

Internal displacement to urban areas: the Tufts-IDMC profiling study

CASE 1: KHARTOUM, SUDAN



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Khartoum, Sudan: Case 1

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in collaboration with
Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, Geneva**

In many conflict zones today, the targeting and uprooting of rural populations and their forced displacement is an integral part of the war strategies of rebel or government forces. Notable recent examples include Sudan, northern Uganda, Colombia, Côte d'Ivoire, Burma and Somalia. Many of these displaced people flee across borders to become refugees, but even more become internally displaced and a large and growing proportion migrate to the urban areas and particularly the capital of their own countries.

Unlike internally displaced people (IDPs) in camps who are more easily identified and assisted, IDPs in urban areas comprise a hidden population, and aid agencies and governments have difficulty identifying them and understanding their experience relative to the urban population amongst whom they live. Relatively little is known about their precise numbers, demographics, basic needs and protection problems. Donor governments and humanitarian organizations have recognized this information gap, and in 2006, the Norwegian Refugee Council's Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre commissioned the Feinstein International Center to conduct a research study that would address this gap.

The study had three main objectives:

- to develop research tools to be used for profiling urban IDPs, including to make population estimates;

- to generate comparative data on IDPs and non-IDPs in urban areas—including demographic and livelihood characteristics, access to services, economic integration, and whether the assistance and protection needs of IDPs differ from that of non-IDPs;
- To use the data to work with governments and humanitarian organisations to develop programs and advocacy strategies that assist IDPs and protect their rights.

The study took place from 2006–2008, in three urban locations: Khartoum, Sudan; Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire; and Santa Marta, Colombia. Surveys were conducted in each city, and the outcome was a tested profiling tool, a full report, and three case studies. These outputs can be found at <http://fic.tufts.edu> or contact the author at Karen.Jacobsen@tufts.edu.

Khartoum, Sudan: Case 1 of the Tufts-IDMC Profiling Study of IDPs in Three Urban Areas

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In recent decades Sudan's North-South civil war and the conflict in Darfur have generated one of the largest internally displaced populations in the world. A large proportion of these IDPs is found in and around the capital, Khartoum. The Tufts-IDMC study of Khartoum was a pilot for our larger study and was carried out in 2007, two years after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. While the CPA raised hopes for the return of IDPs, continuing insecurity, lack of services in areas of return and doubts about the sustainability of the CPA, have slowed the pace of return.

We conducted the survey in selected areas of Greater Khartoum, excluding the IDP camps. The overall goals of the survey were to provide the Government of Sudan and the humanitarian community with population estimates, and updated information on comparative living situations of IDPs and non-IDPs living outside the camps.

The survey was conducted from 4-13 March, 2007, and included 16 administrative units in four localities of Greater Khartoum: Um Badda (Omdurman), Jabal Awlia and Khartoum Locality (Khartoum) and Sharg Al Niel (Khartoum North). We used data from the updated census conducted by the National Bureau of Statistics in November 2003. After stratifying the city into areas of low, medium and high IDP density, we used a population density based sampling technique (PPS) to select primary sampling units (administrative areas), and then interval sampling to select households. The final sample of 980 households included 6764 people of whom 2846 were under 18 years of age. We conducted secondary analysis of our data to determine who were IDPs, and then compared this sub-group with non-IDPs.

OVERVIEW OF SURVEY FINDINGS

DEMOGRAPHIC AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS OF ALL RESPONDENTS

Based on our sample of 980 individuals,

- 58% of our respondents were men, and the average age for men was 45 and for women 37.5. Most of the sample (92%) were married.
- Households had an average of three children, and 12% of households did not have children. The average (mean) number of household members was 6.9. The total number of household members in our sample was 6,764.
- Almost 20% of the sample was illiterate, 20% had religious education (Koranic), 20% had completed primary school, 26% had completed secondary school, and 13.5% had some university education.
- Almost half (48%) of our respondents lived in dwellings made of mud, and 39% lived in brick houses, with another 9% in concrete houses. Just 3% said they lived in temporary dwellings (or shacks).
- Employment: 20% said they were in full-time employment. 27% in part-time employment, 25% were self-employed, and 18% were housewives. 7.7% were unemployed. Less than 1% said they were students.
- Respondents named 98 distinct ethnic groups to which they belonged. The top five—Nuba, Gallein, Fur, Duglawi and Dinka—comprised 38% of the sample.

MIGRATION TO KHARTOUM

Of our respondents, 23% said they had been born in Khartoum, and 9.6 % said they had come to Khartoum before 1970. Our question, “Why did you come to Khartoum?” was answered by 718 of our respondents, indicating that 73% had migrated at some time to Khartoum. There was an increase in migrant arrivals between 1983 and 2000, then a drop off after 2000.

Previous location

We assigned our respondents to a “Previous Location”, based on where they were born, and (if relevant) where they had been living before coming to Khartoum. We grouped the answers into the following five categories:

1. “Khartoum plus north” included those from the Khartoum area, the northern states (Nile, Northern, Red Sea, North Kordofan, Kassala, Gedaref, Gezira, Sinnar, White Nile, and the towns of Babanusa and Muglud in South Kordofan, which are not in the Three Areas). These areas are not generally considered to be associated with conflict, although they have been subject to droughts and famine, as well as mechanized agricultural schemes and development projects including dam building, which have displaced people over the years, but to a much less degree than elsewhere in Sudan. Of our respondents, 62% came from “Khartoum plus north”.
2. “The South” included Equatoria, southern Bahr el Ghazal, Unity, Jonglei, Lakes, and Upper Nile. As described above, this area was a conflict zone between 1982–2003. Of our sample, 9.5% were from the south.
3. “The Three Areas” included northern Bahr El Ghazal, most of South Kordofan (except the towns of Babanusa and Muglud), and southern Blue Nile. As described above, this area was a conflict zone between 1982–2005. Of our sample, 12.4% from the Three Areas.
4. “Darfur” included West, South, and North Darfur. As described above, this area was a drought and conflict zone intermittently before 1982 and then has been a conflict zone since 2003. Of our sample, 14.7% came from Darfur.
5. “Other countries” were those who came from or had been living outside Sudan. As shown in Table 2.2, these countries comprised Yemen (1), Chad (3), Ethiopia (3), Qatar (2), Emirates (1), Saudia (2) and Egypt (1). Of the 14 respondents who had been living outside Sudan, three had been born in Sudan and were likely to have been migrants to the Gulf or Chad. Just 1.4% of our sample had been living in other countries. Since we are focusing on IDPs in this report, we will drop these migrants from other countries from our analysis.

As expected, ethnic groups were significantly correlated with previous location. Almost all the Fur came from Darfur, the Dinka from the South, and the Nuba from the Three Areas, while the Gallein are largely from Khartoum/north.

The arrival of people from the South spiked between 1985 and 1995, then dropped off after 2000. People from Darfur arrived in a more or less continuous stream, with a slight increase after 2000 (when the conflict became significantly more acute).

Residential distribution within Khartoum

The distribution of respondents within Khartoum was significantly related to previous location. Respondents from Khartoum/north were fairly evenly distributed across the four localities of Khartoum, but respondents from Darfur, the South and the Three Areas were concentrated in Khartoum South or Omdurman, both being the poorer areas of Khartoum.

Reason for coming

Most of our respondents (69%) came to Khartoum to find work. Eleven percent said they were escaping conflict or seeking stability. Other reasons given were to seek housing or land (6%), education (5%), and joining their family (5%).

Reasons for coming were significantly related to ethnicity. Most Dinka (67%) came for reasons related to conflict, but all four other main ethnic groups gave work as their main reason for coming.

IDP INDICATORS AND ESTIMATES

There are two different ways to define IDPs in Sudan. A broader, more inclusive approach is to include all those from conflict zones or drought-affected zones, no matter what reason for migrating they gave, or when they came. Defining IDPs in this way is justified for two reasons. One is that IDPs may be reluctant to give conflict as the reason for coming because they do not wish to be defined as IDPs, or are fearful of repercussions. A second reason is that IDPs may have come to the city for work related reasons, even though they were initially displaced by conflict and/or drought. If either of these situations applied, respondents would not identify themselves as IDPs, even though they would meet the IDP criteria set out in the Guiding Principles.

A more conservative definition is 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.

We used the more conservative definition to make estimates of IDPs; we recognize these estimates are contestable, and emphasize that our estimates are conservative.

We identified IDPs based on their previous location, when they came to Khartoum, and their stated reasons for migration. We categorized as IDPs those who were from Sudan (non-Khartoum but within Sudan) and met any of the following three conditions:

1. They said they came for reasons related to conflict or drought (86 respondents or 8.8% of the total sample)
2. They were from the South, or the Transitional/Three Areas, and had come during or after 1983 when the war resumed and the drought began, but before 2002. Of 93 respondents from the South, 80 (86%) met this condition, as did 85 (70%) of 122 from the Three Areas. Together, those from the South and the Three Areas comprised 81% of our IDP respondents, or 16.9% of the total sample.
3. They were from Darfur, and came after 2002. This number was 34 (23.8%) of 143 respondents from Darfur, and comprised 16.7% of the IDP respondents and 3.5% of the total sample. By defining Darfur IDPs as those who arrived after 2002, we eliminate those who might have been displaced during the conflict and drought of the 1980s, but who did not say they came for these reasons (then they would have been included in #a). The number of respondents from Darfur who came between 1983–1997 totaled 53, of whom four said they came for conflict reasons (and are included in #a).

Of our respondents, 204, or 20.8%, met our criteria for being IDPs. Our confidence interval is 2.5%, which gives us an expected range of 18.3–23.3%. Thus we expect that IDPs comprise between 18.3–23.3% of the urban population living outside the camps.

The largest proportion (42%) was from the Three Areas, the South comprised 39%, and those from Darfur were 16.7%. Respondents from Khartoum comprised only 2.5%.

Making population estimates of IDPs for Khartoum

Using our proportion of IDPs and recent estimates for the 2007 population of Khartoum (approximately 5.5 million), we estimate that IDPs in Khartoum, outside the camps and resettlement areas, number in the range of 1,004,300–1,283,700.

This compares with current estimates of 1.7 million IDPs in Khartoum, which includes IDPs in camps. If we add IDPs in camps (325,000–391,800), we get a range of 1,329,300–1,675,500 IDPs in all of Khartoum.

Once the figures for the latest census (currently underway) are released, a better estimate can be made.

COMPARING IDPS AND NON-IDPS IN KHARTOUM

We compared IDPs and non-IDPs regarding their distribution throughout Khartoum, their housing and education, their movement and experience with forced evictions in Khartoum, their employment, difficulties they experienced in Khartoum, and intentions regarding future movements, including returning home.

- **IDP distribution**
IDPs are distributed throughout Khartoum, with higher densities in the poorer localities of Jabal Awlia and Omdurman, where IDP concentrations range from 5% to 30% with an average of 22.6%. In Omdurman, IDP concentrations range from 10% to 57% in the area of Al Salam (which is near the IDP camp), with an average of 32.5%. In Khartoum North, IDPs are most likely to be found in the Haj Yousif area (27.5%), which in 1998 was re-planned with demolition of all houses there. In Khartoum Locality, which we had stratified as a “no IDP” area, we found a small number of IDPs, just 10 out of 170 respondents or 5.6%.
- **Housing quality**
IDPs were more likely to live in poorer quality dwellings, as measured by construction materials. IDPs were more likely to live in temporary structures (shanties), and less likely to live in housing made from concrete or red bricks.
- **Education**
IDPs were significantly less educated than non-IDPs: more likely to be illiterate, and with less secondary and university education. Respondents from Khartoum/north had most education. Those from the South had the highest rate of illiteracy (37%). More than two thirds of respondents from Darfur (73%), the South (69%) and the Three Areas (72%) were either illiterate or had only basic school or religious school. For these three groups, less than 9% had any university education.

We found that those who came for reasons of education were more likely to have higher levels of education. Over half (51%) of those who came for education purposes had university education.

- **Mobility and forced evictions in Khartoum**

Mobility, i.e. respondents who changed residences and lived in different areas of Khartoum, was significantly related to previous location. More than half (56%) of all our respondents said they had moved within Khartoum, and they were most likely to have come from Darfur, the South and Three Areas.

Of our respondents, 212 or 21.6% said they had been forced to move or evicted since coming to Khartoum. Those from the Three Areas experienced the highest proportion of forced removals, and those from Khartoum/north the least. While the South comprised only 18% of the sample, they comprised 33% of those who were forced to move, and while respondents from the Khartoum plus region comprised 58% of the sample, they were only 39% of those who had been forced to move.

The experience of forced eviction appeared to be significantly related to period of arrival in Khartoum. Those who arrived during 1991-1995 were more likely to have been forced to move or evicted than those arriving in previous or subsequent half-decades.

Reasons given for eviction were as follows. Of the 212 respondents who said they had been forced to move, 30% could not pay the rent; over half (51%) said they had been part of a government relocation, and 13% said the owner wanted them to leave. Previous location was significantly related to the likelihood of being part of a government relocation. 76% of those from Three Areas and 53% of those from the South said the reason was government relocation, compared with 40% from Khartoum/north and 38% from Darfur.

IDPs were much more likely to have been evicted because of government relocation programs, but they were also more likely to be evicted because they could not pay the rent or because the owner did not want them in the dwelling.

- **Employment**

Our respondents' employment patterns were differentiated more by gender than by previous location. Women from all previous locations were more likely to be housewives than any other employment category. The most common category for all men was self-employment. Our survey found no significant differences between IDPs and non-

IDPs regarding employment situations. Unemployment rates were 7–8%, and both groups displayed similar levels of part-time and full-time employment.

