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DISPLACED SUDANESE WOMEN AND
RESTRUCTURING OF THE FAMILY ECONOMY

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Introduction

This paper utilizes an integrated development pilot project to analyze changes in the situation of women in Khartoum who have been displaced from their rural homes as a result of environmental, economic and political crises. It is set in the context of the economic difficulties of the late seventies and early eighties which, in most underdeveloped African countries, and in Sudan in particular, affected the health, nutrition and educational opportunities of many people. Development programmes intended to ameliorate these conditions are also considered.

Developments in the macro economy have an important bearing on the welfare of vulnerable groups especially through their effect on incomes, employment, and food prices and on the government's budgetary ability to meet social needs. The prolonged erosion of the Sudanese economy at a macro level has led to the current critical situation of economic restructuring at the micro levels of the community and the household. Though sustained economic growth is the objective of the Sudanese economic salvation recovery programme (announced at the national conference on economic salvation, 1989), raising the living standard of vulnerable groups is more essential at this time. In the short term, the immediate priority is to renew economic growth by revitalizing productive capacity and the export sector. It is also important, however, to ensure that the foundation is laid for equitable patterns of long-term growth and participation by vulnerable groups enhanced. Special attention needs to be paid to the crucial role of women in food production; renewed industrial expansion should be based on labor intensive technologies whenever possible and should create products appropriate to meet the needs of low-income groups. Provision should also

be made for improved technologies, credit, and training for small scale producers including those in the informal sector.

Such changes are not by any means automatic consequences of economic growth. They require appropriate macro policies for prices, wages and credit. These policies should also take into account the regional balance of development and relevant policies within and between sectors (Cornia, Jolly and Stewart, 1988), and should consider equity in short, medium and long-term perspectives. Unfavorable macro developments can undermine any special programme to protect vulnerable groups. This paper concentrates on methods of monitoring human recovery programmes for women. It emphasizes the need to enrich data collection which has proved to be a serious obstacle to problem identification. Data collection, publication and dissemination is even more necessary if we are to devise effective interventions for elevating the standard of living of such groups.

The approach to the study of displaced women is to start small and build up in order to lessen organizational constraints by making use of the experience of pilot projects. The development strategy proposed is to work to rehabilitate social services and develop new initiatives to protect vulnerable groups. Such programmes would be supported by external assistance and governments and be directed towards providing structures appropriate for organizing community-action such as active women's groups, cooperatives, and research institutions.

Women's poor access to employment, information and the means of production tends to lock them into low-return activities with little prospect

for advancement. Their generally weaker capacity to respond to macro policies may affect the impact of development programmes but their capacity to adjust to changes in economic circumstances varies, as does men's, with gender differences showing up especially at the sector level.

In situations of displacement the priority projects are even harder to monitor as traditional economies undergo transformation to wider market relations in urban centers where displaced people cluster. Under these conditions, micro level restructuring of the family economy initiates a new spiral of self-reliant development which could have a multiplier effect. Certainly, we need to examine the nature of change in the division of labor within displaced households and the new economic relations of family members in order to propose policies for restructured micro-economies in Sudan.

Economic Crisis in Sudan: -

Throughout the last decade, Sudan has been facing drastic economic problems which at times seem almost irreversible, because of the combined affect of infrastructure shortages, political changes, environmental degradation and war. This complex disaster reached its climax during the drought and desertification of 1984, floods of 1988, and war in the southern part of the country which escalated during the period 1985-1990 to reach western states and is now threatening parts of the central northern states of the country. Further, with increased population problems resulting from a high growth rate (3.1% annually), a youthful age structure, and uneven spatial distribution, the country cannot cope with such pressures on the standard of living.

