met by chance. Interviewing the households was very important in order to learn more about their livelihood situation. The camp was quite large in size and there were clear differences on various areas in regards to facilities and housing. Due to these differences it was important to choose a variety of households that obviously had very different challenges. There were also areas that were clusters of ethnic groups. Hence the sampling was to some extent random but always with this in mind, to meet with a whole variety of different people. General observation was thus used as an important tool.

My first interview in the camp was with a representative from HAC, which gave me very useful information and laid the foundation for whom it would be useful to talk with. The HAC representative had in-depth knowledge of the camp and over which NGOs and CBOs that were operating there. The guide then facilitated for us to meet with all the NGOs and CBOs, the different households were chosen as we went through the camp

I took notes during the interviews and transcribed the interviews to my laptop whenever I had a chance, including the added observations.

I chose not to use a tape recorder, as I worried about the safety in regards to the IDPs when it came to sensitive information which could have huge repercussions for them if being leaked. I also wanted them to feel free and not worry about information being spread.

Limitations of the study

The study was affected in various ways, mainly since I was granted a very limited time of only three weeks in the camp and that I was only allowed to visit one out of the four official

IDP camps. In addition I was not, allegedly for safety reasons, allowed to visit other sites where the IDPs lived outside the designated camps. Lack of resources was also a factor.

There were many IDPs in Khartoum all having their unique experiences, coming from various places within the country, and for different reasons. Because of this, there will be some limitations to the representativeness of the study and the findings and it will not be applicable to all contexts of displacement, but will however be relevant to other comparable settings where people have been displaced due to conflict.

Also due to the fact that I was there only one, relatively short time, at a particular time of the year, my field research, and especially observations does not allow for seasonal variations. Several of the respondents reported escalated problems during the rainy season.

There also need to be taken into consideration some problems related to language. There are several languages spoken in Sudan, although most of the respondents spoke Arabic well and some spoke English. I had practiced some Arabic, but not enough to have a fluent conversation so I had a translator. Due to the realities mentioned above it could be argued that sometimes nuances would be lost and added in translation.

I was aware of potential issues regarding ethnic tensions, however I noticed little related to this, this view was also shared by both the translator and the guide, respectively from the northern and the southern parts of Sudan.

Another limitation of the study was that I spoke mostly with women in the camp. This was primarily due to the fact that there were most women in the camp. Many men had taken up labour outside the camp, even out of town, some for longer periods. Some was also working in their original home places.

Ethical considerations:

Research is particularly complex when interaction with people and especially where they have gone through dramatic circumstances. It soon became apparent that some of the information the informants shared during interview with me (and consequently also for the translator, the guide, and in some cases neighbours that would also join and listen in) was very personal and

sensitive. It was stressed that participation in the study was absolutely voluntarily, and that they should only answer questions if they felt comfortable with it and that the identities of those who gave information would not be disclosed. Due to the fact that quite a few of the participants in the study were engaged in illegal activities and disclosure of this could have very serious repercussion for them I was careful to be as "invisible" as possible and not draw any attention from the authorities. HAC and the police were informed of my presence in the camp, so was all the other police offices in the area. I was told on the second day in the camp that some of the women I had interviewed the previous day had been arrested for brewing alcohol. I got very concerned but was told that it had nothing to do with me being there, it was nevertheless a serious reminder of the necessity to take the utmost care not to put anyone in difficulties by me being there. I took care not to write down any names in my notes in case they for any reason were to be confiscated.

I was also aware of the problems related to "research fatigue", where to many surveys conducted resulting in few or no benefits for the community that is being studied, it was also stressed thoroughly that I was only a student and in no position to be of direct help, but mainly there to learn from them (at the same time as I naturally wished my research to be relevant and of use to them, and that I would be able to put what I had learnt from them into good use). It was my understanding that there had previously not been done much research in the area.

There were apparent differences on how they were able to cope in the camp and some clearly had huge difficulties which were difficult to witness. I did not have a lot of money and there are also controversies when it comes to giving money to participants in a study but in instances where I saw that helping a little would be important and to a large help, my translator would give them some money from my wallet, pretending it was hers as it is also a good tradition in Sudan to help people in need.

Naturally I also took care to be respectful and never push for information and I would always make an effort trying to sense whether the informant were comfortable talking with me.

Chapter 3, Internally displaced persons in Sudan

An estimated 65,3 million people were displaced by conflict in 2015, this is the largest figure ever recorded, around half of them are estimated to be children. Out of these were 40.8 million internally displaced persons (IDPs), 21,3 million were refugees and additional 3,2 million were awaiting their asylum applications. There were 8.6 million new displacements associated with conflict and violence in 28 countries in 2015. Added to these numbers were an estimated 19.2 million new displacements caused by disasters, in 113 countries in 2015.

As is visible from the image below, figures have sharply increased during the last five years. This has to do with new large crises, like in Syria, but also as a result of the failure to end long and protracted crises. Of the ten countries with the highest number of internally displaced people caused by conflict half of them have been on the list every year since 2003, both Sudan and South Sudan are present on this list.[8]

Global Internal Displacement Database (GIDD)

Refugees and conflict-related IDPs, 1990-2015

---

[8] http://www.nrc.no/?did=9218628#.V1PCovl96M9
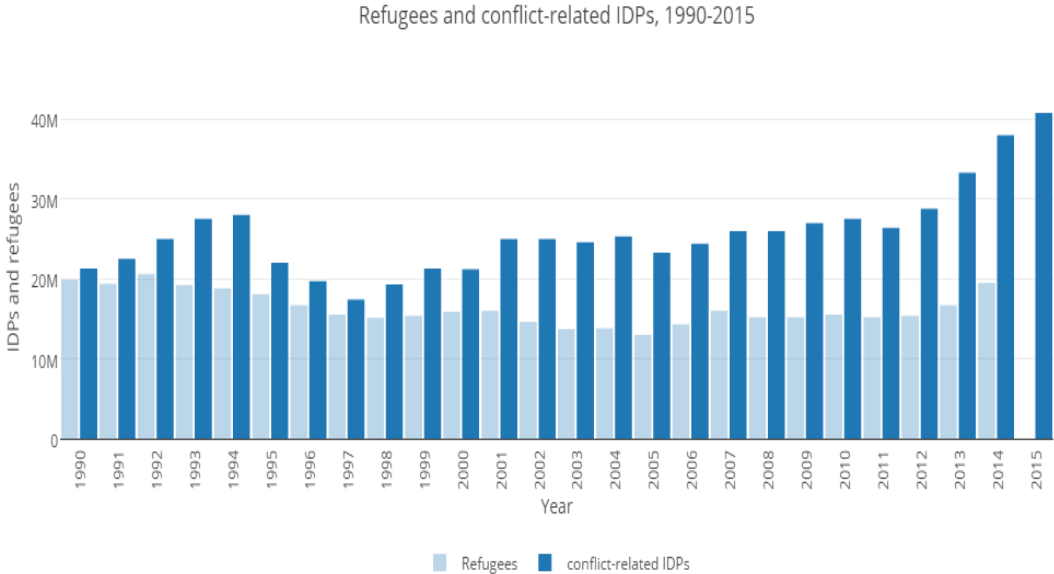
As the map below compiled by IDMC stands to show, internally displacement is a widespread problem in many countries.

Internal displacement worldwide

Mexico At least 281,400
Guatemala At least 248,500
El Salvador 288,900
Honduras At least 29,400
Colombia 6,044,200
Peru At least 150,000

FYR Macedonia At least 200
Kosovo At least 17,100
Serbia 97,300
Bosnia and Herzegovina At least 100,400
Palestine At least 275,000
Libya At least 400,000
Chad Up to 71,000
Niger 11,000
Nigeria At least 1,075,300
Senegal 24,000
Mali At least 61,600
Liberia 23,000
Togo 10,000
Côte d'Ivoire At least 300,900
Cameroon At least 40,000
CAR Up to 438,500
Republic of the Congo Up to 7,800
DRC 2,756,600
Abyei 20,000
Sudan At least 3,100,000
South Sudan 1,498,200
Burundi Up to 77,600
Uganda Up to 29,800
Zimbabwe Up to 36,000
Kenya 309,200
Ethiopia 397,200
Somalia 1,106,800
Eritrea Up to 10,000
Yemen 334,100
Lebanon 19,700
Syria At least 7,600,000
Iraq At least 3,276,000
Sri Lanka Up to 90,000