However, our survey did not explore either the kinds of jobs our respondents had, or wage levels. Other researchers have found that southerners are often used as a cheap labor force in Khartoum. If this is so, our survey results could mask deeper forms of job discrimination. This issue should be pursued with qualitative methods that could better explore issues of wage and job discrimination.

As expected, employment was highly correlated with education. Those with secondary school or some university education were much more likely to be in full-time employment or self-employed, while those who were illiterate or had basic schooling were more likely to be housewives or casually employed.

- **Difficulties experienced in Khartoum**
More than half our respondents (54%) did not reply to our question about difficulties experienced in Khartoum. Respondents may have been reluctant to discuss these issues, possibly for security reasons. Of those who responded, 19% mentioned problems with finding work, 13% mentioned lack of access to water, and six percent mentioned safety (crime) and difficulties with transportation. Very few respondents (less than two percent) mentioned harassment by authorities or problems with the community.

Reported difficulties were most likely to depend on the locality in which respondents lived rather than whether they were IDPs or not.

- **Future migration intentions**
IDPs were significantly different from non-IDPs in their intention to remain in Khartoum. Half of our IDP respondents (50%) said they intended to remain in Khartoum, compared with 68% of non-IDPs. However, only 22% of IDPs expressed the desire to go “back home”. Those who did not want to remain where they were sought to go elsewhere in Khartoum or Sudan, or did not know.

In sum, in comparing the experience in Khartoum of IDPs and non-IDPs, we see some clear differences in some respects and few differences in others. There were clear differences when it came to living situation. IDPs were more concentrated in the poorer localities of Jabal Awlia and Omdurman, and more likely to live in temporary structures or mud houses. IDPs were less educated than non-IDPs, and more mobile than non-IDPs, i.e. they had moved around Khartoum more. IDPs also were more likely to have been forced to move or evicted, and particularly because of government relocation programs, but they

were also more likely to be evicted because they could not pay the rent or because the owner did not want them in the dwelling. IDPs were significantly less likely to want to remain in Khartoum than non-IDPs. Our survey could not fully explore key issues like employment, or the problems IDPs experience, but did allow us to form a profile of how IDPs differ from non-IDPs that points to avenues to further exploration.

Overall, our survey suggests that respondents were more likely to differ according to the locality they lived in, rather than whether they were IDPs or not. However, there are many indications that IDPs were worse off in most respects: more likely to experience crime, for example, and more problems with finding work, with access to water and with transportation. Our survey also found that IDPs were more vulnerable than non-IDPs on key protection indicators, especially exposure to government relocation programs. However, the survey format does not lend itself to in-depth exploration of issues or to respondents revealing their problems; qualitative research is more likely to be able to probe these thorny issues.

PROGRAM/POLICY IMPLICATIONS

Given the subtle differences between IDPs and the urban poor amongst whom they live, programs aimed at poverty alleviation should perhaps be weighted to ensure that IDPs are included, but such programs should not only target IDPs. Special efforts should be made to ensure that IDPs are not targeted for relocation, or if they are, efforts could be aimed at helping them recover economically. As in other IDP situations, IDPs would benefit from assistance with their identification documents, as the lack of these places IDPs at a particular economic disadvantage, and makes them more vulnerable to harassment.

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Map A: United Nations map of Sudan



KHARTOUM'S DISPLACEMENT CONTEXT

The pattern of displacement into Khartoum arises from the combination of conflict, drought, and famine that has afflicted the south and west of Sudan since the 1980s.¹ (See Map A) The first north-south civil war, from 1956–1972, caused the displacement of over a million southern Sudanese, both internally and across borders. But relatively few IDPs migrated to Khartoum compared with later years, and after the war ended, most of the displaced returned and were re-integrated. The first major waves of IDPs to Khartoum began in the mid-1980s, propelled by the twin scourges of famine and war. In 1983 the north-south conflict was reignited by the introduction of shari'a law and the development of oil fields in southern Sudan. In that same year, drought struck Sudan, lasting for two years (1983–84), and affecting an estimated 8.4 million people (half the population) in Darfur and Kordofan. In the affected areas, there was famine, and compounded by the resumption of the war in the south in which the government deliberately sought to uproot the rural population, the rural economy was decimated. By the mid-1980s an estimated three million people were displaced. About half a million fled to neighboring countries, and some 2.3 million migrated north, of whom as estimated 1.8 million came to Khartoum.²

Protracted peace negotiations steered by the Intergovernmental Agency on Development (IGAD) and the United Nations finally led to a ceasefire agreement in 2002. In January 2005 the GoS and SPLM/A signed a Comprehensive Peace Agreement.³ The CPA provided for the establishment of a Government of National Unity (GoNU)—bringing together the Government of Sudan (GoS) and the newly created autonomous Government of Southern Sudan (GoSS).⁴ The CPA provided a framework for a six-year interim period during which Sudan was to conduct a national census and hold local, state, national, and

1 For an overview of internal displacement to Khartoum, see Gamal Mahmoud Hamid (1992) "Livelihood Patterns of Displaced Households in Greater Khartoum," *Disasters* 16 (3), 230–239; Agnès de Geoffroy "From internal to international displacement in Sudan", Paper prepared for Forced Migration & Refugee Studies Program, The American University in Cairo, October 2007; and *Forced Migration Review* 24 <http://www.fmreview.org/sudan.htm>

2 For a more complete analysis of the government's strategy of deliberate uprooting of rural populations in an effort to seize and re-allocate land and resources, see Agnès de Geoffroy (2007: 6–8), citing others. This same strategy is in place in Darfur today.

3 http://www.usip.org/library/pa/sudan/cpa01092005/cpa_toc.html

4 <http://www.gosmission.org/goss/>

presidential elections. By the end of the interim period in 2011 southern Sudan is to be given the opportunity to vote whether to remain united with Khartoum or to opt for independence.

The future of the CPA remains highly uncertain and the peace is fragile. There have been delays in the agreed timetable for withdrawal of northern troops. There is great tension in the region known as the Transitional Zone or Three Areas: Abyei, Blue Nile State and Southern Kordofan/Nuba Mountains which saw intense fighting during the civil war and whose future was not determined by the CPA. Sudan's growing oil revenue has not been equitably shared and the GoSS lacks resources to establish health, education, and other services or to repair infrastructure. The GoNU is beset by challenges (the GoSS has withdrawn once) and many observers believe it unlikely that the National Congress Party—the party of Sudanese President Omar al-Bashir—will hold free and fair elections.

In addition to the conflict in the south, internal displacement has been caused by drought coupled with armed conflict in Darfur, now in an acute phase. This conflict is principally between Arab and Fur groups that began in the 1980s. In addition, Darfur has been afflicted by recurrent drought since 1972.⁵ Since the resumption of the conflict in 2003, more than two million Darfuris have been displaced, but most have remained in the region either in refugee camps across the border, or in IDP camps around Darfur's main towns. Displacement has also resulted when farmers and pastoralists in central and eastern Sudan lost their land rights as a result of the government's expropriation of land for development projects, such as mechanized-agriculture and dam construction. In the 1990s, Upper Nile region and other oil-rich areas in the South have been subject to forced depopulation.⁶

As a result of these conflicts Sudan has one of the world's largest internally displaced populations. In 2006, the Norwegian Refugee Council's Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC)⁷ estimated that Sudan has 5.8 million IDPs. Of those, IOM estimated that two million IDP currently reside within Khartoum State, and almost

5 According to Helen Young et. al, there have been 16 drought years since 1972. Those that stand out include 1983-85, 1987-88, 1990-91, and 2000-01. The biggest loss of life was caused by the famine of 1984-86, when it was estimated that death rates were three times higher than normal (Young et al., 2005:26).

6 Agnès de Geoffroy, 2007: 10.

7 <http://www.internal-displacement.org>

half a million reside in White Nile, Northern, Gezira, Sennar and River Nile States.⁸ Most IDPs do not live in camps (where numbers can be monitored) and IDP figures are estimates and projections.

In general, the pattern of conflict displacement has followed a series of stages commonly found in conflict zones. Initially, people are locally displaced, seeking to hide from militias or bombing during the night or day but staying within range of their homes or farms. In the second stage, when this hiding strategy no longer ensures safety, people flee to safer villages or camps, where they remain for a period of time, sometimes indefinitely, perhaps while seeking to return to their homes. A third stage, the migration stage, occurs when individuals or households decide to leave the camp or village and travel to the city to find work or join family members already residing there. This migration strategy is utilized by households, for example, when they send one member of working age to the city to act as an anchor for the future migration of the entire household, or to find work and send remittances back to the family. It is this migration phase of displacement that characterizes many of the urban IDPs in Khartoum.

IDPs began arriving in Khartoum in significant numbers in the mid 1980s, first from Kordofan to escape the drought and famine there, then from 1988-90 to escape the escalating conflict in the South. The Kordofan IDPs established themselves throughout Khartoum, but the southerners mainly squatted in groups outside Khartoum, where they built temporary shelters and sanitation areas. In 1991, the government established four official IDP camps for the southern IDPs: Omdurman es Salaam (20km NW Khartoum), Wad el Basher (15km NW Khartoum)

Mayo Farm (immediately south of Khartoum) and Jebel Awlia (40km south). The flow of IDPs into Khartoum continued until 1997 when the numbers began to decrease substantially (Interagency Report 2004: 14). By 2004-5, the camp population was variously estimated between 325,000 and 391,800, compared with 395,000 inhabitants in 1997.⁹ (see table).

Throughout the 1990s, mass urban migration led to uncontrolled expansion of settlements in and around the city of Khartoum and the city's rapid growth has subsumed the official IDP camps that were once outside the urban boundaries. The government's urban planning

8 IOM 2005 Return Intention Survey, cited in UN 2008 Workplan for Sudan. http://workplan.unsudanig.org/2008/docs/WP08_Document_volume_1.pdf

9 Kate Almquist, "Religion and Politics in Sudan: A Humanitarian Agency's Perspective," Conference Paper, Religion, Nationalism, and Peace in Sudan, U.S. Institute of Peace Conference, September 16-17, 1997. <http://www.usip.org/religionpeace/rehr/sudanconf/almquist.html>

methods have consisted of moving people out of the area under planning followed by the demolition of housing by security forces. Local authorities then sell the land plots to those who can pay, supposedly with priority given to those inhabitants who were first settled in the area, and those who are unable to pay are relocated. As explained by Agnès de Geoffroy, “This is a way of legalizing land ownership, and of evicting the poorest population to further peripheries of the town. The rationale for urban planning is also the provision of basic services such as water, electricity, education and health.. [but this] service provision remains unachieved.”¹⁰ Demolitions specifically affecting IDPs and the removal of IDPs from squatter settlements located inside the urban zone occurred in 1991 with the initial creation of camps, and then again in:

- 1994 with the re-planning of Angola camp and ensuing demolition of some 16,000 homes. only 8,000 households received plots. Of the 8,000 who did not, about half settled in the squatter area near Salahin, and the other half went elsewhere in Khartoum.
- 1998 with the re-planning of Haj Yousif and subsequent demolition of all houses there. Some 80% of those with demolished houses received plots, and the remaining 20% had to move to squatter areas.
- 2003 when the government began re-planning and demolishing the IDP camps. By November 2004, 40,000 homes had been demolished and thousands of latrines.¹¹

According to Agnès de Geoffroy¹² most of the land on which the first waves of southern IDPs settled has now acquired significant commercial value. IDPs mostly submit to urban planning decisions in the hope of eventually getting land ownership in subsequent plot allocations. Most know little about plot prices and official criteria of plot allocation. In most of the camps, plots are given for free, so there is much demand, including from people outside of the camps, for a plot. Recipients have to pay the charges (around 200 USD) and then, in order to get the legal documents that will ensure real and sustainable ownership, they have to pay more for the legal process. The difficulty is getting onto the list and being able to pay the charges (and the

10 Agnès de Geoffroy 2007: 14

11 Interagency Report (2004: 14)

12 Agnès de Geoffroy “From internal to international displacement in Sudan”, Paper prepared for Forced Migration & Refugee Studies Program, The American University in Cairo, October 2007.

cost of rebuilding a house). Some families have moved into the IDP camps before the demolitions and established a *racuba*—a shelter made of branches, plastic sheets and cardboard—in the hope of getting access to legal title. The system is untransparent and corrupt and privileges wealthier people.

Evictions intensified leading up to and during the CPA. Of the estimated 665,000 IDPs who have had their homes demolished and been forcibly relocated since 1989, more than half have been moved since 2004. Many IDPs have suffered multiple relocations. These demolition and re-location activities had serious humanitarian and livelihood consequences for IDPs living in the squatter areas, and after 2003, also for those living in the camps. Those who got plots had to pay to reconstruct a shelter, and those who did not get plots had nowhere to go. When IDPs are moved, schools, health clinics, and latrines are often destroyed. No alternative shelter is provided for IDPs who may be given notice of demolition or may simply be awoken by the arrival of trucks come to remove them. Many of the IDPs or squatters who do not get plots in Khartoum are re-located to distant areas where there are no services. For example, el Fath, is 40km north of Omdurman. There is supposed to be a planned “site and service” area, where they will be given a plot, but nothing had been anticipated by the government. At the beginning, service provision was left to NGOs. Many evicted IDPs have been excluded from accessing a plot, especially those who have lost identification documents, female-headed households, those who arrived in Khartoum after 1996 and those who could not afford to pay for a new plot. The government has no policy to address the needs of IDPs whose houses have been demolished and who are not eligible for a new plot.