According to the 1990 UNDP report on Human Development in the world, Sudan is categorized as a country with a low level of human development. Per capita income is 330 US\$; only 21 percent of population have access to sanitation and clean water, only 51 percent are provided with health services. Only 23 percent of the adult population is literate. About 16 million people fell below the poverty line in 1977-1986, rising to 25 million in 1990. Twelve million are without health services (1985-1987). Child mortality (below age 5) was 181/1000 in 1988. Differentials are great between urban and rural populations. Though 78 percent of the population is rural, only 10 percent have access to drinking water, contrasting with 60 percent for urban populations. This differentiation, which is even greater in other spheres of life, contributed to the extensive influx to urban centers from the rural areas.

Economic stagnation increased because of declining production in all sectors of the economy, most particularly exports and food. The diminishing terms of trade and declining capital reserves during 1970 and 1980 reduced Sudan's import capacity. In summary the principal features of the economic crisis from a socio-economic perspective are as follows:

1. decreased production of food, especially in drought affected areas;
2. deterioration in the terms of trade;
3. shortage of foreign exchange;
4. acute shortage of consumer goods, industrial raw materials and spare parts, (fuel, grain . . etc.);
5. dislocation of transport and inefficiency of the communication system;
6. high rate of inflation (300% per annum);
7. increased dominance of a black market in consumer and other goods ;

8. shortage of employment opportunities, with severe unemployment at all levels;
9. brain drain and migration of skilled labor to the neighbouring Arab oil countries;
10. expenditure on war (reaching two million dollars a day).

Government expenditure has been adversely influenced by the fall in government revenue, making it impossible to allocate adequate resources to basic social services, health, education and water. Budgetary allocations declined for the above needed services while per capita income was itself declining. Real expenditure, both absolute and per capita, has fallen sharply and real salaries of personnel have been reduced substantially; constraints facing services are even worse when comparing rural/urban differentials.

Adjustment and stabilization programmes designed to restructure the macro-economy by adjusting the exchange rate, reducing the budget deficit, reforming prices and encouraging private investments were backed by IMF stand-by arrangements. Still problems continued because such strategies were not accompanied by increased productivity, production, and local investment. Poverty increased and the oppression of the poorest, especially women, was multiplied.

Fiscal and monetary measures did not help to curb the deterioration in the economy and dependence on subsidies to the balance of payments continued to dominate, with donor countries consistently imposing preconditions. The industrial sector continued to lag behind since short and

mid-term development programmes did not plan for a sustainable industrial infrastructure.

The current three year salvation programme aims to restructure the economy on the basis of self-sufficiency, increasing production especially of wheat and sorghum and encouraging local and international investments. This programme (1990-93) has started by increasing the area under wheat cultivation. Imports are to be curtailed to spare foreign currency and price control is planned through harsh punishment mechanisms.

Though the government pronounces the programme successful, the pre-existing complex problems, ranging from weak infrastructure and environmental degradation to population movements, combine to make the micro level of development more relevant at least for short term planning. Influxes of people from rural areas and from war-torn regions in the south settle temporarily or permanently in urban centres. Thus, population displacement becomes an integral part of the development of the economic crisis in its historical perspective.

Population Movement

The displacement of women is part and parcel of the process of population mobility in the history of Sudan. *Nizouh, Higrab, Reheel, Masaar*, are all Arabic terms denoting movement of people for one reason or another in history (M.E. Musa, 1989); whereby relatively large influxes of population occur in certain areas. During the May regime (1969-85), environmental degradation, famine and desertification forced people to move from Western Sudan to the North and other less affected areas

(1984-87). Floods in 1988 multiplied the factors that enhanced rural-urban movement, while war in the south added to the intensification of refugee population clusters in urban centres.

Reasons for displacement were summarized in the social welfare conference on displaced women (1989) as follows:

1. desertification and drought, especially during 1983-84.
2. war in southern and western Sudan since 1985.
3. floods.
4. economic recession.

Men and women moved and are moving from affected areas to more secure and less disadvantaged ones. Whereas in earlier years it was primarily men who left their home areas for higher incomes and better living conditions, sending remittances to families and for local investments, with deteriorating living conditions, women and children now leave with men; sometimes they run for their lives while men are involved in war.