Ukraine At least 646,500
Cyprus Up to 212,400
Turkey At least 953,700
Georgia Up to 232,700
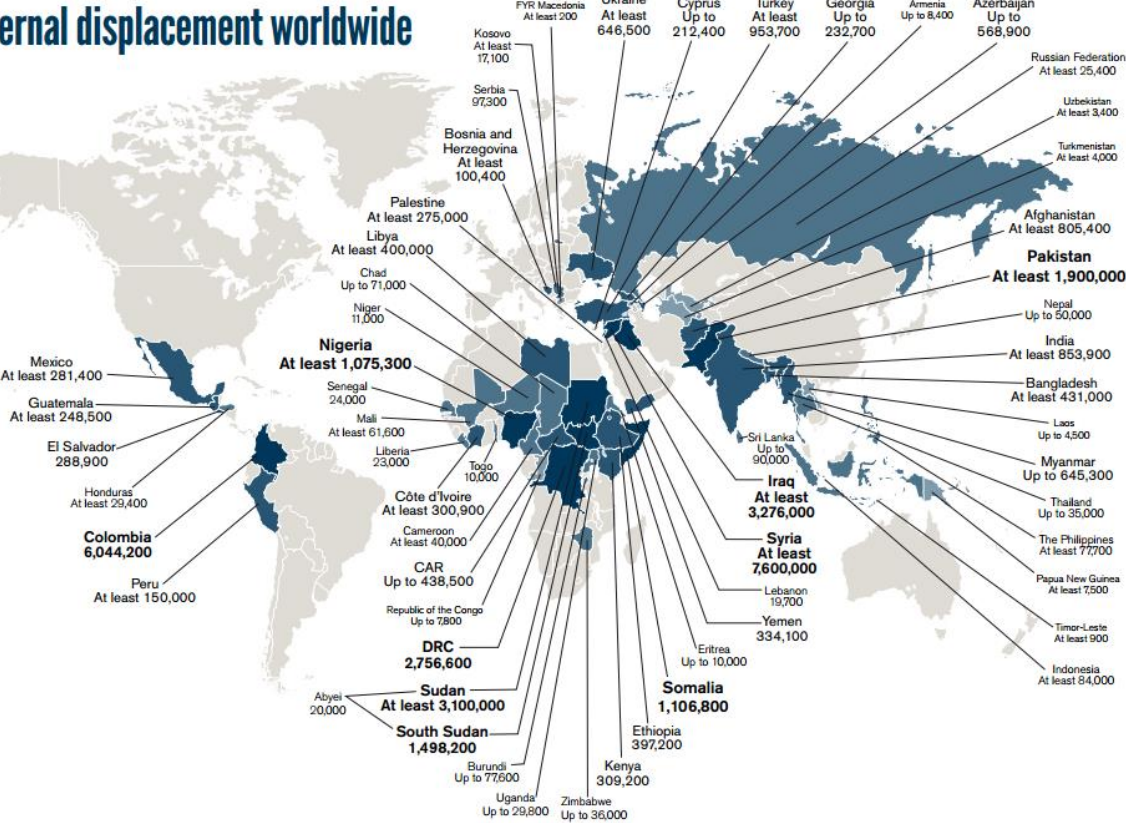Armenia Up to 8,400
Azerbaijan Up to 568,900
Russian Federation At least 25,400
Uzbekistan At least 3,400
Turkmenistan At least 4,000
Afghanistan At least 805,400
Pakistan At least 1,900,000
Nepal Up to 50,000
India At least 853,900
Bangladesh At least 431,000
Laos Up to 4,500
Myanmar Up to 645,300
Thailand Up to 35,000
The Philippines At least 77,700
Papua New Guinea At least 7,500
Timor-Leste At least 900
Indonesia At least 84,000

During the civil war a large number of people fled to the relative safety in Khartoum and the expectations of greater opportunities for employment and education, thus being labelled internally displaced persons (IDPs). This thesis is looking into the situation for the IDPs that was living in Wad Al Bashir camp for IDPs in Omdurman, Khartoum in 2007. The IDPs living in Khartoum came from different parts of Sudan however most of them came from the southern areas and later it was also an influx from Darfur. The civil war in Sudan had generated the largest internally displaced population in the world. Current estimates at the time said there were 1.7 million IDPs in Khartoum, and 4,465,000 IDPs in Sudan altogether. Despite the scale of the problem, no systematic mechanisms to monitor population movements were set up in the country and most figures were estimates and projections, and there were no official consensus on the overall number of IDPs in Sudan at the time (IDMC). The total number of IDPs in Sudan has decreased significantly from a peak of around five million in 2010 due to large scale movement of southern Sudanese to South Sudan and the fact that former southern Sudanese IDPs were no longer counted as IDPs in Sudan after the

separation. However since 2011 the numbers of IDPs has yet again steadily increased and there was in 2015 estimated that a minimum of 3 182 000 people were displaced within Sudan due to conflict. In addition Sudan is also hosting around 666 000 refugees.

Sudan

Country Information 2015

Population	**40,235,000**	Persons	(Source: UN DESA, Population Division)
Total displacement (conflict)	**3,182,000**	Displaced	(Source: IDMC)
New displacement (conflict)	**144,000**	Displaced	(Source: IDMC)
New displacement (disaster)	**8,300**	Displaced	(Source: IDMC)
Refugees	**666,000**	Persons	(Source: UNHCR as of 2014)

Instability around Sudan's borders is also putting strain on the humanitarian burden, with thousands seeking asylum and refuge in Sudan. Reports from UNOCHA shows that following the outbreak of conflict in South Sudan in December 2013 there has been many South Sudanese that fled into Sudan. South Sudanese refugees are allowed to move freely within Sudan but the majority has settled in refugee camps in White Nile State. Due to conflicts and political instability in the region and neighboring countries there has also been a continuing flow of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants from CAR, Chad, Eritrea and Ethiopia.[9] Sudan has also experienced increased attention internationally as a country of origin, transit and destination, along the main migratory routes from Africa to Europe.

There are also general concerns related to displacement in places with high level of conflict. There are studies that suggest that countries that experience an influx of refugees from neighboring states are significantly more likely to experience civil wars themselves. Salehyan and Gleditsch (2006) argue that population movements are an important mechanism by which conflict spreads across regions.

The Norwegian Refugee Council launches every year a list over the world's ten most neglected displacement crises, this year they added Sudan on the list and argues that years of armed conflict makes the humanitarian situation in Sudan increasingly worse. Despite the ongoing peace negotiations in Darfur, violence is increasing and around 2.5 million displaced receive little to no humanitarian help. In parts of Darfur, humanitarian access is near

---

[9] http://www.unocha.org/sudan/about-ocha-sudan/about-ocha-sudan

impossible, especially in areas controlled by Sudan's Liberation Army (SLA). The result is according to the NRC that tens of thousands of people don't get any help and their needs are unknown. Conflicts are forcing people to flee to other parts of the country too, and according to the report; humanitarian organisations have not had access to the southern states of South Kordofan and the Blue Nile since 2011. In addition to this has parts of Sudan been hit hard by food shortages and malnutrition due to drought. What is adding to this difficult situation is according to the UNHCR lack of funds. As of April 2016, only 8 per cent of the funds needed to meet the humanitarian needs were covered.[10]

Displacement has many causes and Sudan stands as a good example where conflict is an apparent reason but where other complicating factors also play a part and can be traced back to root causes such as drought and environmental degradation, and continuous food crisis that again can be traced back to government neglect and changing regional demographics amongst other factors.[11]

Internally displaced persons outnumber refugees by far and in addition they also raise some of the most urgent human rights and humanitarian problems of our time and challenges complex notions such as sovereignty and intervention.

The difficulties experienced by internally displaced persons can to a large extent be compared to the ones of refugees as the internally displaced face the same problems as refugees in terms of causes and needs but have not crossed any international borders and thus there are limited chances of international agencies to protect them since they are still within their own country.

Even if the number of IDPs far outnumbers refugees in most displacement crises, refugee and forced migration scholars have often been slow to focus on these groups, despite the important legal, political, and sociological questions that internal displacement raises (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014). This has fortunately begun to change.

The reasons for internal, rather than external, displacement are numerous. People sometimes prefer to stay within or close to their own community and their homes, hoping to return as soon as the conflicts end. Also often geographical considerations may hinder external flight.

---

[10] https://www.nrc.no/the-worlds-ten-most-neglected-forced-displacement-crises/
[11] http://www.internal-displacement.org/globalreport2016/pdf/2016-global-report-internal-displacement-IDMC.pdf

Military operations on the way or on the border may also be a hinder (Jacques, 2015). Recently, the obstacles have become more and more political, with governments being very reluctant to accept large numbers of refugees. Persons displaced by armed conflicts have thus met closed borders, strict travel restrictions and check points, forcing them to remain in camps (Jacques, 2015).

Definition, internally displaced persons (IDPs)

Displacement comes in many forms and there have been and still remains various debates on how to define internally displaced persons, however the most common definition is the one by the United Nations which has been applied since 1998;

"Persons or groups of persons who have been forced to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of, or in order to avoid, in particular, the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised state border".

Jacobsen (2008) did a comprehensive study on internal displacement to urban areas in Khartoum around the time of my own field research. She describes in her research challenges and complicating factors related to defining IDPs. Two different ways to define IDPs in Sudan were pointed out, one broader more inclusive approach to include all those from conflict zones or drought affected zones no matter what reason they gave, or when they came. Using such a broad definition, they argued could be useful because IDPs might be reluctant to give conflict as the reason for coming because they did not wish to be defined as IDPs, or were fearful of repercussions. A second reason was that IDPs might have come to the city for work related reasons, even though they were initially displaced by conflict and/or drought. A more conservative definition was to define IDPs only as those who left known conflict drought or famine zones during the relevant period, and/or who gave conflict, drought or food insecurity as their reason for leaving. They ended up using the latter definition for their own research.

There have also been numerous discussions as how to define an urban IDP population and in the case of Sudan, the reasons for coming to Khartoum could be manifold. According to Assal (2006), due to the circumstances in Sudan at the time, voluntary migration was no more than a

disguised form of forced migration. The term "IDP" in relation to the displaced in Khartoum was also somehow complicated, as many of them had stayed in Khartoum for a long time and were very integrated, many of the young people was also born in Khartoum and had spent their whole life there.

Numbers of IDPs

Counting IDPs has always been a complicated task, for many reasons, not only related to definitions.

According to IDMC, the collection of good quality data on internal displacement is particularly challenging in Sudan, given the lack of access to affected areas and the data that does exist is fragmented with differing definitions and methodologies and political manipulation of displacement data by authorities making it impossible to verify displacement data.