GOVERNMENT POLICY ON IDPS

Eligibility for plots was connected with the official status of IDPs. According to the Ministry of Engineering, as cited by Interagency Report (2004: 7), anyone registered up to 1996 was considered an IDP, and considered for plots. The government did this in order to distinguish IDPs from late arrivals and “separate those who are in real need of land and those who want to profit from the situation.” The Interagency report points out that this left unclear the legal status of those who were not classified as IDPs. As of December 2004, the government had not issued a clear policy statement as to where the IDPs who did not have a plot should go. Since the signing of the CPA, we can assume that the government intends those IDPs without a plot to return to their places of origin.

Table A: Estimated IDP population in municipalities of Khartoum, Khartoum North, and Omdurman

Agency making estimate (Year of estimate)	Four IDP camps (el Salaam, Wad el Bashir, Mayo Farm, Jebel Awlia)	~30 Squatter and informal settlements	Total
NGOs ¹ (2004)	391,800 (59,829 households)		
Unicef and WHO ² (2005)	325,000	~1.5 million	
UNHCR ³ (2007)			1.5 million
UN Workplan ⁴ (2007)	325,000	~1.7 million	

IDP RETURNS

In the period following the CPA there has been a significant return of IDPs, but statistics are unreliable and it is not known with any accuracy how many IDPs live in and around Khartoum and how many have returned to southern Sudan. It is estimated that some 260,000 IDPs returned to southern Sudan in 2007,⁴ adding to more than one million IDPs estimated to have returned since 2005. It is generally believed that some two million IDPs remain in Khartoum. Most of those who have returned have gone without external assistance. Only a small number of returnees (UNHCR reports almost 12,000 at the end of 2006¹³) have benefited from organised return programs implemented by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and the GoS, and assisted by UNHCR.

While the return process itself poses logistical challenges—distances, high transportation costs, mined and flooded roads, and banditry—the reintegration process is a source of particular concern for international agencies involved in the implementation of the CPA. Return has been slowed by continuing insecurity and chronic lack of infrastructure and services in southern Sudan. In addition, after many years of displacement, the restitution of IDPs' land and property poses serious challenges—particularly in areas of the south and the Three Areas where ethnic tensions remain high. An unknown number of returning IDPs have found the conditions worse in their areas of origin and—if they have the means to do so—have decided to go back again to the squalid conditions in Khartoum.

In Khartoum, as in other internal displacement contexts, the longer and more settled IDPs are the less likely they are to return to their home areas. Some have now lived in Khartoum for over two decades

13 UNHCR Statistics 2006, <http://www.unhcr.org/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/home/open-doc.pdf?id=478ce2e62&tbl=STATISTICS>

and significant numbers of IDP youth have known no other life. In general, the more educated southern Sudanese and those with secure employment have remained in Khartoum and the poorest, least educated, and most vulnerable have returned. A survey conducted by IOM in 2005 found that at least 36% of Khartoum's IDPs do not intend to return to their home areas and are likely to remain in Khartoum. The UNHCR Workplan states that Khartoum is "now hosting an estimated 1 million permanent residents who were previously regarded as temporary" (2007 Workplan, p. 298)."

The great majority of returnees have gone home without formal assistance. Many of those who have taken part in organised return processes have high expectations, but many are frustrated and some complain of being misled by humanitarian agencies.¹⁴ Many Khartoum-based IDPs have life expectations—especially for education and non-agricultural employment—which cannot be realised in the rural south. Many have lost traditional pastoral and agricultural skills and second and third generation IDPs may have no desire to acquire them. Thus to talk—as many international agencies do—of "return and reintegration" for people moving to the south for the first time greatly misrepresents the process and its challenges.

IDP camps in Khartoum have ceased to function as aid centres and IDPs are scattered across the metropolis. The GoS may be interested in controlling the southern population by keeping large numbers of them in Khartoum—especially during the census. For their part, the SPLM is keenly interested in having people resettle in the south in order to increase its political base in the build-up to referenda on the future of the Three Areas and whether the south should become independent. Managing the issue of displaced people who wish to stay in Khartoum will be a complex challenge, one that is greatly complicated by lack of accurate data. In a fraught political environment efforts to quantify the scale of displacement in and around Khartoum are often frustrated by the authorities.

14 Sara Pantuliano, Margie Buchanan-Smith and Paul Murphy (2007), 'The long road home: Opportunities and obstacles to the reintegration of IDPs and refugees returning to Southern Sudan and the Three Areas. Report of Phase I', Humanitarian Policy Group, Overseas Development Institute, London.
http://www.odi.org.uk/hpg/papers/hpgcommissioned_dfidreintegration.pdf

TUFTS-IDMC STUDY IN KHARTOUM

The research study discussed here took place between November 2006 and March 2007, when the war in Southern Sudan had officially been ended for two years. The question of how many IDPs are currently living in Khartoum is one that needs answering because many in the aid community believe that urban IDPs are more vulnerable—both to poverty and to insecurity—than other urban poor. The premise of the study was to attempt to make population estimates of urban IDPs, and to establish whether their experience in Khartoum was different from others among whom they lived.

Our indicators of IDPs are derived from the *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement*,¹⁵ and include displacement as a result of conflict, violence, or natural or human-made disasters including drought. In the case of Sudan, these factors have been present at different times and places for many years. Our survey question—‘why did you come here?’—does not capture the complex mix of factors that often characterize forced displacement. For example, conflict or drought aggravated by conflict could have initially destroyed a respondent’s livelihood, forcing them to leave their homes and migrate elsewhere, but when asked why they came to Khartoum the respondent might say it was the search for work that brought him or her to the city. Thus, even though many respondents said they came for reasons related to seeking work, those who were from conflict- or drought-affected regions might, nevertheless, qualify as IDPs.

The IDMC survey took place during preparations for Sudan’s fifth census. According to the UNFPA, which is providing technical assistance,¹⁶ the fifth population census should have been conducted in 2003 (10 years after the last one), but during the Naivasha negotiations between the GoS and the SPLM which led to the CPA, it was agreed to postpone it to 2007 so that the whole country would be covered. Significant delays have occurred but at the time of writing

15 Article 2 of the Guiding Principle states: “For the purposes of these Principles, internally displaced persons are persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized State border.” <http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu2/7/b/principles.htm>

16 UNFPA Sudan Country Office, Population Census Support Unit, “2006 Annual Census Progress Report” February 2007. Khartoum. Sudan has conducted four censuses since independence in 1955/56 (1955/56, 1973, 1983 and 1993).

(April 2008), the census is about to begin. The data from the last census in 1993 are not considered useful for planning and development purposes, because of the ways in which that census was compromised by the ongoing conflict—the 1993 census also only covered parts of the South. An inter-census update was conducted by the National Bureau of Census in November 2003, and we have used these census data to estimate population distribution in Khartoum.

METHODOLOGY AND CHALLENGES

The Khartoum study was the pilot for our larger study of IDPs in urban areas. The study methodology is a survey of individuals (heads of households), using a random, two-stage systematic sample drawn from a designated area comprising the planned city limits. Secondary data analysis was used to explore the experience of IDPs.

The research in Khartoum took place in three phases, beginning with a team visit to the field in November 2006, then the data collection phase in March 2007, then the data analysis and write-up phase, followed by dissemination of results. (The year-long hiatus between the data collection and final report occurred because our two other IDMC studies, in Abidjan and Santa Marta, occurred in between.) These phases are described in more detail below, followed by a description of the sampling strategy.

In the first phase, the Tufts and IDMC team visited Khartoum in November 2006, where we recruited a consultant (an experienced Sudanese national) to supervise and conduct the field study. In this field visit we worked with the consultant to plan the study, and conducted appropriate meetings with stakeholders. These included the Country Offices of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), UNHCR, the Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC), and the Government of Sudan's National Statistics Office, to introduce the study and ensure institutional participation and cooperation, and to gather existing reports, data, maps and statistics. Working with UNOSAT and OCHA, IDMC generated a map of Khartoum. Our consultant succeeded in obtaining the most recent (2003 updated) census data for Khartoum. Although somewhat outdated, the census lists of households enabled us to use a population based sampling strategy (PPS). (See Methods Annex for full description of this approach.) Our consultant assembled a team of enumerators and supervisors, and also helped translate, revise and adapt the questionnaire to make it culturally appropriate. Once the questionnaire was customized, it was tested, translated and back-translated.

In the second phase, the data collection took place. Once the questionnaire and the sampling strategy were ready, the consultant conducted a three-day training session with the enumerators and supervisors. Teams were created and supervisors assigned. A short pilot study to test the sampling approach in the field was conducted as part of this training. Our Khartoum team consisted of two supervisors and two teams of four enumerators. The survey took place from 4–13 March, 2007. The data were entered in Arabic, then translated and sent to the Feinstein International Center (Tufts University, Boston) for cleaning and analysis. The cleaning and re-checking of the data took approximately five months, and was by far the most labor-intensive phase of the project. The data were analyzed by the author (Jacobsen), using a combination of Excel and SPSS to generate descriptive statistics (cross tabs and frequencies). The analysis, write-up, comments solicitation and review took a further three months.

THE SAMPLE

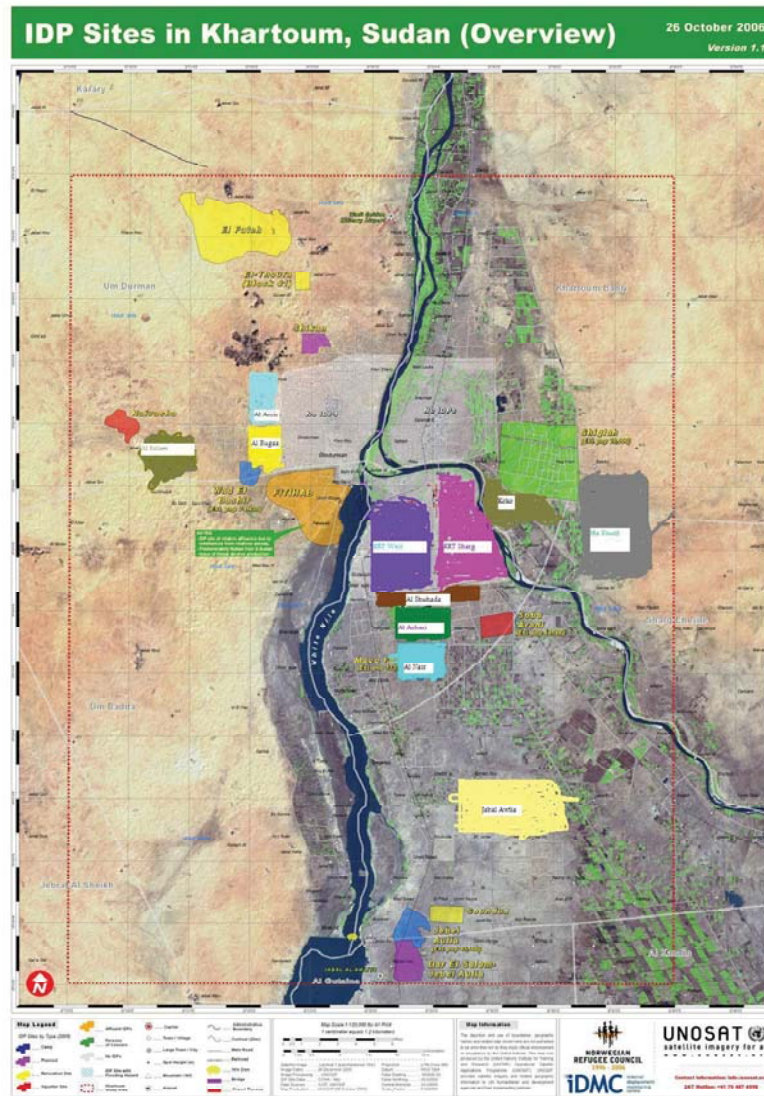
We sought a sample of ~980 respondents, with the individual (usually head of household) as the unit of analysis. The target area for our survey was a bounded area (see Map B) comprising the three towns of Khartoum, Khartoum North and Omdurman that together make up Greater Khartoum. We sampled in: Um Badda (Omdurman), Jabal Awlia (Khartoum) and Sharg Al Niel (Khartoum North). These localities were chosen because we considered them the main areas where IDPs are living outside the IDP camps. We also sampled in Khartoum Locality which represented an areas where we expected to find very few or no IDPs. We did not survey within the IDP camps. The objective was to estimate the number of IDPs living within the planned urban zone of Khartoum, outside the camps.

KHARTOUM STRATIFICATION

Khartoum was a pilot for our study and we experimented with stratifying our three sampling areas according to expected differing levels of IDPS. In subsequent studies we jettisoned this method as too cumbersome. We describe our approach briefly here, but recommend that future surveys forego the stratification we attempted and use a simpler sampling approach.

We divided up each of the three main sampling areas into the following four strata:

Map B: Survey Map of Khartoum



- Stratum I: old settlements including old popular settlements and class one old completed settlements (expected IDP density: low)
- Stratum II: First and second class settlements under construction (expected IDP density: low-medium (IDPs sometimes live in these areas for employment such as construction site guards or other construction jobs))

- Stratum III: IDP resettlement areas (expected IDP density: medium-high)
- Stratum IV: areas surrounding IDP camps. (expected IDP density: high)

In Khartoum Locality, where we expected very low IDP numbers, we did not stratify the sampling area.

Each strata was weighted our sample according to expected IDP density, so that in those strata where expected IDP density was high we increased our sample. We used a population based sampling strategy (PPS) to select census administrative units in each stratum, based on the 1993 census lists.