The volume of displacement has not been properly estimated and only approximations can be made. Even the latest (1983) population census is not a significant and reliable source since the reasons for movement have become totally unpredictable and uncountable. No displacement statistics are disaggregated by gender and the collection of statistical data has depended on the individual efforts of the United Nations and of governmental and non-governmental organizations involved in service delivery. Thus the statistics available reflect the interests of the specific institution and the objective behind its activities. Changing government policies have also affected the

enumeration of refugees. When the policy was one of salvation, survival and combating disasters, the numbers seemed to be exaggerated. In 1989, the UN preliminary estimate of displaced people in the national capital was 950,750 (S.E. Gauher, 1989) accounting for 52.7 percent of the population of greater Khartoum; women and children were estimated to constitute two-thirds of this population. Some thirty voluntary organizations worked to help the displaced survive during the period 1984-88 (M.E. Musa, 1989).

When the policy of charity and survival was changed to one of rehabilitation and development, the statistical estimates also changed. The Displaced Commissionerate of Khartoum estimated the number of displaced people was 1,500,000 in June 1988, with 8,000 refugees entering Khartoum every week. This figure was criticized because trains carrying passengers to the region do not have such a capacity. Other estimates of refugees, based on settlers by origin, also seemed exaggerated. Those living in camps were estimated by the Commissionerate to total 70,802 with upper estimates in the order of 100,000-150,000. Though census data in January 1990 reported a total of 420,771 displaced people in Khartoum, the government has recently announced that 850,000 refugees have been evicted from Khartoum.¹

The impact of displacement on women has not been presented as a gender issue but in terms of a policy intervention issue associated with the displaced in general. However, displaced women face special problems. They must cope with rearing children away from the original extended family which used to assist them. Their lack of education and knowledge of how to integrate in the big urban community trap them within their camps. The congested camps and environmental health problems including a shortage of

water and sanitation, expose displaced women to maternal and child health problems. Malnutrition is widespread among mothers, infants and children. Diarrhoeal diseases kill many of the children as do other communicable diseases, reflecting the overall state of health problems facing children in the country.² The situation is more acute in the refugee camps. In addition to environmental health problems, women also face problems of high fertility without supervision and service delivery, an issue that increases the mortality rate. With lack of health education and family planning services, refugee women continue to bear children at an early age and closely spaced. Another issue in the camps is the presence of habitual criminals who are entertained by women brewers. This situation exposes women to more security hazards. Thus women in the camps are faced with many problems as they try to feed and care for their families and have to develop new economic strategies to survive.

Elizba Displaced Camp:

Elizba camp is an unplanned shanty settlement of displaced migrants of diverse ethnic groups. It originated in 1972 and has grown rapidly since then. Population estimates range from 10,000 to 50,000 residents. The camp lies on the eastern side of the River Nile, north of the industrial area, facing a first class residential area. The camp consists of a cluster of tents, and mud and wooden houses with remnants of paper, cardboard, wool and carpets being used as building materials.

No officially organized services exist for the displaced population. The government considers the site to be an unplanned slum of illegal construction. Official policy is to transfer the displaced people to new settlement areas selected

by the government for rehabilitation programmes. Hence, there is no official commitment to help them to settle. Sanitation, drinking water and electricity supplies are lacking, as are regular health services, education or government organized security measures. The meagre services available come from NGOs and individual charity organizations interested in the support of these people.

As a result of such policies, the camp has become an attractive place for hiding criminals, for illegal brewing of alcohol, and for those running for shelter after they have been displaced by the destruction of their original illegal settlements. Thus, the population of this camp has never been correctly estimated nor has the total number of refugees been accurately reported. Households consist of expanded nuclear families, including relatives, friends and acquaintances from the home origin. The ethnic composition of the camp is a mixture of tribal groups from southern Sudan, mainly Dinka, Nuer, Shuluk and Nubians. Most are of Christian and African origin. Other tribal groups come from southern Kordofan, Darfur Western State and are Arab by origin and Muslim by religion. There are also some small tribal groups of Muslims and Animists. Households form compound-like clusters around tribal chiefs who have retained their original local powers in decision-making, arbitration and preservation of tribal norms.