In Sudan there are various actors working with the monitoring of IDPs. Public IDP figures for Sudan are compiled and published by United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). In Darfur, OCHA receives information on IDP figures from other actors, namely; local authorities, the government, other UN agencies and international and national NGOs.[12] In other places, like South Kordofan and Blue Nile, the figures published by OCHA are provided by the government's Humanitarian Aid Commission (HAC) in government-controlled areas and in opposition-controlled areas by the Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Agency (SRRA, the humanitarian wing of the SPLM-N) and sometimes also by the independent South Kordofan and Blue Nile Coordination Unit (SKBNCU), which works with local civil society and international humanitarian actors to monitor displacement and humanitarian conditions.[13]

According to IDMC there is little or no data on IDPs living in towns and cities in Sudan. This is problematic because it is thought that very large numbers of IDPs have fled to urban areas, contributing to Sudan's accelerating urbanisation making it further difficult to provide a comprehensive picture of displacement in Sudan. Problems with lack of data apply to most

---

[12] http://www.internal-displacement.org/sub-saharan-africa/sudan/figures-analysis
[13] Ibid

countries affected by internal displacement, the majority of IDPs often stay with host families, live in informal settlements, squat in public buildings, or manage to live on their own in rented houses or apartments. Many also live in urban areas thus making it difficult to identify them (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014).

In addition to the lack of data collection on IDPs in cities, there is also a data gap in eastern Sudan and other areas where ethnic tensions exist but where the scale of forced displacement remains unknown.

Increased focus on IDPs

Internal displacement has a long history and was for a long time a neglected cause but has gained increased focus over the years and a large quantity of publications and reports have added significantly to our understanding of conflicts and its consequences for the affected populations.

The changing international environment and the rise in intra state conflicts have put the cause of internally displaced persons as an important subject within the study of forced migration. Apart from the magnitude and difficulties faced by the IDPs it could be argued that the increasing concern for internally displaced persons can be explained by the wish to prevent internally displaced persons from becoming refugees in order for states to avoid the obligations contained in the 1951 Refugee Convention (Phuong, 2005).

Among others has Barbara Harrell-Bond's had a large impact on displacement studies. In her seminal work (1986) she argued that refugees are not a priori dependent and passive, but rather that humanitarian institutions and political structures have created and even demanded the dependency of forced migrants upon donors and providers of assistance (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014). And that assistance programmes for displaced often are depersonalizing and making the individuals nameless numbers (Harrell Bond, 1999). Her studies showed that there is a continuing need for both humanitarian and political responses to displacement, and academic research across all disciplines in order to ensure that policies, studies, and discourses do not deny the agency of displaced persons, but rather aim to enhance their rights and capabilities (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh, 2014).

Legal institutions and state sovereignty

International human rights, humanitarian law and refugee law are all at work in time of armed conflict to ensure that refugees and displaced persons as civilians will get the best protection possible in case of wars and conflicts, yet for a long time there were no legal institutions or legal binding documents in place in order to protect and safeguard internally displaced persons.

However in 1992, the UN Secretary-General appointed, at the request of the Commission on Human Rights, Francis Deng as his Representative on Internally Displaced Persons to examine existing international human rights, humanitarian and refugee law and standards and their applicability to the protection of and relief assistance to internally displaced persons.

In 1998, the 'Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement' were presented. The Guiding Principles were neither a binding convention but a set of non-binding principles intended to provide clear guidelines to governments, intergovernmental, non-governmental organisations and other actors in their contacts with IDPs (Jacques, 2015). Although the Guiding Principles themselves are not a binding legal document comparable to a treaty, they are based on and consistent with international human rights law, humanitarian law and refugee law by analogy (OCHA, Handbook for Applying the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement). These principles are still recognized as the primary international framework on IDPs assistance and protection.

State sovereignty has been at the forefront of the debate concerning IDPs. It is a very important concept in international relations. That is why, according to Frances Deng (2003), there were concerns over whether the UN should get involved with the problems of internal displacement – an issue that falls within state sovereignty.

According to Deng does vulnerable third world countries often tend to see sovereignty as a barricade against international involvement and permitting leaders to do what they want, even if this means blocking the international community from assisting those who suffer and are at risk of starvation. "Sovereignty was never meant to be interpreted like this. Sovereignty is a means of giving states control over their territory and people in order to establish law and

order and discipline in trade and international relations. Sovereignty cannot legitimately be conceived as a way of closing doors to the concerns of the international community"(Ibid).

Another two binding instruments intended specifically to protecting internally displaced persons have been set up in Africa, namely; The Great Lakes Protocol on the Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons which obliges the member states to adopt and implement the Guiding Principles and The African Union Convention on the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (commonly known as the Kampala Convention).[14] The latter was set up in 2009 and came into force in 2012 and obliges African governments to protect the rights of people who are forced to flee their homes by armed conflict, violence, human rights violations and disasters. It is the first legally binding instrument with clear responsibilities on signatory states with regard to the protection and assistance of internally displaced persons. The Kampala convention is considered a big leap in the right direction in regards to protection and assistance of IDPs. However the convention is still to be signed and ratified by several AU states, Sudan has yet neither signed nor ratified the convention.

Food security

Sudan remains one of the World Food Programme (WFP) most complex humanitarian emergencies characterized by recurrent conflict, new and protracted displacement, regional insecurity, crisis levels malnutrition and food insecurity, chronic poverty and a deteriorating economy.[15] Not only is displacement occurring at very high rates, but those who have been displaced are at some of the highest risks of facing food insecurity. Food security doesn't only affect human health and welfare, it also contributes to economic and political stability.

According to the WFP; conflict, lack of access to land or income-generating opportunities and rising fuel and food prices have resulted in millions of people in Sudan facing food insecurity, most of them in Darfur where insecurity remains a key threat to people's food security.

---

[14] http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/treaties/7796-treaty-0039_-_kampala_convention_african_union_convention_for_the_protection_and_assistance_of_internally_displaced_persons_in_e.pdf
[15]http://documents.wfp.org/stellent/groups/public/documents/ep/wfp269065.pdf?_ga=1.225390618.1276083386.1468960801

Fighting's during the planting and harvesting seasons have also left huge areas of lands uncultivated, further worsening the overall food security situation in the region.

Many trade routes are also closed due to conflict zones, therefore food delivery is also restricted. The security situation is precarious in large parts of Sudan, and it is a problem in general in reaching affected people, there has also been several episodes with kidnappings of both national and international aid workers, attacks on UN personnel and targeted destructions on hospitals and other infrastructure, both by rebels and by government supported actors .
In 2016, the WFP in Sudan plan to assist 4.6 million affected people, of which 3.9 million reside in Darfur. As of June 2016 only 2.4 million of the people in need were reached.
Food security, as defined by the United Nations' Committee on World Food Security, "is the condition in which all people, at all times, have physical, social and economic access to sufficient safe and nutritious food that meets their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life". The International Food Policy Research Institute (IFPRI) predict that over the coming decades, a changing climate, growing global population, rising food prices, and environmental stressors will have significant yet highly uncertain impacts on food security.[16]

Sudan remains a least-developed and a low-income food-deficit country. In the 2015 Human Development Index, no country is ranked as 'very alarming'. However, data is missing from among others Sudan and South Sudan, because current data on undernourishment were not available but they have in previous years shown high levels of hunger (The 2015 Global Hunger Index).

Land rights

The issue of land rights and access to land is central whether used for agriculture, cattle-herding or subterranean resources such as oil or water (Ayoub, 2006). Land ownership is therefore often crucial to livelihood, it could be argued that this especially applies to pastoralists and agriculturalist communities and peasant societies, they need it in order to produce food and for grazing land for their animals, but I also saw the importance of ownership to land during my research in Khartoum.

---

[16] https://www.ifpri.org/topic/food-security

Sudan strengthened the state's control over land when the government of Numeiri enacted the 1970 Unregistered Land Act bringing into government ownership all land not registered by that date (Tidwell et al, 2016). The justification was that it would help expanding the agricultural sector. The result was the displacement of communities, mostly agro-pastoralists, from land, often through violence (Ayoub, 2006).

According to Tidwell et al (2016), The Act paved the way for subsequent developments to take place regarding land tenure in Darfur which have since contributed significantly to the current conflict.

The forceful eviction and displacement of entire communities after implementing these laws in Sudan, has according to Ayoub created a large population who are landless and internally displaced, without jobs, and access to basic services. According to Ayoub, "The displacement caused by mechanised farming remains a major source of grievance and conflict, reinforcing feelings of neglect, marginalisation and social repression, as well as sealing off nomadic routes, water points and pastures, fostering a culture of land-grabbing and creating large landless groups who are forced to work as precarious wage laborers or to migrate outside the traditional areas" (Ayoub cited in New African Magazine 2015).

Lack of funds and political will

65.3 million people displaced in 2015 is record high – but so is also the gap between humanitarian needs and the resources available.

Donors are giving more money than ever before but the need for aid has grown much faster than donor contributions which have resulted in an even widening of financial gap. According to the NRC, only 56 per cent of the appeal for humanitarian funding was covered in 2015, with the result that a lot of people did not receive the necessary support. Food rations were cut and many children affected by crises were not able to go to school.[17]

Despite the growing humanitarian needs, the international community can easily close the funding gap, as long as there is political will.

---

[17] http://www.nrc.no/?did=9218628#.V1VIK_l96M8

In May 2016, political leaders and representatives from humanitarian agencies and civil society organisations (CSOs) were attending the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit (WHS). The summit's objective is to work towards the political, social and financial decisions required to implement the vision for change the UN secretary general set out in his report; One humanity: shared responsibility.[18]

In the report; The Secretary-General's Agenda for Humanity called on global leaders to commit to five core responsibilities. Internal displacement is addressed within core responsibility number three, to "leave no one behind", which calls for a safe and dignified reduction of the number of internally displaced people (IDPs) by 2030, including through the adoption and implementation of normative frameworks on internal displacement.

Thus, it is argued that WHS provides an opportunity to recognize the plight of internally displaced and to take decisions about how to address it correspondingly with its scale and human impacts.

