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Internally Displaced,
Refugees and Returnees from and in the Sudan
A Review

by
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PREFACE

There seems to be no end in sight to the humanitarian disasters that with increasing frequency have occurred in recent times. The former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone are some of the places that have experienced massive flows of displaced people.

The Sudan is yet another country suffering from displacement and the situation there is perhaps even more complex than in many other countries. The Sudan has been at war since independence intermitted only by a brief period of peace that lasted for a decade. The civil war that has been ravaging the country as well as the conflicts in the neighbouring countries have contributed to the difficult problem of population displacement in the region.

Sweden has for many years contributed disaster relief to the Sudan. The Swedish humanitarian development assistance directed to meet the needs of the Sudanese people is currently at a stable 70 million SEK. It is very important to take into account

the experiences gained on population displacement in order to prevent more disasters from taking place but also to improve the assistance given to the people who have already left their homes. With this aim, the Swedish Government has just adopted a new strategy for humanitarian assistance to Sudan, focusing on protection for the internally displaced, particularly women and children.

State of the art reviews concerning refugees and the displaced in Mozambique and Somalia have previously been published by the Nordic Africa Institute and Sida within the series *Studies on Emergency Assistance and Relief*. This report is another contribution within that series and it will hopefully serve as a source to some of the research on population displacement from and in the Sudan. The report comprises a review of the literature and includes comments on priorities for future research.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Literature on refugees in Africa is of recent origin, and the work done before the mid-1970s is limited in scope. Kibreab wrote in 1983, “refugee research in Africa is lamentably poor”, but in 1990 he notes that many researchers now focus on this particular field (Kibreab, 1991:5–6). Kibreab (1991) has written an excellent review of refugee studies in Africa in which he addresses several problems central to the study of refugees.

I will attempt to review the literature on internally displaced, refugees and returnees from and in the Sudan.¹ The problem of forced migration in the Sudan emerged in 1967 and escalated in 1984, according to Babikir (1994:383). The particular case of the Sudan has been reviewed before. Elnur and colleagues have put together a resource guide covering studies on refugees and displaced in the Sudan. They give a brief overview of the literature followed by an annotated bibliography. The work done by Elnur et al. is a highly encompassing review covering a very large number of studies on the Sudan (Elnur, et al., 1993). Elnur has also discussed the results in more detail in a conference paper (Elnur, 1994). Some general findings from the study by Elnur, will be drawn upon in this review. This report does not attempt to cover all studies undertaken. Since the literature available has been quite extensive in scope, the emphasis in this study is placed on more recent literature. One important limitation to this report is that it only covers English literature. Many studies on the subject of population displacement in the Sudan are available in for example Arabic, German and French.

First of all we need to identify some methodological problems with this review. Population displacement in and from the Sudan covers an extensive period of time and many different flows of displaced persons. A considerable number of countries are involved both in generating refugees that have fled to the Sudan and as hosts to Sudanese refugees. It is difficult to assess whether the material covered by this study represents all the literature on population displacement in and from the Sudan. Therefore, I will look for support for my findings in statements made by researchers that are experts on their particular field of population displacement in and from the Sudan. I will to some extent examine if certain geo-

graphical areas and refugee flows have received more attention than others, but such an assessment is not easy to make since knowledge is then needed about which regions have been more affected than others. Such a task would require a research paper of its own.

1.1. Internal Struggle Leading to Displacement

The Sudan gained independence in 1956 and has experienced two periods of civil war (1955–1972, and 1983–ongoing) that have brought great suffering to the population (Elnur, 1994:5). The number of people that have died as a result of the second period of the civil war is estimated to be more than 1.5 million (Ruiz, 1998:139). U.S. Committee for Refugees (USCR) reports that as many as 1.9 million people have died since 1983 due to the war (USCR, 1999a). A military coup in 1969 brought General Numeiry to power who later signed the Addis Ababa agreement in 1972, which temporarily ended the first period of civil war that had lasted for 17 years. The peace accord granted regional autonomy to the South, but the peace lasted only for a decade. When Numeiry introduced the law of Sharia in 1983 tensions followed and the second civil war in the Sudan, which is still raging, began later that year (van de Veen, 1999:168 and Ruiz, 1998:140). The war is multifaceted but is first and foremost described as being a conflict between the Muslim, Arab, North against the African, Christian, South. The Sudan’s civil war thus has elements that are both regional (the North against the South) and religious (Muslim versus Christian). But the conflict is more complex than being described solely as a war between the North and South, or Islam versus Christianity—political, economic, racial, ethnic and cultural factors further complicate the situation (Ruiz, 1998:139–140). The war is, according to Deegan, concerned with two main issues: “firstly, the identity of the Sudanese state and secondly, the question of who gains control over the natural resources of the south” (Deegan, 1997:164). An in depth examination of the identity issue and the root causes of the war can be found in the seminal *War of Visions* by Deng (1995a).