The distribution of our total sample is shown in Tables 1.1 and 1.2.

Table 1.1: Total sample distribution across strata (no. households)

Stratum	Khrtm Jabal Awlia	Khrtm Locality	Khrtm North	Omdurmn	Total
Camp area			1	80	81
Construction area no IDPs	101	100			101
Old settlement	99	80	120	80	379
Resettlement area	140		59	120	319
Total	340	180	180	280	981

Table 1.2: Total sample distribution across strata and administrative units (no. households)

Town	Admin Unit	Strata					Total	
		camp	con- struction	no IDPs	old settle	Reset- tln		
Khartoum Jabal Awlia	Alnasr		20			95	115	
	Azhari		20				20	
	Azhary		41		20	21	82	
	Jabal Awli				19		19	
	Klakla		20		60	24	104	
	Total		101		99	140	340	340
Khartoum Locality	Khartm			20			20	
	Khartm Shq			60			60	
	Khartm West				20		20	
	Khartm loc.				20		20	
	Sahafa			20			20	
	Shohada				40		40	
	Total			100	80		180	180
	Khartoum North	Haj Yousif	1			20	59	80
Sharq Al Neil					100		100	
Total		1			120	59	180	180
Omdur- man Um Badda	Al Ameer				60	40	100	
	Al Bugaa	20			20	40	80	
	Al Salam	60				40	100	
	Total	80			80	120	280	280
TOTAL							980	

LIMITATIONS OF THE SURVEY DATA

The sample is fairly representative of the bounded survey area, but this area excluded some of the more distant relocation and squatter areas, some of which are becoming subsumed as Khartoum grows. Thus the survey does not give a full picture of the situation for IDPs in all of Greater Khartoum. The survey also deliberately omitted the IDP camps themselves, but included areas around the camps.

We were not able to verify the reliability of the census data we used for our sampling strategy, and are certain that we did not have a full or adequate sampling frame. This means our sample likely under-represents the true population of our survey area.

Our survey did not adequately explore key issues like employment, or the problems IDPs experience such as job and wage discrimination, which have been widely reported elsewhere. Our single question on employment did not allow us to form a profile of IDP employment. The question was not well phrased and allowed overlapping categories (for example, one respondent might refer to his job as casual, and another might call the same job part-time). Future IDP profiling surveys should explore employment more extensively.

The security situation in Sudan means that our survey was conducted in an atmosphere where respondents were likely to be cautious about what they said to unknown enumerators. This could explain the low response rate for questions about the problems respondents experienced. Whether this caution led to non-valid responses is unknown to us. This report simply states our findings.

SURVEY FINDINGS

In Sections 1 and 2 we describe our demographic and migration findings for the entire sample, then Section 3 explains how we used secondary analysis to define and disaggregate IDPs from the sample. In Section 4 we explore some differences between IDPs and non-IDPs.

I. THE ENTIRE SAMPLE: DEMOGRAPHIC AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENTS

Based on our sample of 980 individuals, as shown in Table 1.3, 58% of our respondents were men, and the average age for men was 45, and for women 37.5. Most of the sample (92%) were married.

Households had an average of three children, with a range of 0–24, and 12% of households did not have children. The average (mean) number of household members was 6.9 (standard deviation: 2.89). The modal household size was five members, with a median of seven and a range of 1–23. The total number of household members for all our 980 respondents was 6,764.

Almost 20% of the sample was illiterate, with 20% having had religious education (Koranic), 20% had completed primary school. Some 26% had completed secondary school, and 13.5% said had some university education. (See further discussion of education below)

Almost half (48%) of our respondents lived in dwellings made of mud, and 39% lived in brick houses, with another 9% in concrete houses. Just 3% said they lived in temporary dwellings (or shacks).

In terms of employment status, although only 7.7% of our respondents claimed to be unemployed, most were either in part-time employment (27%—included “temporary” or “casual” employment), or were self-employed (25%), or were housewives (18%). Just 20% said they were in full-time employment. Less than 1% said they were students.

Table 1.3: Demographic characteristics of entire sample (N=980)

Proportion Males		58%
Mean age by gender	Male	45
	Standard deviation	14.55
	Female	37.5
	Standard deviation	11.5
Marital status	% married or living with someone	92%
Household size	Mean	6.9
	Mode	(sd: 2.89)
	Median	5
	Range	7
Total number in households		6764
Children in Household (under 18)	Mean	3.08
	Mode	(sd: 2.37)
	Median	2
		3
No. households with no children		118 (12%)
Total number children in households		2846
Range		0-24
Education	Illiterate	191 (19.5%)
	Koranic/church	198 (20%)
	Primary/basic school	196 (20%)
	Secondary school	258 (26%)
	Some University	132 (13.5%)
Type of dwelling	Concrete	90 (9.2%)
	Red bricks	381 (38.8%)
	Mud	478 (48.7)
	Temporary	31 (3.2)
Employment	Unemployed	76 (7.7%)
	Part-time/casual/temporary	261 (26.7%)
	Self-employed	242 (24.7%)
	Full-time	196 (20%)
	Housewife	184 (18%)
	Student	2 (<1%)

ETHNICITY AND EDUCATION

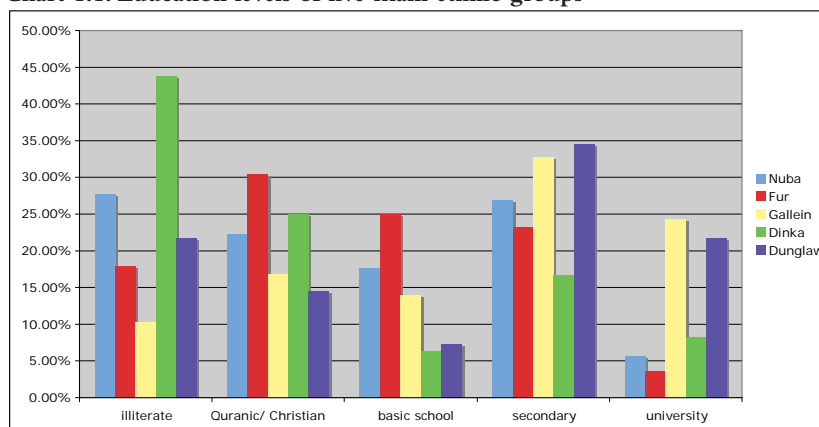
We asked respondents to name the ethnic group to which they belonged, and they mentioned 98 distinct groups. The top five—Nuba, Gallein, Fur, Dunglawi and Dinka—comprised 374 respondents or 38% of the entire sample (see Table 1.4). (For a full list of the frequency of ethnic groups in the sample, see Appendix A.)

As shown in Table 1.4 and Chart 1.1, among the five main ethnic groups, education was significantly related to ethnicity, with Dinka more likely to be illiterate and Fur least likely to have university education.

Table 1.4: Main ethnic groups and education levels

Ethnic group	illiterate	Quranic/ Christian	basic school	secondary	university	Total (% sample)
Nuba	30	24	19	29	6	108 (11%)
	27.80%	22.20%	17.60%	26.90%	5.60%	100.00%
Fur	10	17	14	13	2	56 (5.7%)
	17.90%	30.40%	25.00%	23.20%	3.60%	100.00%
Gallein	11	18	15	35	26	107 (10.9%)
	10.30%	16.80%	14.00%	32.70%	24.30%	100.00%
Dinka	21	12	3	8	4	48 (4.9%)
	43.80%	25.00%	6.30%	16.70%	8.30%	100.00%
Dunglawi	12	8	4	19	12	55 (5.6%)
	21.80%	14.50%	7.30%	34.50%	21.80%	100.00%

Chart 1.1: Education levels of five main ethnic groups



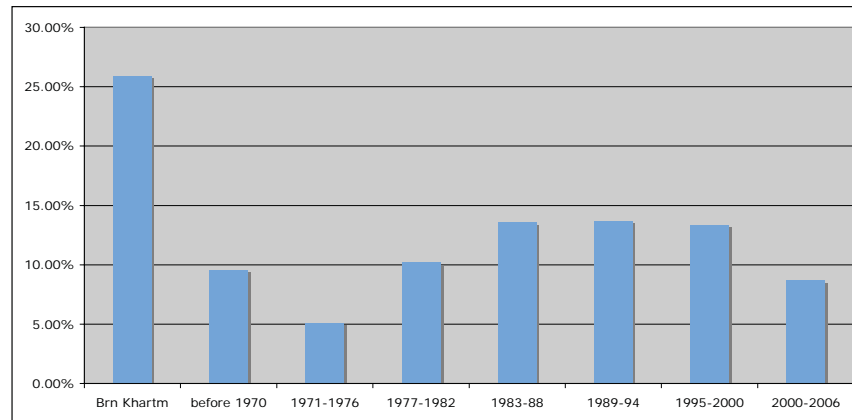
2: MIGRATION TO KHARTOUM

As with all African cities, Khartoum has a high proportion of urban migrants. Of our respondents, 22.8% said they had been born in Khartoum, and 9.6 % said they had come to Khartoum before 1970. This left a total of 663 respondents (68%) who had migrated to Khartoum since 1970.

YEAR OF ARRIVAL

When we divide the period of migrant arrival into five year intervals, as shown in Chart 2.1, beginning with 1970, we see an increase between 1983 and 2000, then a drop of in arrivals after 2000.

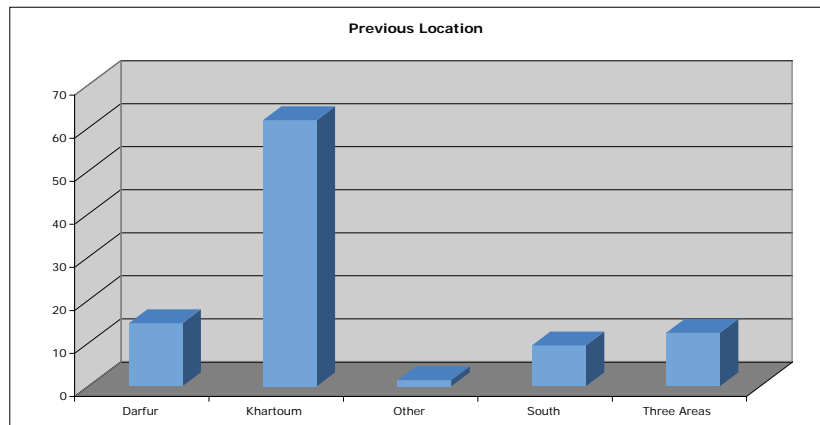
Chart 2.1: Date of arrival



PREVIOUS LOCATION

We assigned our respondents to a single place called “Previous Location”, by asking where they were born, and (if relevant) where they had been living before coming to Khartoum. Where the answers to these two questions were different places, we assigned the respondent to the place s/he had last been before coming to Khartoum. We grouped the answers to these two questions into the following five categories (See Chart 2.2):

Chart 2.2: Previous location



1. “Khartoum plus north” included those from the Khartoum area, the northern states (Nile, Northern, Red Sea, North Kordofan, Kassala, Gedaref, Gezira, Sinnar, White Nile, and the towns of Babanusa and Muglud in South Kordofan, which are not in the Three Areas). These areas are not generally considered to be associated with conflict, al-

though they have been subject to droughts and famine, as well as mechanized agricultural schemes and development projects including dam building, which have displaced people over the years, but to a much less degree than elsewhere in Sudan. Of our respondents, 62% came from “Khartoum plus north”.

2. “The South” included Equatoria, southern Bahr el Ghazal, Unity, Jonglei, Lakes, and Upper Nile. As described above, this area was a conflict zone between 1982-2003. Of our sample, 9.5% were from the south.
3. “The Three Areas” included northern Bahr El Ghazal, most of South Kordofan (except the towns of Babanusa and Muglud), and southern Blue Nile. As described above, this area was a conflict zone between 1982-2005. Of our sample, 12.4% from the Three Areas.
4. “Darfur” included West, South and North Darfur. As described above, this area was a drought and conflict zone intermittently before 1982, and then has been a conflict zone since 2003. Of our sample, 14.7% came from Darfur.
5. “Other countries” were those who came from or had been living outside Sudan. As shown in Table 2.2, these countries comprised Yemen (1), Chad (3), Ethiopia (3), Qatar (2), Emirates (1), Saudia (2) and Egypt (1). Of the 14 respondents who had been living outside Sudan, three had been born in Sudan and were likely to have been migrants to the Gulf or Chad. Just 1.4% of our sample had been living in other countries. Since we are focusing on IDPs in this report, we will drop these migrants from other countries from our analysis.

Table 2.1: Other Countries

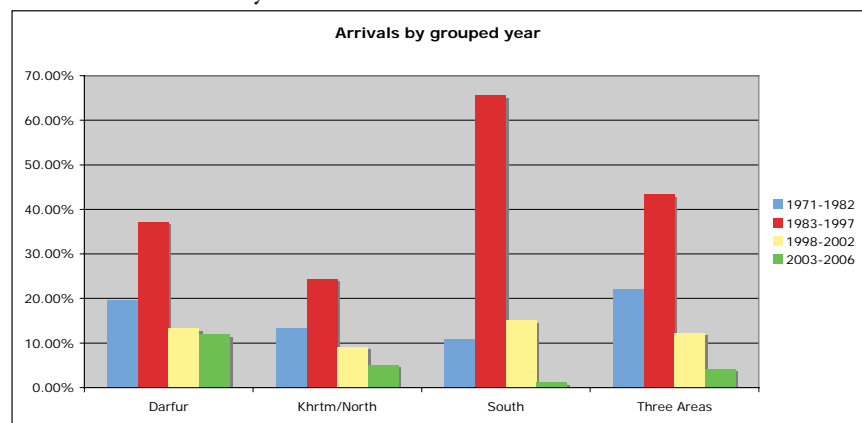
Living before Khartoum (n)	Ethnicity
Yemen	Gallein
Chad (3)	Bargo, Meseria, Tama
Ethiopia (3)	Amhara
UAE (3)	Mahas, Dunglawi, Rubatab
Saudi Arabia (2)	Dunglawi
“Abroad” (unknown)	Bidairi
Egypt	Dunglawi

When we group year of arrival into categories related to the periods of conflict, drought and forced displacement in Sudan discussed earlier, and analyze by place of previous location, we clearly see the spike in arrivals from the South during the 1983-98 period. As shown in Table 2.2, these categories are: 1970-8, 1983-98, 1999-2002, and 2002-06.