According to the report, leaving no one behind is also the central theme of the 2030 Agenda and places a new obligation to reach those in situations of conflict, disaster, vulnerability and risk first so that they benefit from and contribute to sustainable long-term development.

In the words of High Commissioner for Refugees António Guterres; "Mass movement of people, be it refugees or people fleeing within their own countries, has become the new defining reality of the 21st century," The international humanitarian system is all too often the only safety net that exists for people fleeing wars. It has to be funded on a scale that's realistic and commensurate with today's immense challenges. It is clear that with the present level of resources, we are not able to provide even the very minimum in both core protection and life-saving assistance.[19]

One can hope that societies, donors and political leaders will come together and assist displaced people worldwide in the best possible way.

---

[18]http://www.internal-displacement.org/media-centre/idmc-and-the-world-humanitarian-summit/
[19] http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/Press_Release_GHO_2016_launch_Eng_0.pdf

Chapter 4, Findings and discussions

This chapter will look at the findings from spending three weeks in Wad Al Bashir camp for internally displaced persons in Omdurman, Khartoum, in 2007.

Due to civil war and conflicts several places around Sudan, a large proportion of people came to seek refuge in the relative safety of Khartoum. At the time of my research in Khartoum there were four officially designated camps for IDPs, Wad Al Bashir, Omdurman El Salam, Jebel Awlia and Mayo, I was allowed to visit the first one for a period of three weeks. However there were still many IDPs who lived outside the designated areas.

Jacobsen (2008), estimated that there in 2007 were 325,000–391,800 IDPs in camps and 1,004,300–1,283,700 IDPs outside the camps and resettlement areas, totaling 1,329,300–1,675,500 IDPs in all of Khartoum. Other current estimates at the time were 1.7 million IDPs in Khartoum. At the same time it was estimated that there were 4,465,000 IDPs in Sudan altogether.

The majority of the displaced in Khartoum faced many challenges and their experiences were complex. The aim of this study was to get a deeper understanding of the conditions, livelihoods and challenges of the IDPs and look at the response/survival strategies adapted amongst the IDP's in and around Khartoum at the time of conducting the field research in 2007. A focal point was also to get an understanding of which coping strategies and capacity building was applied by the IDPs at individual, family and community level and also the roles of NGOs and community based organisations (CBOs) in improving the livelihood of the IDPs. Coping strategies would also be likely to differ according to sex, age and background. It was important for me to speak with the IDPs because the displaced literature is to some degree biased toward undifferentiated "people" without gender or age (Colson, 1999). When people are categorised as internally displaced they are often assigned different characteristics as a group. Images in the media often portray pictures of horror and powerlessness, where refugees and displaced stop being specific persons but are reduced to pure victims (Horst, 2006). I also wanted to look at the government's commitment to deal with the problems faced by the IDPs in addition to the IDPs thoughts regarding the future and possible return to their

home places (or their parents home places in the instances where they were born in Khartoum).

Livelihoods

Recently there has been a growing attention of improving urban livelihood in developing countries. Livelihood concerns with the things people do to make a living. Livelihood analysis usually does not only focus on livelihood activities. It also focuses on the livelihood context and the social relations (including 'institutions') that influence people's access to natural, human, physical, social and financial capital (Ellis, 2000).

A definition for sustainable livelihood that is often used is the one by Chambers and Conway (1991); "A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets (stores, resources, claims, and access) and activities required for a means of living: a livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation: and which contributes net benefits to other livelihoods at the local and global levels in the long and short term".

Another definition is offered by Ellis (2000); "A livelihood comprises the assets (natural, physical, human, financial and social capital), the activities, and the access to these (mediated by institutions and social relations) that together determine the living gained by the individual or household".

For this research I also wanted to go deeper into the concept of social capital. Social capital can be defined as the household, social networks, social institutions, social exclusions, norms, trusts, values and attitudes. In general, the glue that holds groups and societies together, bonds of shared values, norms and institutions (Narayan 2002).The situation for many of the displaced in Khartoum was such that social capital might had been lost due to flight to different areas, and new social networks had to be created. Maintaining social organisation and enhancing social capital are part of the key to successful development transformations (Stiglitz 1998).

The increased attention being paid to livelihoods in both research and policy follows from a wide recognition that few households especially in poor and middle income countries rely on

a single income generating activity. The sustainable livelihood is thus seen as complementary to more traditional approaches to development. In particular it provides a holistic and cross-sectoral approach. It is an approach that aims to put people and the households in which they live at the center of the development process starting with their capabilities and assets rather than problems (Rakodi, 2002). However the situation for poor households is determined not just by their own resources but by the economic, social and political context in which they live, global and local economic forces, social and cultural change, policy and government action (Ibid).

Protracted displacement

Many of the displaced I talked with had been in Khartoum for a long time, even decades, some youths I spoke with were born in Khartoum and had never visited their parent's place of origin, other elderly I met had arrived there when they were young. Most displaced people in the world today are stuck in protracted displacement. When people remain displaced for a long period, their needs may no longer be urgent but nevertheless they face great difficulties and living in limbo away from home makes it challenging to plan, create livelihoods and establish networks.

There are various definitions on protracted displacement, Overseas Development Institute's Humanitarian Policy Group defined protracted displacement in their study on protracted displacement (2015), broadly "as a situation in which refugees and/or IDPs have been in exile for three years or more, and where the process for finding durable solutions, such as repatriation, absorption in host communities or settlement in third locations, has stalled".

Protracted displacement is often a result of the causes for the displacement not coming to an end, this also implies that if after long time the situation in home place has stabilised they might not necessarily want to return (Brun, 2003).

As protracted displacement has become more and more common researchers and aid workers have also slowly got a more complex understanding of what can help encourage self-reliance and sustainable livelihoods among the displaced. That be for example to recognize the resources of the displaced and acknowledge that the displaced populations can also have

29

positive effects for the host population and thus also encourage access to livelihoods (e.g. work permits or freedom of movement) not just as a human rights issue (ODI HPG, 2015).

One always have to take great care when it comes to hosts and IDPs, for them to co-exist in the best possible way, maybe particularly so when speaking of protracted displacement. As for the situation in Khartoum, there were also a further distinction between the IDP's in the camps and the larger proportion of the IDP's who lived outside the camps, and the hosts.

A large study from the Tufts University was conducted in Khartoum the same year as I was there, it looked at the IDPs that lived outside the designated camps compared to non IDPs in the same areas. They found many indications that IDPs were worse off in most respects, such as; more likely to experience crime, more problems with finding work, with access to water and with transportation. The survey also found that IDPs were more vulnerable than non-IDPs on key protection indicators, especially exposure to government relocation programs.

However, in their recommendations they argued that given the subtle differences between IDPs and the urban poor amongst whom they lived, there would be implications for targeting programs at IDPs and if IDPs and non-IDPs are not substantively different in their livelihood and protection situations there could not be any justification for providing special assistance to IDPs. All should if possible be included, not to create further/any tension with the host population.

Community based organisations

Today, the role of citizens groups in promoting sustainable development is widely acknowledged and the importance of CBOs and their unique local knowledge is recognized. Civil society is a debatable term with no common or consensus definition. However according to Edwards civil society can be defined as to; refer to the arena in which people come together to advance the interests they hold in common, not for profit or for political power, but because they care enough about something to take collective action. Civil society organisations are all those bodies that act in this arena, comprising a huge variety of networks and associations, political parties, community groups and NGOs (Edwards, 2001). There are still potential for a strong civil society in Sudan it has however been limited to a large extent by the dominant role of the state (Manger, 2008).

Most of the IDPs in Khartoum originally came from rural areas and had to adapt to congested areas in and around the city. Some camps were well established, but some of the settlements were unlicensed and thus technically illegal (Amnesty, 1995). Because of this some displaced people in Khartoum faced repeated destruction of their houses and forced relocation. These threats also weakened incentives to invest in houses and neighborhoods, and made it difficult to become established in trade or regular employment or to develop long term relationship of trust that is vital to communities (Jacobsen, 2001). Predominantly with a rural background and mostly uneducated many found getting formal employment in Khartoum difficult. The reality for many was also that they had been forced to take up very hard, and low paid work, as there was a huge surplus of labor. Also the discussion about whether to repatriate, relocate or resettle made it an insecure environment when it came to creating social capital.

Many international relief organisations had been or were active in Khartoum while others had pulled out, or were busy in Darfur. When they were present, there was also the problem of lack of unity where there was not a single body that was in charge of the IDPs (Assal, 2006). There were also generally limited options for the IDP to support themselves in the camps, so the presence of local community based organisations (CBOs) and civil society organisations (CSOs) could have an impact, especially when it came to capacity building as oppose to INGOs that mostly provide relief aid sometimes causing dependencies and thus weakens coping strategies. The CBOs can also have an important role to play when it comes to spreading knowledge and information concerning rights, access to facilities, business and entrepreneurial skills, micro credit and enhancing the communal feeling and support for each other. They can also act as a link between the IDPs and other institutions. Cross-ethnic CBOs would also possible be beneficial to establish increased social interaction and coexistence among different ethnic and religious groups.

One of the things I was interested in exploring was the ways in which the people many of whom had lost nearly everything and often experienced terrible things found new ways to fend for themselves and make new ways of living. Having previously been looking into the positive effect community based organisations (CBOs) could have on a community I was also interested in seeing how it was and how it could apply to the situation of IDPs. Although recognizing their situation living as displaced differed from the examples I had previously been looking at, there were still room for comparisons.

Belonging is an important factor of humanity, maybe particular more so in crisis. With the CBO's, other self help groups or volunteering there is a possibility of taking focus away from a bad situation at the same time as you do good things for others, together with others and at the same time benefit yourself.