This study is based on a sample selected from displaced women who have joined the Elizba training center which is designed to develop their skills and raise their awareness about how to increase their income. The training programme started one year ago. I will test the hypothesis that the women's family economy has been restructured to cope with socio-economic changes imposed on them by displacement and macro economic policy changes. The

main idea behind the study is to test the potential of the restructuring of the family economy for sustaining human development. The replication of the experience at other micro-levels of restructuring will enhance overall development planning.

Methodology

As the national coordinator of the Women in Development pilot project implemented by the National Population Committee.³ I have worked myself and with field staff to conduct direct interviews and undertake participant observation for this study of the Elizba camp. The committee supervises and monitors the implementation of the pilot project which aims to open new avenues for displaced women to become integrated into productive activities. We prepared a guided questionnaire to collect basic information and record the changing aspects of women's entry into new fields of education, training, and production up to the level of small scale industry and marketing.

One hundred and forty women are registered at the Women's Development Center for training classes to strengthen their capability to produce for the market economy. Basic information is collected from the participants before the training; assessment of the impact of training is made by direct participant observation by field workers and trainers. Progress reports and records and dialogues between participants, community and staff are being used in the analysis. To identify price controls and supply we use surveys to assess costs and market conditions. The training programmes are integrated with community development via commonly based services for the displaced. To assess the impact of entering the production system on changing economic relations within the family and the community, we

randomly selected a sample of 25 women from different tribal groups for closer study. Changes are traced over a period of one year. Some information is collected from previous studies, census and survey data. Though the data may be meagre for macro analysis, it is comprehensive for micro-level analysis and provides a perspective on wider level changes. Review of the before and after situation provides a basis for monitoring changes in behaviour.

Socio-economic Background

Census data for 1983 (Table 1) clearly show that provincial in-migration to Khartoum had increased over previous periods. After 1983, in-migration was even more marked as a result of desertification and war. More men migrate than women. The historical and socio-economic construction underlying male migration was the traditional role of men as breadwinners and fighters for family security. Women were supposed to stay behind to look after households, children, and the elderly. This left women in the places of origin with dual responsibilities. As living conditions for families became increasingly insecure, women started to move together with men and other members of family. The Demographic Health Survey of 1989-90 has given more recent and detailed information about the percentage distribution of ever married migrant women (15-49 years) according to their reasons for moving. Marriage and employment, are the main reasons for migration, especially for moves from south to north. Hence, considering displaced women who have moved during the last five years, it is relevant to see them as a target group for restructured economic activities since they constitute a large and important sector of the migrant population.

With the household composition of the displaced reaching 50 percent female, it is evident that the family economy has to take gender issues into account, especially if the family is to cope with feelings of insecurity and to draw on the labor of all family members. One means to approach the new situation is for women to become integrated into production and the market economy of the big city.

Households in Elizba are extensions of the tribal clusters of settlement in the places of origin, though not structurally identical. Household members do not have to be close family -- relatives and acquaintances in most cases constitute 40 to 60 percent of the household. This of course stems from the displacement situation. Women and children form a majority in the household membership. The data on women of Elizba show that 80 percent of the sample selected are married, 50 percent are illiterate and 40 percent have only a preliminary level of education.

Before they came to the city, most of the women used to work in farming or pastoralism. They are accustomed to undertaking the hard jobs of firewood collection, food preparation and cleaning. They are involved more than their men in gathering the stalks of grain, in threshing, and in winnowing operations. Earlier studies indicate that females in southern Sudan began work early in life and continued through old age and dominated the various processing activities such as pounding and grinding grain (El Bakri and Khameir, 1983). In addition they took part in various building and manufacturing activities. Most of these activities had no market price and were mainly for subsistence consumption within the family.