Table 2.2: Period of arrival by displacement factors

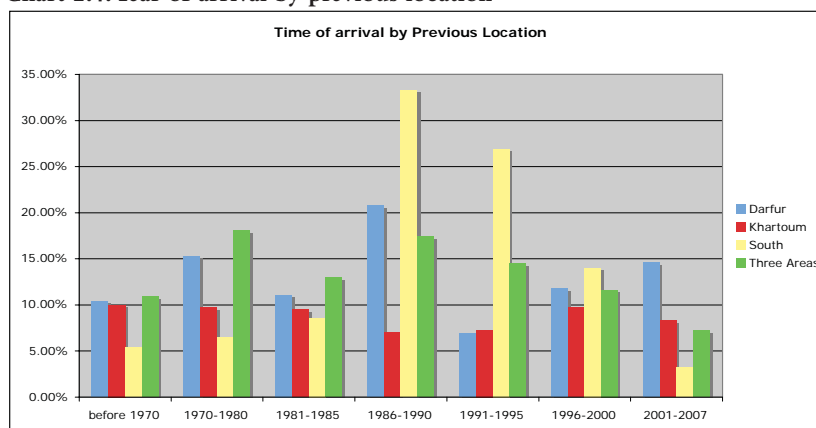
Period	Displacement factors characterizing the period	Number and % of arrivals
1970-1982	First civil war ends 1972; return of IDPs and refugees to South	150 (15%)
1983-1997	Resumption of north-south war (1983); 1983-4 drought; Forced de-population of oil field areas in south (1990s); Creation of IDP camps in Khartoum (1991) Demolitions and forced relocations (Angola camp (1994); Haj yousif (1998)	321 (33%)
1998-2002	Reduction in new arrivals? Demolitions and relocation continues Ceasefire in 2002; CPA negotiations ensure	107 (11%)
2003-2006	Outbreak of acute conflict in Darfur Demolitions and relocation continues CPA signed 2005 Return movements	55 (5.6%)

Chart 2.3: Arrivals by Previous Location



As shown in Chart 2.4, the arrival of people from the South spiked between 1985 and 1995, then dropped off after 2000. People from Darfur arrived in a more or less continuous stream, with a slight increase after 2000 (when the conflict became significantly more acute).

Chart 2.4: Year of arrival by previous location



ETHNICITY BY PREVIOUS LOCATION

As expected, ethnic groups were significantly correlated with previous location. Table 2.3 and Chart 2.5 depict the five main ethnic groups. Almost all the Fur came from Darfur, the Dinka from the South and the Nuba from the Three Areas, while the Gallein are largely from Khartoum/north.

Table 2.3: Five main ethnic groups by previous location

	Darfur	Khartoum/ north	South	Three Areas	Total
Gallein	1	102		4	107
Nuba	1	16	6	85	108
Dunglawi		51			51
Dinka	1	1	46		48
Fur	48	5	2	1	56

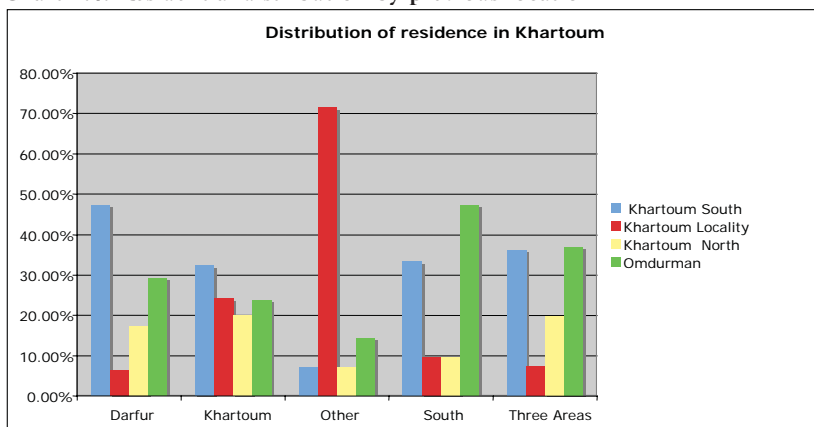
When ethnic groups are categorized by area of origin in Sudan, we find that:

- Over half of our sample are of ethnic groups that predominate in Khartoum and the northern states,
- just under a quarter (22%) were from ethnic groups that predominate in Darfur
- eight percent were from ethnic groups that predominate in the south.

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION WITHIN KHARTOUM

The distribution of respondents within Khartoum was significantly related to previous location. As shown in Chart 2.4, respondents from Khartoum/north were fairly evenly distributed across the four localities of Khartoum, but respondents from Darfur, the South and the Three Areas were concentrated in Khartoum South or Omdurman, both being the poorer areas of Khartoum.

Chart 2.4: Residential distribution by previous location



REASON FOR COMING

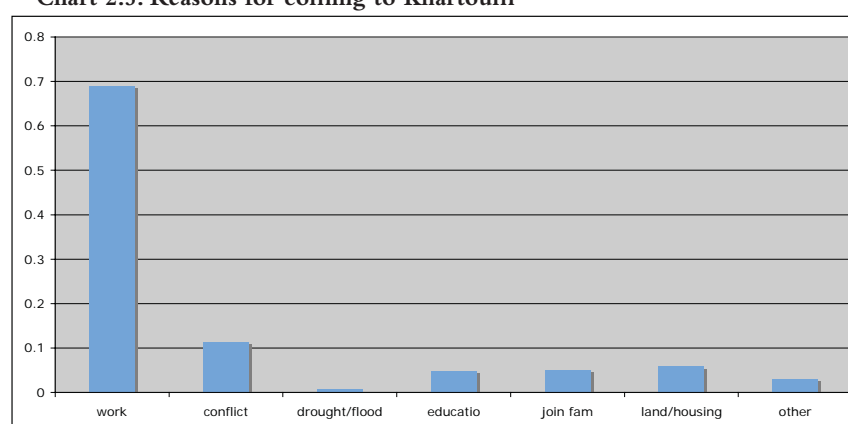
As with most migration, people come to Khartoum for four main reasons: to find work or pursue a livelihood, for education, to join their families, or to escape violent conflict and persecution.

Our question, ‘Why did you come to Khartoum?’, was answered by 718 (73.2%) of our 981 respondents; (the other 27% were born or grew up in Khartoum). As shown in Table 2.4 and Chart 2.5, reasons for coming were divided between finding work (69% of migrants), escaping conflict or seeking stability (11%), seeking housing or land (6%), seeking education (5%), and joining their family (5%). ‘Other’ reasons (3%) included ‘resettlement’, ‘couldn’t pay rent’. A small number gave more than one reason, but most gave only one main reason. (These percentages reflect the number of times a reason was mentioned).

Table 2.4: Expressed reasons for coming to Khartoum

	Frequency	Percentage of total sample (n=979)	Percentage of migrants (n=719)
Not applicable	263	26.8%	--
work	495	50.5%	68.9%
conflict	82	8.4%	11.40%
education	35	3.6%	4.8%
Housing or land	42	4.3%	5.8%
join family	37	3.8%	5.1%
Other	6	2.2%	3%

Chart 2.5: Reasons for coming to Khartoum



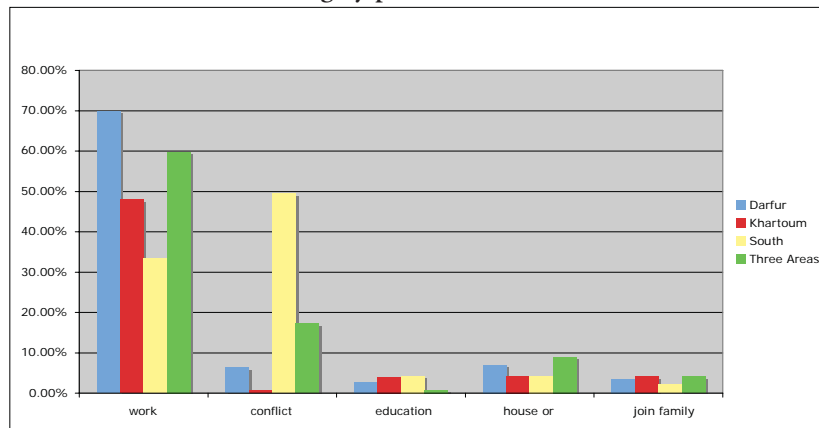
Reasons for coming were significantly related to ethnicity. As shown in Table 2.5, the majority of Dinka (67%) said they came for reasons related to conflict, but all four other main ethnic groups gave work as their main reason for coming.

Table 2.5: Reasons for coming by ethnicity (five largest ethnic groups)

Tribe	Frequency	Percentage of sample	Conflict reasons	Work reasons	No answer
Nuba	108	11	17%	61%	11%
Gallein	107	10.9	0	39%	50%
Fur	56	5.7	7%	64%	20%
Dunglawi	55	5.6	0	49%	29%
Dinka	48	4.9	67%	31%	--
Total	374	38%			

As shown in Chart 2.6, work-related reasons were the main motivation across all regions, except the South, where most respondents (49.5%) said they came for conflict-related reasons.

Chart 2.6: Reasons for coming by previous location



3: IDP INDICATORS AND ESTIMATES

There are different ways to define IDPs, depending on the relevant contextual criteria. A broad, more inclusive approach is to include all those who left conflict zones or acute drought-affected zones, no matter what reason they gave. Defining IDPs in this way could be justified for two reasons. One is that IDPs may be reluctant to give conflict as the reason for leaving because they may not wish to be defined as IDPs, or may be fearful of giving this reason. A second reason is that IDPs may have come to the city for work related reasons, even though they were initially displaced by conflict and/or drought. If either of these situations applied, respondents would not identify themselves as IDPs, even though they would meet the IDP criteria set out in the Guiding Principles.

A more conservative definition is 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.

We used both approaches: the more conservative definition is used to make estimates of IDPs; we recognize these estimates are contestable. The more inclusive approach is used simply to compare the experience of people from different areas, and will not be used to make population estimates of IDPs.

Our conservative approach identified IDPs based on their previous (non-Khartoum) location, when they came to Khartoum, and their stated reasons for migration. We categorized as IDPs those who were from Sudan (i.e., we eliminated those born outside Sudan) and met any of the following conditions:

a) they said they came for reasons related to conflict or drought (86 respondents or 8.8% of the total sample)

OR

b) they were from the South, or the Transitional/Three Areas, and had come during or after 1983 when the war resumed and the drought began, but before 2002. As shown in Table 3.1, of 93 respondents from the South, 80 (86%) met this condition, as did 85 (69.7%) of 122 coming from the Three Areas. Together, those from the South and the Three Areas comprised 81% of our IDP respondents, or 16.9% of the total sample.

OR

c) they were from Darfur, and came after 2002. This number was 34 (23.8%) of 143 respondents from Darfur, and comprised 16.7% of the IDP respondents and 3.5% of the total sample. By defining Darfur IDPs as those who arrived after 2002, we eliminate those who might have been displaced during the conflict and drought of the 1980s, but who did not say they came for these reasons (then they would have been included in #a). The number of respondents from Darfur who came between 1983–1997 totaled 53, of whom four said they came for conflict reasons (and are included in #a).

Of our respondents, 204, or 20.8%, met our criteria for being IDPs. Our confidence interval is 2.5%, which gives us an expected range of 18.3–23.3%. Thus we expect that IDPs comprise between 18.3–23.3% of the urban population living outside the camps.

Table 3.1: IDP Proportions of the sample

	NonIDP	IDPs	Total
Darfur	109	34	143
% of those from Darfur		23.8%	
% of total IDPs (204)		16.70%	14.60%
% total sample (980)		3.5%	
Khartoum	601	5	606
% of those from Khartoum		.8%	
% of total IDPs		2.50%	61.80%
% total sample (980)		0.5%	
South	13	80	93
% of those from the South		86%	
% of total IDPs		39.20%	9.50%
% total sample (980)		8.2%	
Three Areas	37	85	122
% of those from Three Areas		69.7%	
% of total IDPs	4.80%	41.70%	12.40%
% total sample (980)		8.7%	
Total	776	204	980
% of nonIDPs or IDPs	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
% total sample (980)		20.8%	

As shown in Chart 3.1, of our sample of 204 IDPs, the largest proportion was from the Three Areas, 85 or 41.7%. IDPs from the South comprised 80 or 39% of IDPs, and IDPs from Darfur were 16.7% of the IDP group. Respondents from Khartoum comprised only 2.5% of IDPs.