During an annual celebration of the Red Crescent local branch in Omdurman, we were invited to, we met again some of the young people who had attended a workshop for the first time with the Red Crescent in Wad Al Bashir, to become volunteers. At the celebration, they told me it was the happiest day of their life. They felt they were part of something bigger and that they could make a change.

I'll end this section with a quote by Daoud Hari, he wrote in his book (2008) a disturbing account of his experiences from numerous trips to his home place Darfur, working as a translator first for the UN, then later for various journalists and aid groups who wanted to report and document to the world what went on in Darfur. His reply to how he managed to cope with the brutality of what went on in his home place was; "The best way to bury your pain is to help others, and to lose yourself in that."

Gender

Gender issues and the transformation of gender roles was also something I wanted to look at in this research. Most of the displaced that lived in Khartoum were women and although the structure of the camps placed severe limitation on the woman's capacity, the day to day survival mechanisms utilized in the camps was a testimony to their agency. Their occupations were normally diverse, and they created ways of resisting and working around some of the limitations in the camp (Abdi, 2006). Women are often the most active members of CBOs, and many also specifically target women. Men and women might undertake a similarly wide range of diversification activities (Hussain et al, 1998) and some of the coping strategies are to some extent gender specific.

Wad Al Bashir, camp for internally displaced persons

The first interview in the camp was conducted with a representative from the Government of Sudan's Humanitarian Aid Commission (HAC), to get some basic information and a better

overview and understanding regarding how the camp was structured and what they looked upon as challenges. The following information of the camp is based on concersations with the HAC representative.

The camp was established in 1992, and re-planned in 2002.[20] The camp was then divided into 4 parts, each containing an approximate 8000 households. In addition, there was one 5th unplanned area with more than 8000 households, which were due to be planned. These were approximate numbers as it was difficult to make clear estimates regarding exactly how many reside the camp, as many would come and go, also for shorter periods.

Before the planning, different tribes used to live in separate areas, for example, Nuba, Southern Kordofan, Southern Sudan, Western Sudan, South Blue Nile. However after the re-planning the different tribes did no longer live separately.

We were told that the residents owned the land they lived on, they had paid some money for the plots, and were therefore free to stay as they wished. During my stay in the camp I also found that a few people were renting and others were living there illegally.

According to the HAC representative were the main challenges for the residents meeting the basic needs, in addition to education and health care.

Many struggled to get enough food and some had only one meal a day in the afternoon.
The water supply was enough, but they had to pay for all the water from separate pumps. The cost was 0,1 pound for 38 litres, and to have it transported by donkey was another 3 pounds for 2 barrels. However the price depended on the water supply and could go up.
There was a local market in the camp where people could buy food and other small things for the household.

Health care was a problem, especially in regards to funds for keeping clinics running and medicine available, also, the funds were not stable. The healthcare that was offered was relatively inexpensive. Three clinics that used to operate in the camp had closed down and

---

[20] The re-planning was a process of organising the camp into a proper residential area and almost all the houses in the camp were destroyed. This process was undertaken by Khartoum state, whose current policy was to integrate the displaced into the capital's urban system (Assal, 2004).

another problem arise when the remaining clinics closed at 3 in the afternoon, they had to go all the way to Omdurman. For many, transport was difficult and a lot of them would not have the money to go.

There were four Christian church primary schools in the camp called Camboni, they also had kindergartens. The schools were mixed boys and girls, and the pupils were both Christians and Muslims. There were also 3 government run public schools, two for girls and one for boys. These schools had a smaller fee than the Camboni schools, however, they were not as good. There was also one secondary public school, however just for boys.

As most of the residents had an agricultural background, finding employment and earn an income was hard. The unemployment rate was measured to be approximately 78%. Even for those with an education it was difficult to obtain jobs and there were also several university graduates in the camp who were unable to find jobs. Women would often go to Khartoum to work as housemaids, these were rare jobs for men, who would often be engaged in construction work or they would travel elsewhere for shorter or longer periods where work could be obtained. Other income generating activities in the camp could be keeping a donkey, poultry, sowing, making and selling foodstuff, crafts etc.

Insecurity and crime was a big problem in the camp, especially with people coming from outside, for example to drink beer. There were three police stations in the camp, each with 10 police officers (however they caused tensions among some of the residents as they had campaigns to eradicate beer brewing and drinking).

NGOs and CBOs in the camp

I identified 4 NGOs and various CBOs in the camp that were all operating in various capacities. There were also a few other organisations which were active on a more sporadic basis, sometimes dependent on funds. Several others had also been active but had terminated their work. IOM/UN assisted in some cases with voluntary return, but they did not have an office in the camp.

Name of NGO	Nationality	Activities
Red Crescent	Sudanese	Health centre, food relief for pregnant, workshops
World Health Institute	Sudanese	Health centre
Fahr	Canadian	Income generating activities
NRC	Norwegian	Counselling

Name of the CBO	Activities
Wad Al Bashir - for development and services (WABDS)	Water (work with Red Crescent)
Tomeoda	Make proposals and apply for funding
Christian Mansor	Train in craft, education
Locita	Dinka tribe, make proposals for skin disease
Salhim	Kindergarten
Amadi	Kindergarten, women development
WDDA	Kindergarten, pit latrines, women education

I managed to talk to all of the above and had follow-up interviews with, Amadi, VDDA and NRC and was in close contact with the Red Crescent during the whole stay in Sudan.

Red Crescent health centre

The health centre was established and built by the German Red Cross in 1992.

Health centres are often found in chanty areas, they are 3rd in line after hospital and clinics and they have health assistants instead of doctors. At this centre there were one health assistant and one pharmacist. According to the health assistant the centre was number one in the area and very popular. People would also come from outside to visit the centre.

The cost of a consultation was 0,5 pounds and the centre managed to see between 40-45 persons every day. It was open from 730-2.30 and was closed on Fridays.

The main health problems were malaria (the area was completely dry, but there were farms outside the camp that attracted mosquitoes), diarrhoea and malnutrition. If they had complicated cases they referred them to the hospital (2-3 km away), also if they suspected HIV/AIDS they were transferred.

Some of the challenges were; the Ministry of health provided malaria medicine, but only one type, which was not suitable for pregnant and children. Transport to the hospital was a big challenge and in case of emergency and problems with delivery they did not have any. They also needed specific rooms for emergency care and they also needed to develop the building and the tools. They had traditional housewives, and home visitors, which bags were checked and refilled every month. The Red Crescent Khartoum branch did the fundraising. They also had workshops for volunteers and others.

World Health Institute

The health centre was established in 1992, and offer primary medicine. They had 12 employees on a daily basis some were recruited from the IDPs. They see maximum 30 patients per day and minimum 25. The opening times were from 9-3. They cooperated with other health centres, for example by exchanging medicines.

They said the main challenges working there were lack of funds and reaching the hospital in emergencies and the main challenges for the people in the camp were poverty and lack of medicines. Many could not afford to have 3 meals per day, which in turn lead to other problems related to bad health.

Adra had used to provide meals at the institute, but after 3 years the project stopped in 2001, apparently because of a misunderstanding.

Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC)[21]

---

[21] In 2009, the NRC were together with 12 other NGOs expelled from Northern Sudan. Until this time, NRC was one of few NGOs working in the IDP camps around Khartoum, providing Information, Counselling and Legal Assistance (ICLA) on return related issues to ensure that Southern IDPs living in these camps could make a free and informed voluntary decision on whether or not to return (NRC, 2010)

NRCs office in the camp was established in 2005 and their main objectives were to raise awareness amongst the IDPs regarding their own situation.

The office was open every day and the IDPs could get information about their home areas, such as security issues and landmines, living conditions and possibilities regarding education and access to health care services.

They gave legal advice, counselling and various assistance, they also ran workshops to raise awareness and were also actively seeking people to attend the workshops. The workshops included various subjects, such as; civil procedure laws, labour laws, criminal law, constituency law, and the guiding principles, the workshops would normally last 4-5 days. In order to reach as many people as possible, they had a field mobiliser that approached the IDPs (who was also the secretary of VDDA (CBO). Women were normally more interested, and the approximately gender percentage was 60/40 women and men, of all ages. They also had 4-5 information sessions every month where they gave information about various topics mainly concerning health, diseases and return, to enable the IDPs to make as free a decision as possible.

All in all they had 8 lawyers in 6 camps, the displaced were able to seek legal advice for free. The most popular advice being sought by the IDPs were about criminal procedure law. They also gave information about; Sudanese laws, The UN guidelines, human rights and the CPA.

Main activities for the NRC were running age assessment tests, and provide the IDPs with the necessary papers. The cost of this was 50 pounds where NRC sponsored 40 of this and the IDPs payed the remaining 10 pounds. However some could not afford this and could therefore not obtain the necessary documents. The procedure for the test was; they would bring a member from statistics to register, later they would bring a doctor from the medical commission to ask some questions regarding education then they would observe. The certificate was of high importance and was necessary for enrolment in school, work and pensions.

According to the NRC, the main challenges for the IDPs in the camp were lack of services, health care and schooling. The main challenges for NRC were lack of funds.

VDDA community based organisation

VDDA had three main activities; a sanitation program with pit latrines (for households), kindergarten (+meals) and adult education for women where they also received food for the training. They also taught poultry and offered microcredit loans.

The kindergarten had 50 children in the ages of 3-5, they were open from 8-12 and costed 1 pound per week and 50 pounds annually. The criteria's for any project (e.g. sanitation) was to enable them to do it themselves. They also targeted widows, people with AIDS, disabled or financial poor. The process of the pit latrines was that the community members dug their own hole, 8 metres, and then WDDA would send technicians to finish the job. They also offered 70 households microcredit loans. The lenders then had 10 month to repay the loan. The project had run 1 year and the payback rate was 85%. There was no interest on the loans. Once the loans were repaid the money would provide loan for another household.