After migration from a family-based rural economy to the multiple problems in the city, women are faced with the macro systems of the market economy. They are also cut-off from the traditional economic roles which predominated in their home areas. In Khartoum they are no longer farmers; they are also removed from the local raw materials which they used to produce handicrafts for local consumption. Most of them enter into domestic service as maids and servants so that they have to leave their compounds to go and work until late afternoon and sometimes they stay the whole week.

A more accessible option for them is to engage in brewing local, alcoholic beverages, work traditionally associated with migrants from the southern states. Many women prefer to stay within their camps' local community and perform this service which is profitable but illegal. The data do not show the extent of this practice because of denial, but observation confirms its persistence.

The WID programme aimed to attract women to learn different skills that would provide them with greater security, competence and job opportunities. The specific activities were identified through a needs assessment mission to the camp. The previous experience of other institutions working in the field was also used and integrated into a plan that was coordinated with the efforts of such agencies as Council of Churches, UNICEF, WHO and Sudan Aid who provide assistance to help people survive in the first stages of their residence in the camps. Our data show that 90 percent of the women in the camp suffer from lack of official services for their survival and their children.

The women complained of the high cost of living in the town and expressed an urgent need to participate in the productive sector for survival. The shortage of maternal health services together with the absence of any family health education and family planning meant that infant mortality was also an issue. The long term goal of the programme is to integrate development activities for the displaced population in an attempt to incorporate them into the population policy programme of the country. The programme does not directly restructure the economy of the displaced households, rather it aims to raise awareness about other skills and roles to complement the predominantly traditional role of reproduction and hence, the low quality of life within the existing economic situation. The objective is to enhance women's confidence and security through education and participation in the project activities, so that it will be greater than if they are primarily bearing and rearing children. The imbalance between the high annual population growth rate of Sudan (3.1 percent) and the low economic development make the displaced a target group for awareness programmes on the health hazards of repeated pregnancies. Knowledge about nutrition, lactation, child spacing, hygiene and children's food is a part of the training and service delivery programmes planned for the community.

The Impact of the Project:

Women, married ones in particular, who are attracted to the women in development center established in the camp have the following characteristics:

1. They are bread winners together with their husband or other men of their families.
 2. The majority fall within the productive age group; 60 percent are aged 20-29, 20 percent are at 15-19 years of age and the rest are between 30-39 years.
- (Table 2).

3. 52 percent of the women are housewives and 20 percent are hired as maids in houses; 8 percent sell food and 8 percent work as dressmakers. One is a beer brewer (Table 2).
4. 40 percent can read and write and 48 percent are illiterate (Table 3).

The programme lasts for four months and is then repeated with a new group. Training of trainers is a priority to sustain effective continuity. Sixteen hours per week are devoted to class work while assignments are taken home to be prepared. The programme consists of teaching home economics, sewing, handicrafts (plastic and leather work), soap making, food production and weaving.

After training displaced women are able to cut and sew materials, prepare nourishing food for their families, and produce handicrafts of high quality. They can weave and make clothes and home accessories, and also leather goods for which there is a high demand. They also now make their own soap. Such small-scale industries have created opportunities for introducing women to the industrial sector which nationally has always been a male-dominated sphere, irrespective of locality. Attitudes towards such ventures are positive (Table 4). An extension to the workplan of the project for the coming three years will introduce intermediate technologies for training women in the maintenance of electric equipment, workshops for providing such services by women and introduction to the use of portable tool kits to enable them to get more income and skill through such an industry.

Displaced women are empowered by the training and awareness raising programme. This is best manifested in the process of production and

consumption in the family. Women have become aware of budgeting and saving. The survival strategy has been backed by the learning process. Hence the potential of establishing cooperatives is already emerging through networking in the community. Through the center women are organized for collective production and decision making on how to increase their income. Opportunities for entering the market through production units are now available. Providing credit is linked to the efforts of women to produce and to substitute a larger involvement in the informal and formal sectors for meagre petty activities. This is also connected to the process of adaptation and integration into the urban economy and to the development of the survival strategies.