Chart 3.1: IDPs by previous location

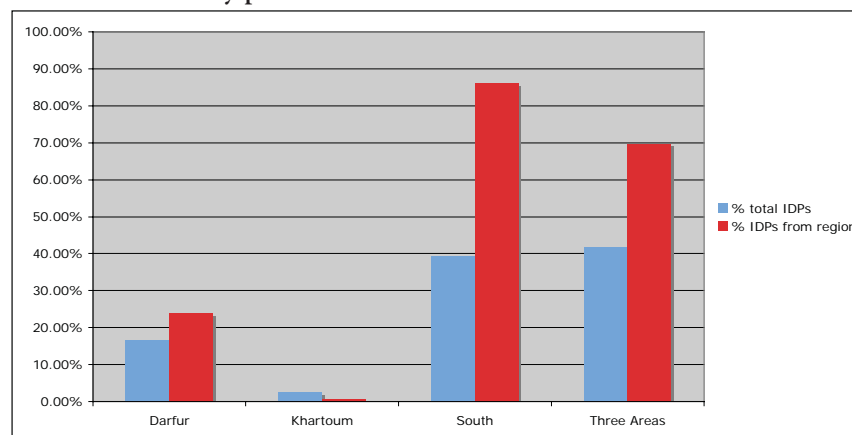
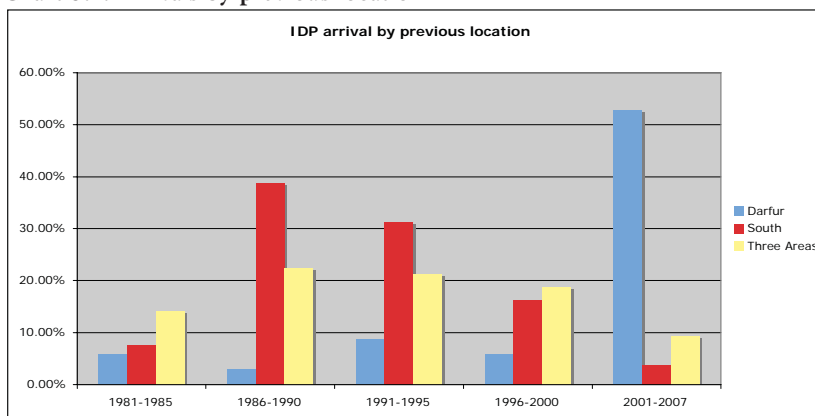


Chart 3.2 shows the distribution of arrivals, over the period from 1981–2007, by place of location. The main period of arrival from the South and from the Three Areas was between 1986 and 1995, and from Darfur after 2000.

Chart 3.2: Arrivals by previous location



MAKING POPULATION ESTIMATES OF IDPS FOR KHARTOUM

Using our proportion of IDPs we can now estimate the number of IDPs in the surveyed area (see map), based on its total population.

In order to determine our primary sampling units (using PPS), we used a sampling frame of 3,257,765 (485,518 households), from a census update that was conducted in 2003. These figures are now out of date, but if we use these figures and our expected range of $(20.8 \pm 2.54) = 18.26\%–23.34\%$, we get an IDP population in a range of 594,867–760,362.

Once the figures for the latest census (currently underway) are released, a better estimate can be made. Recent estimates for 2007 place the population of Khartoum at approximately 5.5 million.¹⁷ Using this estimate, we find that IDPs in the urban area of Khartoum, outside the camps and resettlement areas, number in the range of 1,004,300–1,283,700.

17 This estimate is based on the following:

	Population Est. 2008
Umm Durmân مأمرد	2 395 159
Khartum موخرخا	2 203 987
al-H ar m Bah ri موخرخا	889 963

<http://bevoelkerungsstatistik.de/wg.php?x=&men=gcis&lng=de&dat=32&geo=-188&srt=npan&col=aohdq&pt=c&va=x.&srt=npan>

This compares with current estimates of 1.7 million IDPs in Khartoum, which includes IDPs in camps . If we add the IDPs in camps (325,000–391,800) to our range of 1,004,300–1,283,700 IDPs, we get a range of 1,329,300–1,675,500 IDPs in all of Khartoum .

4: COMPARING IDPS AND NON-IDPS IN KHARTOUM

Our IDP indicator is not perfect, because it probably includes some who are not IDPs and excludes others who should have been defined as IDPs. However, we will use it as a proxy for gauging the profile and experience of people who came from conflict or drought affected zones compared with others in Khartoum. We will also use our ‘Previous Location’ variable to give further information on differences within the sample.

We compare IDPs and non-IDPs regarding their distribution throughout Khartoum, their education, their movement and experience with forced evictions in Khartoum, their employment, difficulties they experienced in Khartoum, and intentions regarding future movements, including returning home.

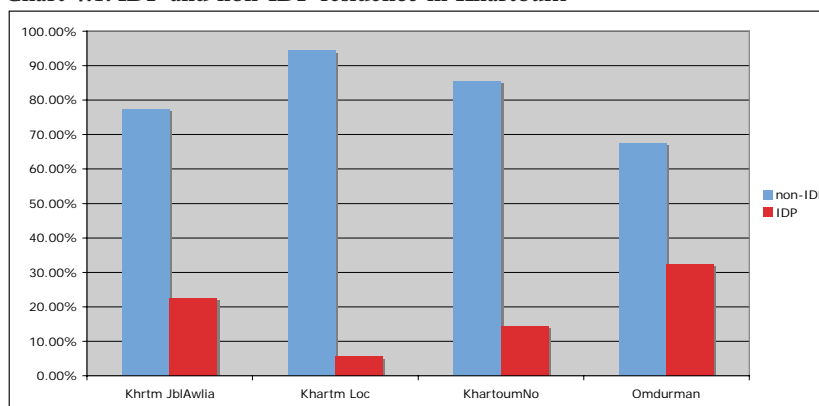
4.1 IDP DISTRIBUTION

As shown in Table 4.1 and Chart 4.1, IDPs are variably concentrated throughout Khartoum, with higher densities of IDPs in the poorer localities of Jabal Awlia and Omdurman.

Table 4.1: IDP and non-IDP residence in Khartoum

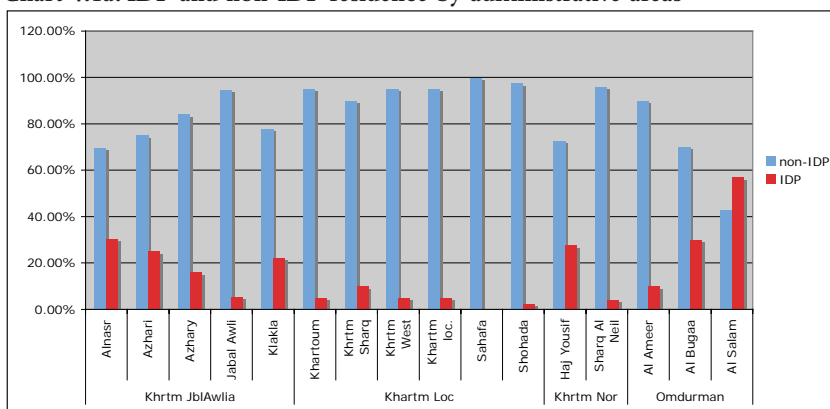
	non-IDP	IDP	Total
Khrtm JblAwlia	263	77	340
	77.40%	22.60%	100.00%
Khartm Loc	170	10	180
	94.40%	5.60%	100.00%
Khartm North	154	26	180
	85.60%	14.40%	100.00%
Omdurman	189	91	280
	67.50%	32.50%	100.00%
Total	776	204	980
	79.20%	20.80%	100.00%

Chart 4.1: IDP and non-IDP residence in Khartoum



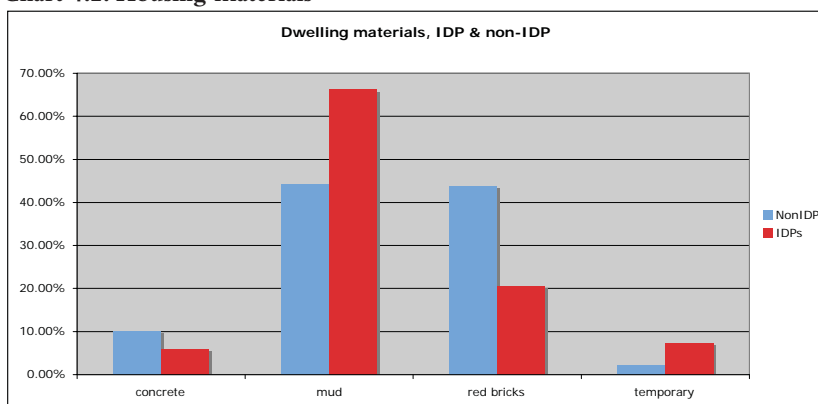
When we break down these localities into administrative areas, there is further variation. As shown in Chart 4.1a, within Jabal Awlia and Omdurman, IDP concentrations range from 5% to 30% with an average of 22.6%. In Omdurman, IDP concentrations range from 10% to 57% in the area of Al Salam (which is near the IDP camp), with an average of 32.5%. In Khartoum North, IDPs are much more likely to be found in the Haj Yousif area (27.5%), which in 1998 was re-planned with demolition of all houses there. At that time, some 80% of those with demolished houses received plots, and the remaining 20% had to move to squatter areas. In Khartoum Locality, which we had stratified as a “no IDP” area, we found a small number of IDPs, just 10 out of 170 respondents or 5.6%.

Chart 4.1a: IDP and non-IDP residence by administrative areas



When we explored residential patterns by previous location, we found that respondents from Darfur, the South and the Three Areas were more likely to live in Jabal Awlia and Omdurman than in the other two localities.

Chart 4.2: Housing materials



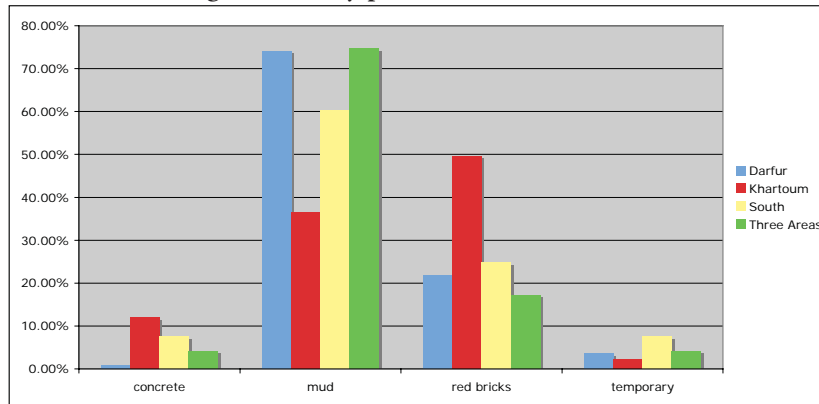
4.2 HOUSING QUALITY

IDPs were more likely to live in poorer quality dwellings, as measured by construction materials. As shown in Chart 4.2, IDPs were more likely to live in temporary structures, and less likely to live in housing made from concrete or red bricks (both of these are more desirable and costly materials, because they are much more water-proof than mud. Housing material makes an important difference during rainy season).

When we compare housing materials according to previous location, we get the breakdown found in Chart 4.2a. Respondents from

Khartoum/North were much less likely to live in mud or temporary dwellings, compared with those from Darfur, the South and the Three Areas.

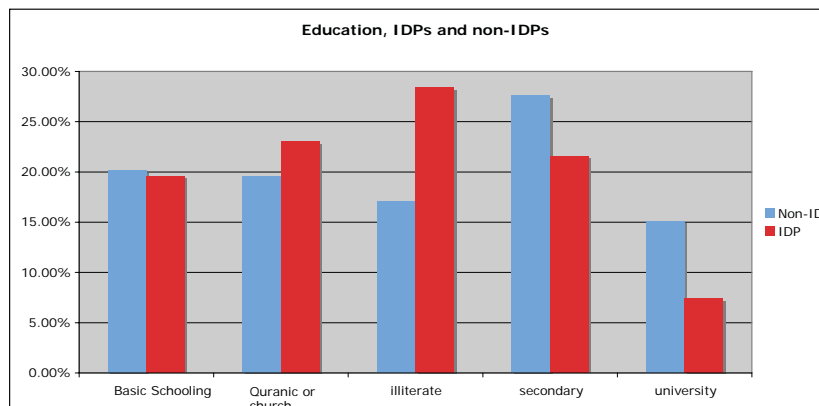
Chart 4.2a: Housing materials by pervious location



4.3 EDUCATION

We found IDPs to be significantly less educated than non-IDPs. As shown in Chart 4.3, IDPs are more likely to be illiterate, and have less secondary and university education.

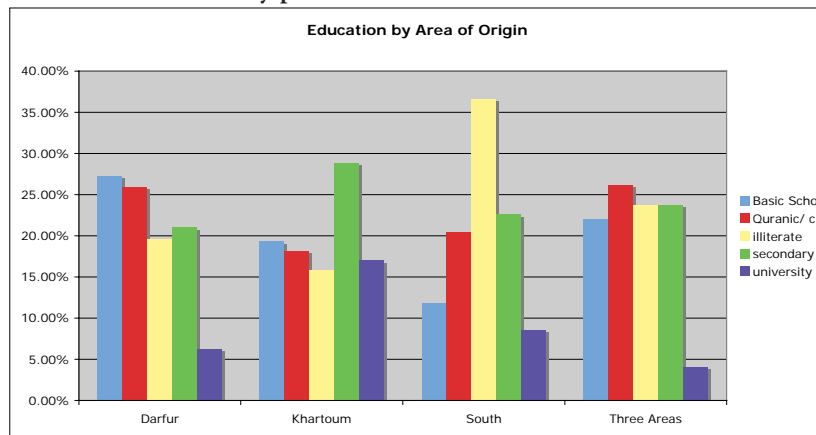
Chart 4.3: Education levels of IDPs and non-IDPs



This finding is backed up when we explore education according to previous location. We found a significant relationship between education and previous location. As shown in Chart 4.3a, respondents from Khartoum/north had more education than those from other areas. They were less likely to be illiterate and more likely to have some university education. Those from the South had the highest rate of illit-

eracy (37%). More than two thirds of respondents from Darfur (73%), the South (69%) and the Three Areas (72%) were either illiterate or had only basic school or religious school. For these three groups, less than 9% had any university education.