A number of political conflicts exist among groups in the north and south of the country. In 1989, the military staged a coup under the leadership of Omar Hassan al-Bashir who is still in command. A power struggle in the north between President al Bashir and the National Islamic Front (NIF) leader Hassan al Turabi has been adding to the instability

¹ The concepts of internally displaced, refugees and returnees will be explained in detail in the section that deals with the rights of these groups. A refugee is someone who flees from one country to another and thereby crosses an internationally recognised border while an internally displaced person flees within the country. A returnee is an internally displaced person or refugee who has returned to his or her community or country of origin.

in the Sudan. The Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in the south, headed by John Garang, constitutes the main opponent to the regime. The SPLA has also experienced internal divisions and in 1991 a split resulted in deadly interethnic fighting among people in the South (Ruiz, 1998:140). In 1996 the SPLA joined the National Democratic Alliance (NDA), which is a coalition of political opposition groups (USCR, 1999:a). Ethiopia, Eritrea and Uganda supported this alliance, which has one unitary goal—to overthrow the government of the Sudan (van de Veen, 1999:169). There is still no end in sight to the conflict and the search for a peaceful solution to the conflict will continue. For a more elaborate discussion on the background to the Civil War in the Sudan see for example: Deng, 1995a; Daly and Sikainga, 1993; Fukui and Markakis, 1994; Ali and Matthews, 1999; van de Veen, 1999; Collins, 1997; Burr and Collins, 1995; and Woodward, 1996.

1.2. External Struggle Leading to Displacement

The Sudan and its neighbours have experienced many violent conflicts over the years which have contributed to the population displacement in the region. The war between Ethiopia and Eritrea erupted in the early 1970s after Eritrea had been absorbed into Ethiopia in 1962 (Gilkes and Plaut, 1999:3). The bulk of Eritrean refugees presently in the Sudan fled from war and famine in the 1980s (USCR, 1999a). Civil war and famine also forced over one million people to go from Ethiopia to the Sudan in the late 1970s and 1980s, and hundreds of thousands of refugees fled in the opposite direction (Kebbede, 1999:37). Eritrea gained independence in 1991 and a change of government in Ethiopia made it possible for many refugees to return to Ethiopia. The situation has further been complicated by the Eritrean government's refusal to approve the repatriation of the refugees in the Sudan (UNHCR, 1997). The war between Eritrea and Ethiopia resumed in May 1998 and the latest fighting has driven over 80,000 Eritrean refugees into the Sudan. A peace agreement was recently signed between Eritrea and Ethiopia that can provide an opportunity for the displaced to return home (UNHCR, 2000b). In addition, an agreement to prepare for the repatriation of Eritrean refugees from the Sudan was signed in April by the UNHCR, Eritrea and the Sudan (UNHCR, 2000e).

The conflicts in the region are closely interconnected with each other and there are indications that the Sudan and some neighbouring countries are backing each other's opposition groups (Ruiz, 1998:160). For example, the power balance in the Sudan shifted when the Mengistu regime fell in 1991, since the

Ethiopian government had supported the SPLA against the government in Khartoum (Clapham, 1995:89). Similarly, the government of Eritrea has accused the Sudan of sustaining attacks on Eritrean territory.

Uganda is another country in the region that has a long history of violent conflicts, with several military coups, interstate war and civil war in 1981–85. Museveni's National Resistance Movement (NRM) seized power in 1986 and the regime is today still in office (Kiyaga-Nsubuga, 1999:13–15). The government of the Sudan has more or less openly supported and trained opposition groups in Uganda which allegedly has been done in retaliation for the support given by Uganda to rebels in the south of the Sudan (Ruiz, 1998:160 and van de Veen, 1999:259). Armed insurgencies in northern and south-western Uganda have resulted in many uprooted Ugandans (USCR, 1999b:96).

In addition, conflict has been raging in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) despite the fact that a peace accord was signed in Lusaka almost a year ago. Some of the refugees the conflict has generated have taken their refuge in the Sudan. A more positive trend in the region is to be found in the neighbouring country the Central African Republic. The Central African Republic has for the first time in years not experienced any significant refugee movements (USCR, 1999b:54).