Of the selected sample, 82 percent arrived in Khartoum between 1980-89 and 12 percent between 1975-79, the rest before 1975. Most of these women worked as housewives and as part-time workers and petty traders in the market. When they started work outside the home they entered the informal sector. Children too worked as car cleaners, porters in the market, shoe cleaners and so on. Women sell tea and home made local food to passersby, workers, truck drivers, and the public. Other activities in the informal sector include washing, ironing, cleaning and garbage disposal at private houses. There is a strong link between duration of stay and type of informal sector activities carried out by women (Table 5).

Income obtained from such involvement in the informal sector is usually not sufficient for the survival of the displaced families. An alternative has been added to fill the gap. This is the black market in consumer goods drawn from the aid provided by various agencies that are working with the displaced

populations. Unskilled, uneducated and with a high unemployment rate, the displaced officially survive as recipients of donations of food and shelter provided by local and international agencies. Food, clothes, shelter and medication come from UNDP, UNFPA, UNICEF, WHO and so on, as well as NGOs and the private sector. With lack of proper planning in the distribution of such goods, however, a black market has been created whereby goods are smuggled to consumers who can pay for them. Displaced women work as agents in this trade being able to move as house maids and petty sellers.

Through the organized production units of the training center at Elizba women have become more prominent in entering the market. Initially their products are sold within the camp itself to establish self sufficiency for the community relying on the most profitable products such as locally produced soap. Women trained in such a small industry are provided with raw materials through the project, purchased on credit. They pay for the materials in installments, produce the soap, sell it, return the loan, and take the profit. Through profit making the women are joining a cooperative and the potential of owning the industry is already planned. Soap is a scarce good in the local market and it is rationed through government local committees in the different quarters of the city. Until recently refugee camps have not been included in the ration. The peripheral location of the unorganized settlements makes it difficult for the displaced to have access to legal rationing. Having a localized industry such as soap making, sewing, handicrafts and leather will enrich the local community market and restructure its economic relations with the larger market. The latest estimates of soap making in Elizba are that 50 percent of the population will be sufficiently supplied by this local production in three months from the start of training.

Though the financial profits will go basically to the women at the center, a by-product is the greater self-sufficiency of the whole community. The direct beneficiaries are household members of trained women who reach at the initial stage a population of approximately 7,000 (a ration of one piece of soap per head). A literacy and adult education class has recently been started in the camp. It is regularly attended by a larger group than participate in other training programmes. This class aims to eradicate illiteracy among the displaced in a nine-months-course which will enable the students to reach the fourth grade of primary level (attained usually in four academic years i.e. 36 months).

Household Activities Restructured

The engagement of women in these productive activities has implications for male/female relations within the household. To address this situation specific steps were taken at the start of the programme: Initially, men resented the idea that women were to be trained in industrial and other skills. They rejected the idea and prohibited the women from entering the programme. Through local tribal and religious leaders and men of authority, consent was reached using mediators from the community who were convinced by the goals of the programme. The difficult process was to find knowledgeable mediators who spoke the local dialects and were accepted by the community. Project staff, IEC experts and local leaders undertook activities to mobilize the community through group discussions, public announcements, demonstration of previous experiences and motivational meetings. The existing programme of Primary Health care (PHC) was used to enhance mobilization as was the food aid programme, both of which are attended by a majority of women. Later, men encouraged women by making them free at times of training and some of them

undertook baby sitting and looking after children at home when wives were away at the center.

This project has introduced new norms and values in economic relations within households. Entering the market economy had been men's role and now it is accepted that women can do this also. Awareness about safe motherhood and spacing of children has spread, especially with the involvement of women in other roles. Child labor in the market is reduced to a minimum since more income is now organized and introduced into the family budget. Children who do not attend school, help in household tasks such as looking after their younger siblings. The plan to establish a kindergarten will facilitate the incorporation of more women, now burdened by young children, into the training production and marketing process.

Hence, new dimensions have been integrated into the role of women in the family economy and an indication of retreating male domination is clear from the cases studied closely. Eleven of the women have declared that they are now stronger and have a say in the decision making in the family. As well, they confess that they sometimes threaten husbands with desertion if the husbands do not loosen control over them and give them freedom. All are signs of liberation but it is still in its infancy.