Chart 4.3a: Education by previous location



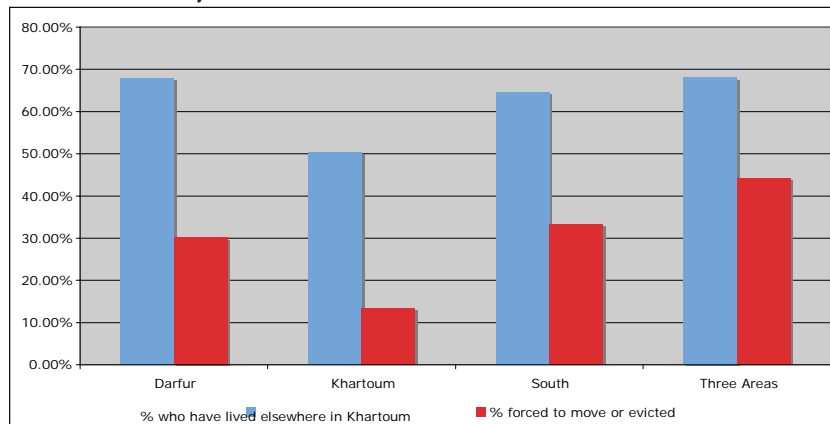
We found that those who came for reasons of education were more likely to have higher levels of education. Over half (51.4%) of those who said they came for education purposes had university education.

4.4 MOBILITY AND FORCED EVICTIONS IN KHARTOUM

A significant proportion of our respondents changed residences and lived in different areas of Khartoum, and this mobility was significantly related to previous location. When asked whether they had “lived in other parts of Khartoum before here?”, 56% of all our respondents said they had. As shown in Chart 4.4, those from Darfur, the South and Three Areas were more likely to have lived elsewhere in Khartoum than those from Khartoum/north.

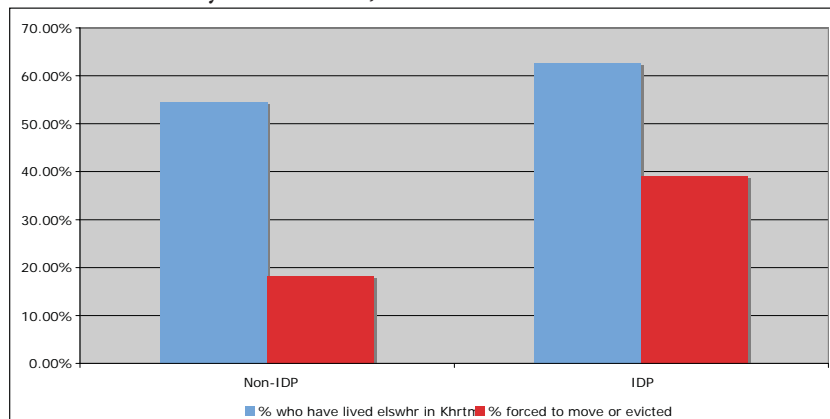
We asked our respondents whether they had ever been forced to move or evicted since coming to Khartoum, and 212 respondents, or 21.6% said they had. Those from the Three Areas experienced the highest proportion of forced removals, and those from Khartoum/north the least. While the South comprised 18% of the sample, they comprised 33% of those who were forced to move, and while respondents from the Khartoum plus region comprised 58% of the sample, they were only 39% of those who had been forced to move.

Chart 4.4: Mobility and forced eviction in Khartoum



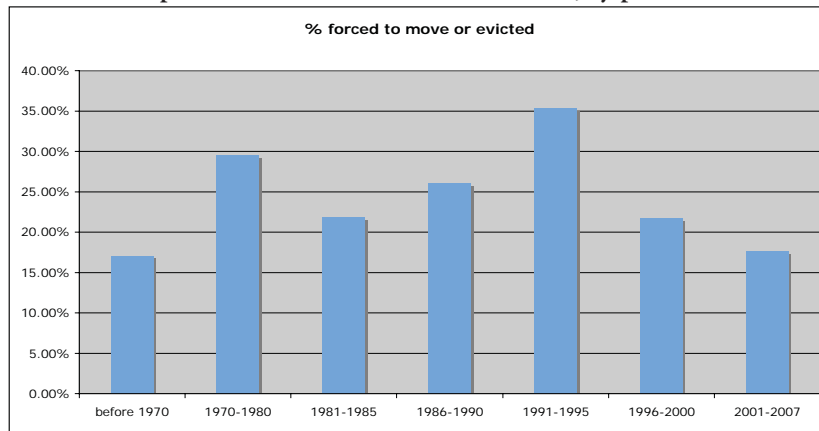
As shown in Chart 4.4a, IDPs were significantly more likely to have lived elsewhere in Khartoum (62% compared with 53% non-IDPs), more likely to have been forced to move (39% compared with 18% of non-IDPs).

Chart 4.4a: Mobility in Khartoum, IDP vs non-IDP



The experience of forced eviction appeared to be significantly related to period of arrival in Khartoum. As shown in Chart 4.4b, those who had arrived during 1991-1995 were more likely to have been forced to move or evicted than in previous or subsequent half-decades.

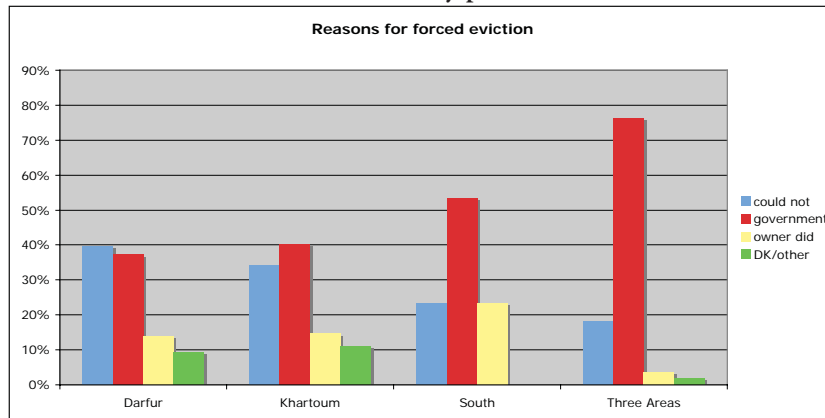
Chart 4.4b: Experience of forced removal or eviction, by period of arrival



Respondents from Khartoum/north are least likely to have been forced to move, and those from the South and Three Areas were most likely.

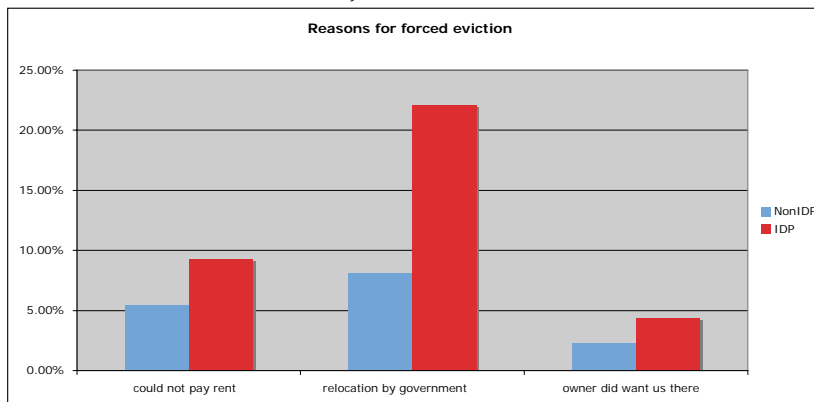
Reasons given for eviction were as follows. Of those respondents who said they had been forced to move, 62 respondents (30%) could not pay the rent; 107 (51%) said they had been part of a government relocation, and 27 (13%) said the owner wanted them to leave. Previous location was significantly related to the likelihood of being part of a government relocation. As shown in Chart 4.4c, 76% of those from Three Areas and 53% of those from the South said the reason was government relocation, compared with 40% from Khartoum/north and 38% from Darfur.

Chart 4.4c: Reasons for forced eviction by previous location



When we compare IDPs with non-IDPs on reasons for forced eviction, as shown in Chart 4.4d, it appears that IDPs were much more likely to have been evicted because of government relocation programs, but they were also more likely to be evicted because they could not pay the rent or because the owner did not want them in the dwelling.

Chart 4.4d: Reasons for eviction, IDPs and non IDPs



4.5 EMPLOYMENT

Our respondents' employment patterns were differentiated more by gender than by previous location, as shown in charts 4.5a and 4.5b, men and women had significantly different employment patterns, with women from all previous locations much more likely to be housewives than any other employment category. The most common category for all men was self-employment, except for those from the South who were most likely to have full-time employment. Men from the South and the Three Areas were more likely to have full time employment than those from Darfur or Khartoum.

Chart 4.5a: Men's employment by previous location

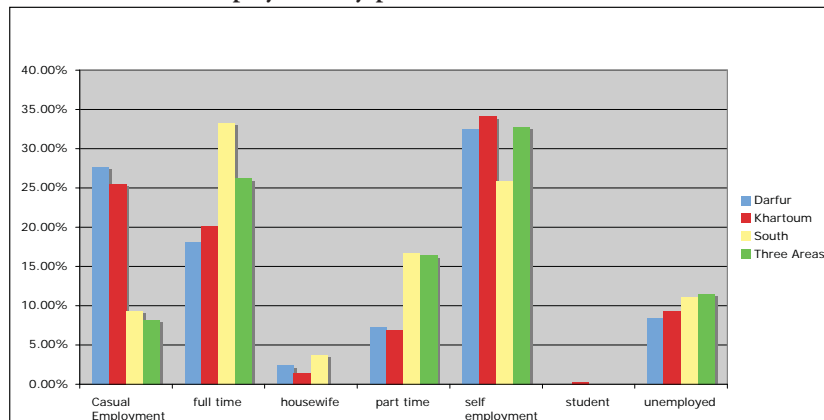


Chart 4.5b: Women's employment by previous location

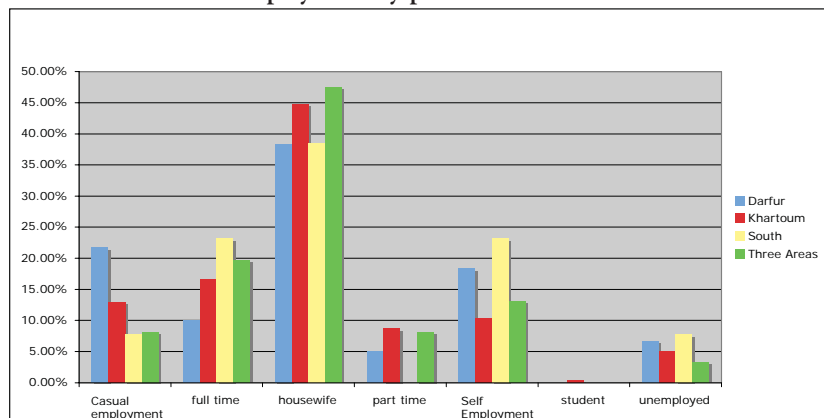
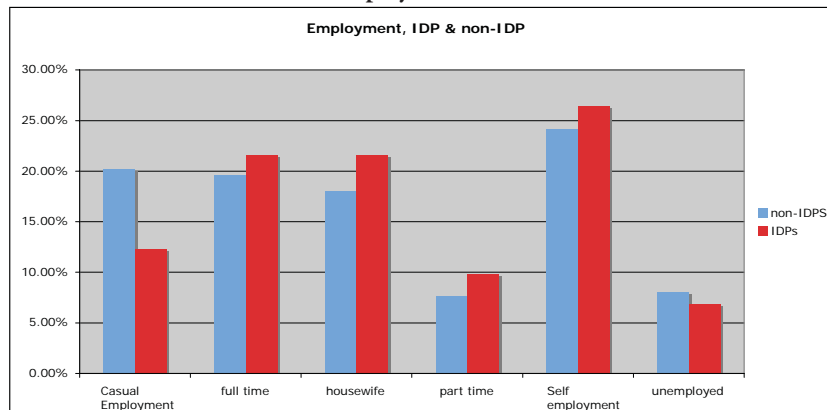


Chart 4.5c shows that there were no significant differences between IDPs and non-IDPs in regards to their employment situations. IDPs were not significantly more likely to be unemployed than non-IDPs (around 7-8%), and both groups displayed similar levels of part-time and full-time employment although IDPs were slightly less likely to be casually employed.

However, our survey did not explore the kinds of jobs our respondents had, or wage levels. Other researchers have reported that Southerners at least are often used as a cheap labor force in Khartoum. If this is so, our survey results showing that IDPs have similar employment levels to non-IDPs could mask deeper forms of job discrimination. This could be explored with further research, particularly using qualitative methods that could explore issues of wage and job discrimination.