They seemed very well organised and capacity building was their most important focus, they had started this focus 3-4 years previous. Before, empowerment and capacity building had not been an issue. Some years back there had been 6-7 NGOs in the camp and when their projects were over they left and no capacity were built. VDDAs focus on capacity building coincided well with the changing perceptions of NGOs to start focusing on local capacity building and thus enhancing their chances for funding.

The organisation had a written constitution and they had 150 registered members whereas 70 were active. There were a general assembly every year where they elected the administration on an annually basis. Meetings were held at the centre, once a year, and twice a month for the management. The employers were; one logistic officer, three local health promoters, teachers, one cook, one cleaner, six nutritionists, and two working with microcredit. They were all paid through different funding. A problem for the organisation was sources of income as they hardly did not generate any income, however their aim was to be self-sufficient (they had for example a generator that generated 500 pounds, which were enough to sustain the office). They also received funding from CARE, NRC, and partners for example for the sanitation project. They received funding from ECHO and FAHR, FAHR was the implementing agent, and distributed the donations. They had seen a growing interest from donor agents to give funds for already organised groups, as it was easier for them to identify the needs.

Membership fees were 10 pounds annually in addition to 3 pounds per month. They had to apply for membership, and a committee would look at the applications. In identifying the beneficiaries they had a community health employee who went from family to family to identify those in need. The problem was that most of them were in need, so it sometimes worked in the way that those that got the visit first got the help.

The benefits of being a member was community spirit and tribalism were minimalised. The microcredit beneficiaries had been targeted through a survey in order to find out who was more business oriented.

The CBO were originally initiated by 15 persons, and claimed to be an authority in the camp, they also distributed services/aid/relief on behalf of others. Before they implement any projects they call for the chiefs and popular committee present the project and when there is a census, the project is implemented. VDDA operated only in Wad Al Bashir and they did not cooperate with any other CBOs elsewhere.

The female/male ratio was 55/45. Women were more active, simple and also more appreciative for little money accumulated. Men were generally not interested as long as the returns were not big. They were however supportive of their wife's organising.

Christian Mansor

They had 7 centres in all of Khartoum and 3 in Wad Al Bashir. They seemed very well managed and taught different skills, such as; first aid, computer workshops, sowing (both for men and women), carpentry, building and concrete. They would also arrange activities in the evenings. They had 185 graduates per 6 months, their teaching ended with exams where they had to make things for the centre which they in turn would sell. They could also after finishing the training, buy for example a sowing machine for 100 pounds, and the centre would supplement the remaining 200 pounds.

There were no fees for the training and as unemployment was a huge challenge in the camp, training in different skills were of huge importance, however that meant that for a period of time they would lose their income which for many was impossible.

They were funded by various donor organisations in France, Britain and Geneva and everyone were welcome, regardless of religion.

Small poultry project

They were 8 women that had a little project with 98 hens producing 30 eggs per day, from this they would earn 10 pounds.

They had been given training in poultry and business skills, like calculating. They also knew how to give them medicine if they got sick.

The women had circulating responsibilities, where they would come in one morning each and clean the place, feed the hens, change the water and collect the eggs. For this, the women earned 2 pounds every day, which they could take in money or in eggs. Most of the income from the egg production was used to pay for the eating costs of the hens.

The hens were only for egg production. If they were to produce chickens they would have needed a place for hatching with heat lamps, which would also have required electricity. They would have preferred this but it was too costly.

They were 4 months of the project being 2 years, then the hens would be used for meat and they would evaluate whether to continue the project, and if so in what way. The price of the hens would depend on their weight.

In the end they would share the profit, and perhaps buy new chickens. They would have liked to have the double amount of hens, and hence doubled the produce. They would also have liked to have electricity, in order for the hens to eat in the evening.

Amadi

The CBO was founded in 2000, they gave adult education and trained in skills and handcraft like knitting blankets. They also had a kindergarten with 100 children where they also provided food. The kindergarten was open from 8-12, and the children were from 4-5 years. They also gave small microcredits of around 8 pounds. The centre had 20 employees and they

had 75 members where all had to pay 5 pounds to join, and then additional 2 pounds per month. They cooperated with WDDA and Salahin. The funds came from Fahr and Care provided the training.

They said lack of funding was the main challenges they were facing and the main challenge for the residents were that water was too little and too expensive. 1 jar was 0.2 pounds and 5 gallon was 1 pound.

Findings based on conversations with 61 households

There are over 65 million individual stories behind the staggering number of displaced persons due to conflict in the world today. I had the privilege to meet a few of the people behind these numbers in 2007 and get a little glimpse into their lives. What happened to them after our brief meeting remains unknown, I think of them often and can only hope they are in a good place.

I had made an effort to talk to as diverse a group of people as I could, that meant that some of the people I spoke with was rather well established in the camp, with quite good quality housing, while others were living in makeshift shelters. Some had been allocated land after the re-planning, some was renting and others lived there illegally. The people I spoke with had lived there for various periods of time but most of them had lived there for a long time, even decades. Three elder sisters I met had lived there since war broke out when they were young. It was clear that the re-planning had been a complicated matter and caused many problems. Some people that had stayed there for many years had not been allocated land and felt discriminated. Being such a diverse group with people from large parts of Sudan, some also put it down to discrimination also due to ethnic background. One family I spoke with had lived in Wad Al Bashir since 1990, they did not own the land they lived on, and they lived in a makeshift home, with the wall from Red Crescent health centre as shelter on one side. People living in the camp had also been in the land distribution committee, in one household we visited, had the man in the house been the head of the land distribution committee. Others who had been allocated land felt discriminated because they had had to pay much more than others to get the legal document that gave them the ownership. Some people had not paid anything.

I know little of what they were moving away from but knowing that many of them had went through and seen dreadful things that made them take the journey for protection in Khartoum, it would be too sensitive to ask them about this, however I heard some stories based on what they would bring up. We would mostly talk about their life in Wad Al Bashir, and to some extent about their wishes for the future, also regarding whether they wanted to remain in Khartoum or go back to their home place (or elsewhere). For some people the latter was also a sensitive issue, and I thread very carefully.

Their challenges were many, and it's quite astonishing how they managed to get by under the circumstances. When asking them on what the biggest challenges for them were, there were different answers, much of it depending on their jobs and income, housing (also area in the camp), and health. Some people had just enough to get by, but the large majority of the people never had enough, and struggled to access basic things like water and food, housing, medications and schooling for their children. If they were lucky at least one person in the household would have a job.

Security issues

Apart from struggling with meeting basic needs, security issues would often come up in our conversations as a huge challenge. Many people were scared and they were worried about their children. Due to limited possibilities for employment, quite a large proportion had taken up illicit activities in order to make a living. Due to strict Sharia laws, both brewing and drinking alcohol was strictly prohibited. The consequence was imprisonment, flogging and large fines.

One woman I spoke with had just come back after spending three months in prison because of beer brewing. She had to take her little boy (2 years) with her to prison and leaving the girl with neighbours. The boy was also ill (he had a big lump on his skin) and she could not afford medicine. Her husband did not care, he lived with his other wife elsewhere and only came around if he wanted money or to use her sexually. Others had also been jailed, one women had been jailed for 1,5 months and had to pay a large fee to be released, she had however not received any lashes because she had not been drinking herself (they asked her to breath on them).

42

Children were scared of the police and the ones that were drinking. Even in houses where they did not make beer the police would come to check. Others said they would not allow the children to go out after 6.00 but they felt safe as long as they were inside.

I was showed the procedure for beer brewing several places, they had the beer and equipment dug down in the ground, so when the police would come to check, they would go around with sticks, and also dig in the ground to search. Another women, who also made alcohol was very scared of the police and she would go away when she saw that they had active campaigns, she claimed that sometimes when she got home they had destroyed the house and had taken things like money, furniture and perfume.

In some of the unsafe places, where people were drinking, people were worried about leaving their houses, both for thieves and the police, especially when they had children that were home alone. Children would often stay home alone when the parents had to go to work, as there was a large proportion that could not afford to send their children to school. A woman who usually went to work in Omdurman, washing clothes, had to leave the kids home alone, she would sometimes come home and the police had been at the house searching for alcohol, scaring the kids and ruin the house. In active times of campaigns she therefore had to stay home. She kept the alcohol away from home, also not to make problems for the neighbours. She would cook the alcohol in the evening because the police were rarely around at those times. The smell of the beer and the brewing was very strong and distinct.

The three elder sisters, mentioned above, owned their own house and the land they lived on and it was in good condition, however, they did not have a lot of space as squatters had taken over parts of the house. Upon question if there was nothing they could do about it, like going to the police, the answer was; only good can sort it out. They also did not have any relatives that could take over the house when they would pass away. One of the sisters had had six children but they had all died.

Another woman also said she was worried about the safety of her children, and was afraid of kidnappings. This had happened to her niece 6 years ago, she was kidnapped and when they found her again the next day and took her to the hospital they found out she was anaemic and that the kidnapper had drained her blood with a needle.

We also met some others that had been forced into illicit work during my first visit to the camp as we entered into a yard with several small houses, there were some young beautiful women there, very nicely dressed, and they had their little kids with them, then there came some men and suddenly my guide and translator was quick to get us out of there as we had unknowingly walked into a place where these young girls was working as prostitutes.

Engagements in community based organisations

Of the 61 households I spoke with, there was very few, hardly any, that had anything to do with any of the CBOs in the camp. Many of them did not even know of their existence.

Several of those that had knowledge of the CBOs said that they would have liked to join, others who did not know of them became interested and asked us how they could join.

In the instances where they knew of some of the CBOs, they often saw difficulties in joining. One woman knew of the CBOs and that they were given training, she would have liked to be a member but thought because she was not educated she could not become a member.