Discussion of Policy Issues

As in much of urban Africa, the displacement of women in the Sudan reflects the impact of an accelerating cityward migration on a fragile economy. The infrastructure of these cities cannot easily cope with a large influx of migrants. Employment in the formal sector is not sufficient to absorb such an

army of mostly young and productive migrants. Migrants usually optimize their survival strategies by entering into the informal economy before they are absorbed in the formal sector (Walle, Ohadike and Diakanda, 1988).

The informal sector provides income-earning opportunities for a large number of migrants, especially women; it reinforces social ties, sustains migrants and maintains the squatter settlements where most informal operators live and gives new migrants a sense of community and social support. It is a positive response to the defects of the formal economy and an adaptation on the part of the urban poor to meeting their needs, faced with inadequate structures and markets in the formal sector. Inadequacies are aggravated by poor planning, and ad hoc strategies.

I would argue that the displacement crisis in Sudan can be traced to the failure to stimulate growth and restructure the economy in secondary centres. With inadequate infrastructure and unbalanced population distribution, various parts of the country grow in an uneven way. Displacement by war, famine and desertification is usually not selective. All age groups are represented as is sex and skill, hence rural stagnation is accelerated. The resultant is a consumer oriented urbanization that hinders the development of productive employment, thus adding to urban poverty and to the burden on women of coping with new economic conditions and intra-household relations.

The extension of macro economic planning for sustainable development does not cater for the unplanned settlements in the capital. Here access to urban facilities is difficult, illegal, and formidable. Planning policies for urban

services to meet the survival needs of the displaced are speculative and generally inadequate for the demands of the rapidly growing population.

The integration of displaced women in the training and education components of the project has had primary interest in the following:

1. Restructuring the family economy from a rural subsistence unmarketed production to productive units with valuable sustainability through skill development;
2. Changing attitudes towards family planning, division of labor within the family and participation of members of the family in household activities;
3. Survival strategies that offer women opportunities for entering the industrial sector;
4. A comprehensive strategy that focuses on integrated urban and rural development and perhaps family planning policy whereby reorientation of planning will cater for women's roles in development and marketing opportunities. This should be seen as a sequence of phases, starting with their ability to produce food and develop enough skills to enter the labor market.
5. Community-action programmes which are a basic thrust of the current government's policy for rehabilitating the social services and developing new initiatives to protect vulnerable groups. It is proposed that funds from external agencies should provide the structures appropriate for organizing community action, active women groups, cooperatives and research institutions.

Elizba camp serves as a home for new migrants to a self-determined urban shanty settlement. The people who inhabit this shanty area subsist under difficult political and environmental conditions. This situation is replicated in other unplanned areas and shanty towns but with more misery for the refugees who are flying in terror to the capital. Though endangered by political eviction from other areas, the displaced have managed to use assistance benefit mechanisms to survive.

The WID project implemented in Elizba uses the integrated approach to restructuring the displaced family economy to cope with urban in-migration through encouragement of a certain target group, such as women, into a wide range of activities. The establishment of small scale industries in an originally rural subsistence economy is meant to facilitate this restructuring with emphasis on the gender issue. The experience of this programme has been to involve jobless or ambitious displaced women in upgrading and rehabilitating their skills' capabilities.

The WID programme for refugees is not against the policy of urban renewal which has sometimes been implemented through the demolition of migrant squatter settlements by city administrators, nor is it against efforts to rehabilitate migrants. It is rather a realization that slum and shanty settlements are affordable for the urban poor and act as reception centres for new arrivals to the cities. It is also an attempt to benefit from the joint assistance of the government and international agencies to upgrade the human factor in squatter areas, to sustain development with a human face and to implement a potential human development approach.

FOOTNOTES

¹Some of the earlier exaggerated estimates counted 6 million southerners moving from their original home while 400,000 went to such neighbouring countries as Ethiopia, and Uganda (M.M. Ali, 1989).