Chart 4.5c: IDP and non-IDP employment

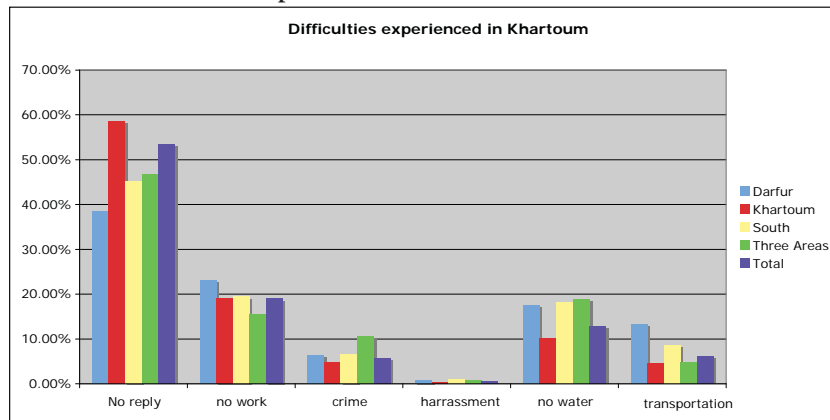


As expected, employment was highly correlated with education. Those with secondary school or some university education were much more likely to be in full-time employment or self-employed, while those who were illiterate or had basic schooling were more likely to be housewives or casually employed.

4.6 DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED IN KHARTOUM

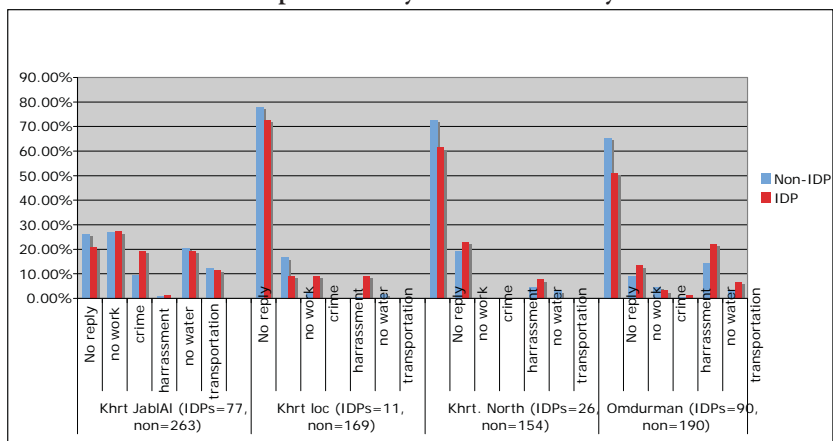
We asked what difficulties respondents were experiencing in Khartoum. Overall, more than half our respondents (54%) did not reply to this question, suggesting that respondents may have been reluctant to mention these issues to the interviewers, possibly for security reasons. Problems with finding work were mentioned by 19% of respondents and lack of access to water was mentioned by 13%. Lack of safety (crime) and difficulties with transportation were each mentioned by 6% of respondents. Very few respondents (less than two percent) mentioned harassment by authorities or problems with the community. As shown in Chart 4.6a, these difficulties were experienced somewhat differently depending on previous location; but there was not a statistically significant relationship between difficulties and previous location.

Chart 4.6a: Difficulties experienced in Khartoum



The kinds and extent of difficulties experienced by residents varied depending on the locality of Khartoum, depicted in Chart 4.6b. In each locality, for the most part, IDPs and non-IDPs experienced the same kinds of problems—although in Khartoum Locality and Khartoum North there were very small numbers of IDPs, so it is difficult to compare their experience statistically. In Jabal Awlia, IDPs were somewhat more likely to report experiencing crime, but in other respects, their experience was little different from non-IDPs. In Omdurman, IDPs were more likely to report problems with finding work, with access to water and with transportation, but less likely than non-IDPs to report problems with crime.

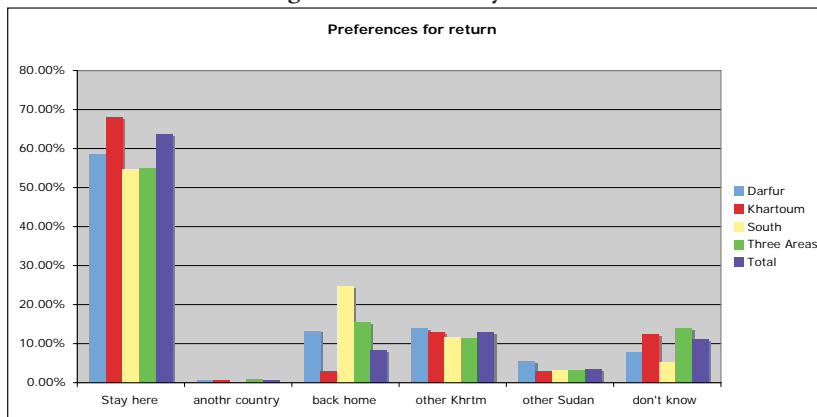
Chart 4.6b: Difficulties experienced by IDP/non IDPs by Khartoum location



4.7. INTENTION TO REMAIN IN KHARTOUM

When asked whether they intended to remain in Khartoum or to go elsewhere, including back to their home areas, 972 or 99% replied. As shown in Chart 4.7a, most respondents (65%) said they intend to remain in Khartoum, either where they were or elsewhere in Khartoum. In the follow-up question, “where would you like to go if you were able?”, 246 respondents (25%) expressed a preference, with more than 10% saying they wanted to go elsewhere in Khartoum. Relatively few said they wanted to go back home: 25% from the South, 15% from the Three Areas and 12% from Darfur.

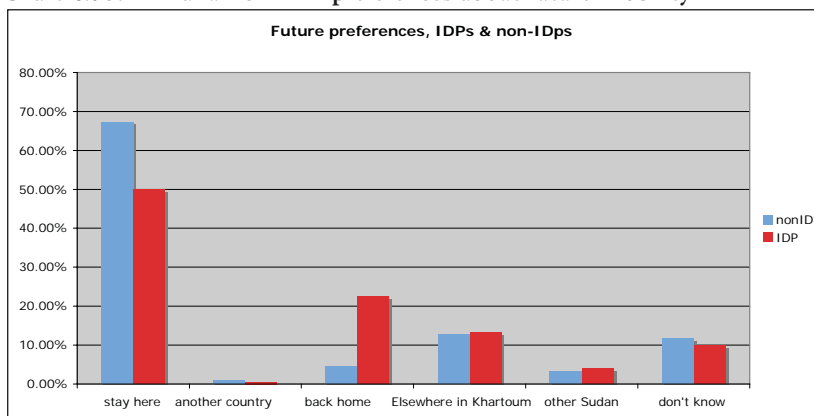
Chart 4.7a: Preferences to go elsewhere or stay in Khartoum



As shown in Chart 4.7b, IDPs were significantly different from non-IDPs in their intention to remain in Khartoum. Of IDPs, 50% said

they intended to remain in Khartoum, compared with 68% of non-IDPs. However, only 22% of IDPs expressed the desire to go “back home”. Those who did not want to remain where they were sought to go elsewhere in Khartoum or Sudan, or did not know.

Chart 4.7b: IDP and non-IDP preferences about future mobility



In sum, in comparing the experience in Khartoum of IDPs and non-IDPs, we see some clear differences in some respects and few differences in others. There were clear differences when it came to living situation. IDPs were more concentrated in the poorer localities of Jabal Awlia and Omdurman, and more likely to live in temporary structures or mud houses. IDPs were less educated than non-IDPs, and more mobile than non-IDPs, i.e. they had moved around Khartoum more. IDPs also were more likely to have been forced to move or evicted, and particularly because of government relocation programs, but they were also more likely to be evicted because they could not pay the rent or because the owner did not want them in the dwelling. IDPs were significantly less likely to want to remain in Khartoum than non-IDPs. Of IDPs, 50% said they intended to remain in Khartoum, compared with 68% of non-IDPs. However, only 22% of IDPs expressed the desire to go “back home”. Those who did not want to remain where they were sought to go elsewhere in Khartoum or Sudan, or did not know.

Our survey could not fully explore key issues like employment, or the problems IDPs experience. Elsewhere it has been reported that IDPs experience job and wage discrimination. We asked only one question about whether the respondent was employed full- or part-time or as casual employment, and found relatively few significant differences between IDPs and non-IDPs. But this question did not allow us to form a profile of IDP employment. The question was not well phrased and

allowed overlapping categories (for example, one respondent might refer to his job as casual, and another might call the same job part-time). Nor did we explore types of work or wage levels. Future IDP profiling surveys should explore employment more extensively.

Overall, our survey suggests that respondents were more likely to differ according to the locality they lived in, rather than whether they were IDPs or not. However, there are many indications that IDPs were worse off in most respects: more likely to experience crime, for example, and more problems with finding work, with access to water and with transportation. Our survey also found that IDPs were more vulnerable than non-IDPs on key protection indicators, especially exposure to government relocation programs. The survey format does not lend itself to respondents revealing their problems, however, and qualitative research is more likely to be able to probe into these thorny issues.

Given these subtle differences between IDPs and the urban poor amongst whom they live, what are the implications for targeting programs at IDPs? We began by arguing that if IDPs and non-IDPs are not substantively different in their livelihood and protection situations there can be no justification for providing special assistance to IDPs. Our findings suggest that while everyone in poor communities faces similar difficulties, IDPs tend to be worse off than their co-residents. Programs aimed at poverty alleviation should perhaps be weighted to ensure that IDPs are included, but such programs should not only target IDPs. Special efforts should be made to help IDPs recover their identification documents, as the lack of these place IDPs at a particular economic disadvantage, and makes them more vulnerable to harassment.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: FREQUENCY OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE SURVEY

Tribe/ethnic group	Number of respondents	Percentage
Nuba	108	11
Gallein	107	10.9
Fur	56	5.7
Dunglawi	55	5.6
Dinka	48	4.9
Shygi	47	4.8
Meseria	32	3.3
Hawasa	28	2.9
Mahas	27	2.8
Kawahla	26	2.7
Bargo	23	2.3
Bidairi	18	1.8
Rizigat	18	1.8
Halfawi	16	1.6
Mossalami	16	1.6
Hasania	15	1.5
Hawara	15	1.5
Buthani	14	1.4
Gammuia	13	1.3
Gawama	13	1.3
Dar Hamid	12	1.2
Magrabi	12	1.2
Rubatab	12	1.2
Taisha	12	1.2
Barno	11	1.1
Falata	10	1
Kenana	9	0.9
Masalit	9	0.9
Salhab	9	0.9
Zagawa	9	0.9
Bani Halba	8	0.8
Dago	8	0.8
Habania	8	0.8
Hamar	8	0.8
Shulluk	8	0.8
Bsatab	7	0.7

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Rufaa	7	0.7
Nuer	6	0.6
Salamat	6	0.6
Shiwaihat	6	0.6
Tama	6	0.6
Araki	5	0.5
Tunjur	5	0.5
Maganein	4	0.4
Amhara	3	0.3
Bataheen	3	0.3
Mallia	3	0.3
Rashidi	3	0.3
Abdallab	2	0.2
Al Gouz	2	0.2
Bagara	2	0.2
Baria	2	0.2
Bary	2	0.2
Berty	2	0.2
Bilaly	2	0.2
Fong	2	0.2
Gimir	2	0.2
Kabashi	2	0.2
Manasir	2	0.2
Marareet	2	0.2
Mhary	2	0.2
Omarab	2	0.2
Rikabia	2	0.2
Sadab	2	0.2
Shukri	2	0.2
Zandi	2	0.2
Ababda	1	0.1
Aduk	1	0.1
Aljabalb	1	0.1
Asholy	1	0.1
Awlad rash	1	0.1
Balandi	1	0.1
Bango	1	0.1
Bani Ammer	1	0.1
Bani Mara	1	0.1
Bany salim	1	0.1
Banyfadul	1	0.1
Barbari	1	0.1
Blanda	1	0.1

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Broun	1	0.1
Coptic	1	0.1
Dolaib	1	0.1
Dwehat	1	0.1
Ethopian	1	0.1
Figlo	1	0.1
Gumoz	1	0.1
Guraan	1	0.1
Hadandawi	1	0.1
Kara	1	0.1
Latooka	1	0.1
Logate	1	0.1
Madi	1	0.1
Mahada	1	0.1
Mima	1	0.1
Ragareeg	1	0.1
Saida	1	0.1
Tugalli	1	0.1
Total	971	99

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APPENDIX B: DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS WITHIN FOUR LOCALITIES
 OF KHARTOUM, BY PREVIOUS LOCATION

		Darfur	Khartoum	South	Three Areas	Total
Locality	Admin unit					
Khartoum Jabal Awlia)	Alnasr	38	46	6	24	115
	Azhary	12	73	5	12	102
	Jabal Awli		17		2	19
	Klakla	18	60	20	6	104
Total		68	196	31	44	340
% in locality		20%	57.6%	9%	13%	100%
Khartoum Locality	Khartoum	1	15	1		20
	Khm. Shrq		49	6		60
	Khrtm. West	2	16	1	1	20
	Khartoum loc.	2	17		1	20
	Sahafa	1	16		3	20
	Shohada	2	35	1		40
Total		8	148	9	5	180
		4.4%	82.2%	5%	2.8%	
Khartoum North	Haj Yousif	24	29	6	20	80
	Sharq Al Neil	1	92	3	3	100
Total		25	121	9	23	180
		13.9%	67.2%	5%	12.8%	100%
Omdurman	Al Ameer	22	65	2	9	100
	Al Bugaa	10	46	16	8	80
	Al Salam	10	30	26	33	100
Total		42	141	44	50	280
		15%	50.4%	15.7%	17.9%	100%