Another woman had heard about the work the CBOs were doing, but she has not considered to become a member, as she was busy looking after the children, she also claimed one had to know someone in order to become a member.
Others said they would have liked to obtain a microcredit, if they could, but they had no possibilities.

According to the seemingly general interest, there could possibly be an important place for well-functioning CBOs, preferably with income generating activities. Generating an income would probably be essential from the start, as most of the people in the camp were dependent on a daily wage to get by.

Employment

Due to the large amount of IDPs in Khartoum, there was a huge surplus of labour. Getting jobs was challenging and most of the wages would be really low. This competition for casual work and decreasing wages would also cause additional strain for the local people. Many,

especially women would go into the city and knock on doors asking for work, like cleaning houses, washing clothes, cooking, etc. If they were lucky they could get a regular job in the house. However these wages were usually very low although some had been lucky and got a more decent wage, because the family they worked for understood their situation and wanted to help. Others could exploit the situation and pay very low wages. One woman, that had come from Nuba in 2000, lived with her 5 children and did housework in Omdurman, she received only 3 pounds per day but she had a husband that worked in Juba and would send them money.

Even if it was low paid, working in houses was considered a relatively secure way to earn a little money for food and water. Many, women and men that did not have steady work or income would go around asking for work. This would of course depend on whether their health was ok. One woman I spoke with used to wash clothes in homes, but started to suffer from rheumatism so she had to quit, she was then left with no income and could not afford medication. For many there was also a problem traveling to other places to ask for work because they could not afford transportation every day.

Some would also make foodstuff to sell but in order to do this legally they needed a special permit, so this was not easy. One woman I spoke with did different activities in order to make a living, she made dakaoa, she also tried to sell tea and tamia, but it was very hard as the authorities would come and check her papers and she did not have the necessary licenses from the health and tax authorities or from government officials. Another woman who sold food said she would earn on an average 3-5 pounds per day, maximum 10.

Many of the men would work outside the camp, with for example construction work and making concrete. Some worked in or had canteens in Omdurman. Some of the women would also prepare food stuff to be sold in these canteens.

There were quite a few of the men working elsewhere. The husband of one woman we spoke with worked with agriculture in Al Jazeera, and his work was dependent on the season. Her two brothers worked on the petroleum fields in southern Sudan. One old lady's husband worked as a policeman in the south, another woman's husband registered crimes in Nuba.

The ones that were brewing and selling beer would earn around 3-5-10 pounds per day (the beer took 3 days to ferment) sometimes these were split in two if other people were selling the beer. Even where jobs were steady they would struggle, I met a household of 6 persons where the husband worked in the hospital and earned 150 pounds per month, the wife worked in the university and earned little less than 200 pounds per month. However they paid 150 pounds per month for rent. Water was very expensive, and it was difficult to buy food and pay for school for their four children.

Another household of 6 (2 elder ladies, the son of one of them, his wife, and two small children which were not yet in school going age) came from Nuba in 1996. One of the elder ladies had also a husband and one grandchild in the south. The other women was married from birth – the man told her mother he wanted to marry her child if it was a girl, they married when she was 10, and he 35, she delivered twins when she was 13, but they both died and she could never get pregnant again after that. Her brother wanted to help her and she had recently received 50 pounds from him and she tried to make the most out of them, she managed to make minimum 1 and maximum 5 pounds per day, but it was hard to sell on the local market. She was also ill for a short period and lost her regular clients as they had found other suppliers.

Schooling

Many people could not afford to send their children to school and it was easy to see how painful this was for them, others had to make tough decisions to send only some of the children to school. Others made huge sacrifices in order to send their children to school leaving the whole household hungry. In general it was apparent that it was of huge importance for them to send their children to school. In a class I visited it was easy to see the signs that several of them were undernourished.

One teacher I spoke with estimated that only around half of the children in the camp attended school, she also said the attendance was good but the dropout rate was fairly high, some children were forced to quit if the parents could no longer pay.

Most schools were private. The government would only give approval, besides this they did not give any help. And the teacher's wages came from the school fees. When all the expenses

over the year were put together there was usually not much left for wages, I heard of some teachers that had not been paid for several months, and there were also cases where the teachers did not show up for the classes.

Only one woman, from Aweil in south Sudan, mentioned she had received help from the authorities when two of her children went to live on the street in Khartoum. They had been gathered by the police who took them to the ministry of social health where they asked them questions and found out they were educated, they got in touch with the mother, and were then giving them schooling in Khartoum.

Leave or stay?

I was also talking with the IDPs regarding their future plans. This was a sensitive theme for some of them, and related to much uncertainty. A large majority of the people I spoke with said they would prefer to go home, that life in Khartoum were harder than at home, and very different, they missed home, and some also had relatives left at home.

Those that owned their own land/house was more likely to say they would stay. One young girl I spoke with whose mother was dead had dropped out of school to look after her 6 younger siblings who all went to school. She did not know when her parents came to Khartoum from Nuba but all the children had been born in Khartoum. They owned their own land, it had been given to them by the committee. They had relatives that were helping them and wanted to stay, as they did not know of any other place.

The CPA had given several of them the hope of returning home soon. Of those that wanted to go back home, they mentioned the cost as a main obstacle. One family of 8 (husband, wife and 6 children) said they would have had to pay 4000 pounds for the travel back to Juba.

The IOM would in some cases assist the IDPs who wanted to return, but they had at the time very low capacity.

The security situation would still remain uncertain in many areas the IDPs had come from, it was also challenges related to going back other than conflicts, like access to land and having to rebuild their lives after, for some, long time of displacement. Some would not go back

because they did not want to compromise the education of their children. Also schools would end in April in Khartoum, and begin in April in for example Nuba. There were many things for them to take into consideration. Information was important and knowing the different options they had and what they would imply.

Secession

After Sudan and South Sudan split in two, the situation became even more complicated for the southerners in Khartoum as all those who were recognised as South Sudanese nationals automatically lost their Sudanese nationality. UNHCR estimate that 350,000 to 300,000 South Sudanese living in Sudan were affected by this. With this they also lost all rights/ entitlements. According to the UNHCR are there in Khartoum an estimated 40,000 people who are living in open in makeshift shelters and extremely precarious humanitarian conditions. People of mixed origin, those who've resided in Sudan for a long time, those from trans-boundary communities, and unaccompanied children and tribes living close to the border areas are also exposed to similar risks of statelessness (UNHCR website). There were also reports of ill treatment of southerners after the secession.

However in January 2014, the President of Sudan declared that South Sudanese people in Sudan should enjoy rights and freedoms like nationals. An ongoing country-wide registration of all South Sudanese in Sudan by the Sudanese Directorate of Passport and Immigration started in 2015, and they had by the end of the year registered 238,947 people and issued them with ID cards that enabled them to access services and legalize their stay in the country (Ibid). After the renewed conflict in South Sudan, about 194,000 South Sudanese have sought refuge in Sudan since late 2013.

Chapter 5, Conclusions

As the numbers of internally displaced persons in the world continues to rise, this thesis has looked into their situation in general and looked more closely on the livelihood situation for the IDPs that lived in Wad Al Bashir camp for internally displaced persons in 2007.

The thesis also looked into what coping strategies the IDPs, living under protracted displacement, would use in order to make a living for themselves and their families, and whether joining a community based organisation would be part of this.

The situation for the IDPs living in Wad al Bashir was difficult for most, they had lived there over various periods of time, but most of them had lived there many years, even decades. They had taken up various employments in order to make a living, but jobs were scarce and wages were driven down due to a huge surplus of labour, access to water was scarce and expensive, many had health issues, schools were expensive and some hardly had food to eat. It was also much uncertainty related to whether they should stay or move back to their place of origin.

Several CBOs had been set up in Wad Al Bashir, working under different capacities. Some of them were a great asset for the members, however during random conversations with the residents in the camp it was apparent that their existence were not common knowledge. The CBOs were all struggling with lack of funds and with the funds being irregular, and some of them were operating in very small scale. The vital role that CBO's play or have the possibility to play should be given more recognition and support, such as financial help - and assistance in capacity building should be given a larger priority. There were also large potentials to expand their outreach in order to benefit more people, and with time they could be self-sufficient. It was also a unique possibility for the different tribes to come together and work peacefully together towards the same goals. Not utilising and taking advantages of this is to some degree a lost opportunity for progress, development and peace.

The authorities should also strive to assist the livelihoods for the IDPs with improvement of basic services for both IDPs and others in the area and help facilitating them in order to make a living instead of putting up hinders, they should for example allow people to sell their foodstuff on the markets, and allowing other actors to assist the IDPs. The fact is that if you invest in the lives of the IDPs, you invest in the future of the country, even if the war is still going on.

Capacity building is challenging under protracted displacement, many of the people in the camp that had been there for years had not expected their stay to be so long and dreamt of going back to their place of origin, and might therefore not invest fully, in regards to making

long term plans to stay in Khartoum. It is difficult mentally to set roots, invest and build up something when you are in a vacuum between where you stay and where you see a possible future, once it is safe.

The progress towards peace in Sudan and neighbor South Sudan has been significantly slower than many would have predicted, they have two beautiful countries with a strong population and has every chance to prosper and develop but as long as the root causes for displacement are set, the numbers of displaced are still very high and are likely to rise. Most likely, once the power struggles are set aside, the people can continue to coexist peacefully, and be free to take decisions regarding their future.