²The national nutrition survey undertaken in 1989 found that all children above nine months are malnourished and 50 percent of them have diarrhoeal diseases.

³a Government Research unit of the National Council for Research

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TABLE 1

Life Time Migration by Regions of Sudan in 1956, 1973 and 1983

Region	1956						1973						1983					
	In		Out		Net		In		Out		Net		In		Out		Net	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Northern	14184	3.5	116855	29.2	-102671	-25.6	36124	3.0	263618	22.1	227494	-19.1	31349	2.4	342749	26.2	-311400	-23.8
Eastern	71039	17.8	18424	4.6	52615	13.1	187584	15.7	69287	5.8	118297	9.9	22341	17.1	60718	4.6	162713	12.4
Khartoum	99152	24.8	41413	10.3	57739	14.4	363924	30.5	69933	5.9	293991	24.7	570852	43.6	60129	4.6	510723	39.0
Central	122828	30.7	51667	12.9	71161	17.8	352212	29.6	142215	11.9	209997	17.6	251133	19.2	225184	17.2	25949	2.0
Kordofan	41248	10.3	64800	16.2	-23552	-5.9	86124	7.2	319390	26.8	-233266	-19.6	59473	4.5	282465	21.6	-222992	-17.0
Bahr El Ghazal	9505	2.4	16280	4.1	-6774	-1.7	17026	1.4	36110	3.0	-19084	-1.6	42995	3.3	36275	2.8	6720	0.5
Upper N.	9603	2.4	10023	2.5	-420	-0.1	69683	5.8	29799	2.5	39884	3.3	68799	5.3	41201	3.1	27598	2.1
Equatoria	10133	2.5	9884	2.5	249	0.1	33204	2.8	23948	2.0	9256	0.8	20946	1.6	32917	2.5	-11971	-0.9
Not Stated	22458	5.6	70804	17.7	-47346	-12.1	45573	4.0	237154	20.0	191581	16.0	241088	18.4	227338	17.4	13750	1.0
Total	400150	100.0	400150	100.0	---	---	1191454	100.0	1191454	100.0	---	---	1308976	100.0	1308976	100.0	---	---

Source: 1983 Census Data, Dept. of Statistics, Kartoum

TABLE 2

Displaced Women Age and Economic Activities of Displaced Women in Khartoum

Activities	Age							Total
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	+45	
1. Housewife	3	5	4	1				13
2. Craft Worker						1		1
3. Domestic Servant	1	1	1	1	1			5
4. Food Seller	1				1			2
5. Milk Seller								
6. Seamstress		1	1					2
7. Local wine-oragi Seller			1					
8. No Job		1						1
Total	5	8	7	2	2	1		25
	20%	32%	28%	8%	8%	4%		100%

Source: Project survey data, Feb. 1991.

TABLE 3

Age and Education Level of Displaced Women

<u>Education Level</u>	<u>Age Group</u>						Total	
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44		45+
Illiterate	2	3	4	1	1	1	12	
Minimally Literate	2	4	2	1	1		10	
Primary completed	1	1	1	-	-	-		
<u>Total</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>25</u>

Source: Project survey data, Feb. 1991.

TABLE 4

Displaced Women's Attitudes Towards Use of New Technology

<u>Technology</u>	<u>Responses</u>			<u>Total</u>
	Positive	Negative	None	
Electrical	5	2	1	8
Woodworking	2	1	1	4
Metal working	2	2	1	5
Textile	7	1	-	8
	-		-	
<u>Total</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>25</u>

Source: Project survey data, Feb. 1991

TABLE 5

Date of Arrival in Relation to Informal Social Activities

<u>Activities</u>	1975	1975-79	1980-1989	Total
Housewife		1	8	9
Tea seller			3	3
Local food seller			4	4
Laundry worker			1	1
Cleaner	1		-	1
Handicraft worker		1	-	1
Petty Trader	1	1	4	6
<u>Total</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>25</u>

Source: Project Survey Data, Feb. 1991