References

Abdelmoneium Azza Omerelfaroug, 2005, *Challenges facing Children in Education and Labour: Case Study of Displaced Children in Khartoum-Sudan*, The Ahfad Journal, Vol. 22. No. 2 December 2005

Abdi Awa Mohamed, Chap 10 *Refugees, Gender-based Violence and Resistance: A Case Study of Somali Refugee Women in Kenya*, in Tastsoglou et al, 2006, Women, Migration and Citizenship

Ahearn Fred et al, 1999, Chapter 9, *The Experience of Refugee Children*, in Ager Alastair (Ed), 1999, Refugees Perspectives on the Experience of Forced Migration

Amnesty International, 1995, *The tears of orphans no future without human rights Sudan*, Amnesty International Publications.

Assal, A.M. Monzoul, 2004, *Displaced persons in Khartoum: current realities and post-war scenarios*, A report for MEAwards, the Population Council, Cairo, Egypt, July 2004

Assal, A.M. Monzoul, 2006, *Whose Rights Count? National and International Responses to the Rights of IDPs in the Sudan*, Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty, University of Sussex

Ayoub Mona, 2006, *Land and conflict in Sudan*, 2006, Accord issue: 18

Badri Amna et al, 1998, *Sudan between peace and war, internally displaced women in Khartoum and South and West Kordofan*, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM)

Breidlid Anders, 2005, *Sudanese migrants in the Khartoum area: fighting for educational space*. International Journal of Educational Development 25 (2005) 253-268

Brun Catrine, Chapter 2 *Not only about survival: Livelihood strategies in Protracted displacement* in Shanmugaratnam Nadarajah et al, 2003, In the maze of displacement conflict, migration and change, Høyskoleforlaget

Bryman Alan. (2004). *Social research methods*. Oxford university press, Great Britain.

Burr J. Millard et al, 1995, *Requiem for the Sudan, War, Drought, & disaster relief on the Nile*, Westview Press

Cambers Robert. (1997) *Whose reality counts? Putting the first last.* ITDG publishing, India.

Chambers Robert and Conway Gordon, 1991, *Sustainable rural livelihoods: practical concepts for the 21st century*. IDS Discussion Paper No. 296. Brighton

Colson Elizabeth, 1999, Chapter 2, *Gendering Those Uprooted by "Development"*, in Doreen Indra (Ed), 1999, Refugee and forced Migration Studies Engendering Forced Migration Theory and Practice, Berghahn Books

Copnall James, 2014, *A Poisonous Thorn in Our Hearts: Sudan and South Sudan's Bitter and Incomplete Divorce*, Hurst

Crawford Nicholas et al, 2015, Humanitarian Policy Group Overseas Development Institute, *Protracted displacement: uncertain paths to self-reliance in exile*, John Cosgrave

Crisp Jeff et al, 1999, *Conference Report, Report on the Workshop on Internal Displacement in Africa, Addis Ababa, October 17-20*, 1998, International Migration Review, Vol. 33, No. 2. (Summer, 1999), pp. 468-483.

Daly M.W, 2010, *Darfur's sorrow The forgotten history of a humanitarian disaster*, Cambridge University Press

Daod Hari, 2008, *The translator – A tribesman,s memoir of Darfur*, Penguin Books

Deng Francis, 1993, *Protecting the Dispossesses A Challenge for the International Community*, The Brookings Institution

Deng Frances, 2003, in *Researching Internal Displacement: State of the Art Conference Report* 7-8 February 2003 Trondheim, Norway, Research Group on Forced Migration at the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in collaboration with the Global IDP Project of the Norwegian Refugee Council.

Edward Jane Kani, 2007, *Sudanese Women Refugees*, Palgrave Macmillan

Edwards Michael et al (Ed), 2001, *Global Citizen Action*, Earthscan

Ellis, Frank, (2000), *Rural Livelihoods and Diversity in Developing Countries*, Oxford Universtiy Press

Fiddian-Qasmiyeh Elena (Ed), 2014, *Introduction: Refugee and Forced Migration Studies in Transition, The Oxford Handbook of Refugee and Forced Migration Studies*, Oxford University Press

Gadkarim, Hassan Ali, October 2012, *Will the Sudanese paradox continue? Insecure investment climate and substantial foreign direct investment inflows*, SR 2012: 1, CMI

Global Hunger Index - Armed Conflict and the Challenge of Hunger 2015, International Food Policy Research Institute et al.

Harrell Bond Barbara, 1986, *Imposing Aid Emergence Assistance to Refugees*, Oxford University Press

Harrell Bond Barbara, 1999, Introduction: *The Experience of Refugees as Recipients of Aid* in Ager Alastair (Ed), 1999, Refugees Perspectives on the Experience of Forced Migration

Horst Cindy, 2006, *Transnational Nomads How Somalis Cope With Refugee Life in the Dadaab Camps of Kenya*, Barghahn Books

Hovil Lucy, 2013, *The Disappearance of Sudan? Life in Khartoum for citizens*

without rights CITIZENSHIP AND DISPLACEMENT IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION WORKING PAPER, International Refugee Rights Initiative

IDMC Global Overview 2015: *People internally displaced by conflict and violence* May 2015

Indra Doreen, 1999, Chapter 1, *Not a "Room of One's Own*", in Doreen Indra (Ed), 1999, Refugee and forced Migration Studies Engendering Forced Migration Theory and Practice, Berghahn Books

International Crisis Group, 2006, *Beyond Victimhood: Women's Peacebuilding in Sudan, Congo and Uganda*, Crisis Group Africa Report N°112, 28 June 2006

Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), *Sudan: Slow IDP Return to the South while Darfur Crisis Continues Unabated*, 17 August 2006

Jacobsen Karen, 2008, *Internal Displacement to Urban Areas: the Tufts-IDMC Profiling Study Khartoum, Sudan: Case 1*, Feinstein International Center, Tufts University in collaboration with Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Geneva

Jacobsen Karen et al, Chapter 3, *The Sudan: The Unique Challenges of Displacement in Khartoum* in Vincent Mark (Ed), 2001, Caught between borders Response Strategies of the Internally Displaced, Pluto Press

Jacques Mélanie, 2015, *Armed Conflict and Displacement The Protection of Refugees and Displaced Persons under International Humanitarian Law*, Cambridge University Press

Johnson Douglas, 2012, *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars: Peace or Truce*, James Currey

Johnson Hilde F, 2011, *Waging peace in Sudan The inside story of the negotiations that ended Africas longest civil war*, Sussex academic press

Karadawi Ahmed, *Refugee Policy in Sudan 1967-1984*, Refugee and forced migration studies, volume 6, Berghahn Books

Karim Hussain et al, 1998, *Sustainable Livelihoods and Livelihood Diversification*, Institute of Development Studies

Khartoum Declaration of the OAU Ministerial Meeting on Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, Adopted at the OAU Ministerial Meeting on Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons in Africa, 13-14 December 1998, Khartoum, Sudan

Kibreab Gaim, 1996, *Eritrean and Ethiopian Refugees in Khartoum: What the Eye Refuses to See*, African Studies Review, Volume 39, Number 3 December 1996 ppp. 131-178.

Kibreab Gaim, 1995, *Eritrean Women Refugees in Khartoum, Sudan, 1970-1990*, Journal of Refugee Studies Vol.8, No. 1 1995

Manger Leif, Chapter 2 *Building Peace in the Sudan Reflections on Local & Regional Challenges*, in Shanmugaratnam Nadarajah (Ed), 2008, Between war and peace in Sudan and Sri Lanka, James Currey Oxford

Merheb et al (Ed.), 2006, *Intro, The State of the Worlds Refugees 2006 Human Displacement in the New Millennium*, UNHCR, Oxford University Press)
Mustafa Abusharaf Rogaia, 2009, *Transforming Displaced Women in Sudan: Politics and the Body in a Squatter Settlement*, University Of Chicago Press

Narayan Deepa, Chapter 4, *Bonds and bridges: social capital and poverty* in Jonathan Isham et al. (Ed), 2002, Social Capital and Economic Development: Well-Being in Developing Countries, Bonds Edward Elgar Pub

One humanity: shared responsibility Report of the Secretary-General for the World Humanitarian Summit, 2016, United Nations, General Assembly

Pantuliano et al. 2011, *City limits: urbanisation and vulnerability in Sudan, Khartoum case study*, Overseas Development Institute

Phuong Catherine, 2005,*The International Protection of Internally Displaced Persons*, Cambridge University Press

Rakodi Carole et al, 2002, *Urban Livelihoods A People Centred Approach to Reducing Poverty*, Earthscan

Salehyan Idean and Gleditsch Kristian Skrede (2006) *Refugees and the Spread of Civil War*. International Organization

Small Arms Survey, 2007, Cambridge University Press

Stiglitz Joseph, 1998, *Towards a New Paradigm for Development: Strategies, Policies, and Processes*, 1998 Prebisch Lecture at UNCTAD, Geneva

Sørbø et al (Ed), 2013, *Sudan Divided Continuing conflict in a contested state*, Palgrave Macmillan

Tidwell Alan et al (Ed), 2016, *Land, Indigenous Peoples and Conflict*
Routledge

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), *Handbook for Applying the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*, 1 November 1999

UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), *Manual on Field Practice in Internal Displacement*. Examples from UN Agencies and Partner Organizations of Field-Based Initiatives Supporting Internally Displaced Persons, 1999, Policy Paper Series No. 1,

Vargas-Silva Carlos (Ed), 2012, *Handbook of Research Methods in Migration*, Edward Elgar

White Stacey (Ed) Global IDP Project, Norwegian Refugee Council, 2002, *Internally Displaced People: A Global Survey, 2nd edition*, Earthscan Publications.

Young Helen et al, 2005, *Darfur – Livelihoods under Siege*, Feinstein International Famine Center, Tufts University

Eltigani E Eltigani (Ed), 1995, *War and Drought in Sudan*, University Press of Florida

Zetter, 2014) *Reframing Displacement Crises as Development Opportunities*. Oxford: Refugee Studies Centre.