The different conflicts in the region have had disastrous consequences for the population displacements that have taken place. The situation is very complex and refugees have for decades been pouring in and out of the Sudan, and the movement of displaced persons within the country has been even more extensive.

In this context it is worth mentioning that migration in the Sudan is by no means a new phenomenon. Labour migrants, slaves and pilgrims are all examples of people who have had no permanent residence—temporary settlements have been common in the history of the Sudan. Many studies do not take into account the great mobility of people which for centuries has been common in the Sudan. It is quite possible that adopting a historical perspective could result in a deeper understanding of the complex processes at work.

1.3. Numbers

One problem that is central to the study of population displacement is the difficulty in establishing how many people are affected. To estimate the numbers involved is a very complicated task and in many cases the actors involved have interests that make them exaggerate or underestimate the number of

displaced. Gaim Kibreab has addressed the problem of population data and he argues that: "Precise statistics on African refugees are either not available or when available are most unreliable" (Kibreab, 1991:8). As Kibreab has argued, the population data is flawed and the numbers should therefore be looked upon with caution. The figures will at least give an indication of the severity of situation.

The Sudan has up to 4 million internally displaced persons, according to the U.S. Committee for Refugees, which constitutes the largest number in the world (USCR, 1999b:90). In addition to the internally displaced, UNHCR recently reported figures of over 400,000 refugees in the Sudan. The main thrust is from Eritrea and the other refugees are originating from Ethiopia, Chad, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Uganda and Somalia (UNHCR, 2000a:75). Only one country in Africa hosts more refugees than the Sudan—that country is Guinea (Wilkinson, 1999a:11).

The internal conflicts in the Sudan had at the beginning of 2000 contributed in generating over 500,000 refugees in neighbouring countries including Uganda (170,000), Ethiopia (70,000), the Democratic Republic of Congo (68,000), Kenya (64,000), and the Central African Republic (35,000) (UNHCR, 2000e). The Sudan is placed third of the countries generating most refugees in Africa (Wilkinson, 1999a:11).

The difficulty in establishing numbers of refugees is reflected in another issue—the composition of the refugees. Women and children have long been considered to be the majority of the refugees but this statement has been contested on different occasions. Kibreab (1991) has argued that this demographic distortion is overstated. One can also question the value of grouping together women and children. In a study by UNHCR at the end of 1998, the female population of the refugees was estimated at 50.9 percent. This was based on reports from UNHCR offices concerning 4.2 million refugees (UNHCR, 2000c).

1.4. Protecting the Rights of Refugees and Internally Displaced

Before we go further in trying to categorise and analyse the available literature concerning internally displaced, refugees and returnees in the Sudan, it is paramount to clarify the meanings of these different concepts. A refugee is by definition someone who flees from one country to another and thereby crosses an international border. The international legal documents which contain definitions on refugees are the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees and its 1967 protocol, the 1950 Statutes of the Of-

fice of the UNHCR, and the 1969 Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (Suhrke and Zolberg, 1999:145). The rights of refugees can be found in the 1951 Refugee Convention (Wilkinson, 1999b:7). A refugee is according to this Convention a person who:

...owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.

To be covered by this definition there consequently needs to be a "well-founded fear of persecution". The Organisation of African Unity has gone further and extended the definition to include displacements caused by "external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order" (Ek and Karadawi, 1991). Crisp (2000:158) defines returnees as refugees or internally displaced persons who have returned to their country or community. Someone who is a refugee in his or her country is referred to as an internally displaced person (Wilkinson, 1999b:7). The UN defines internally displaced as:

Persons or groups of people who have been forced to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence as a result of, or in order to avoid, in particular, the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalized violence, violations of human rights or natural or human-made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized state border (Hampton, 1998:xv).

Most research has focused on the study of refugees until the problem of the internally displaced was recognised (Elnur, 1994:2 and Salih, 1999:37). The study of internally displaced persons has received increased attention since the early 1990s. Ludlam-Taylor writes that the literature on internally displaced persons in general mostly deals with the displaced in conflict situations, but research on the post-conflict period and self-reliance programmes is lacking (Ludlam-Taylor, 1998:35). Salih argues that it is impossible to separate refugees from internally displaced (Salih, 1999:39). He states that instead of merely categorising people as refugees, more complex definitions have come into place, including war displacement, dispossession displacement, development-induced displacement, environmental displacement, and conservation displacement (Salih, 1999:37).

Dunbar-Oritz and Harrell-Bond (1987) question why the human rights of refugees are not protected in the same way as other groups at risk. Humanitarian

law is only applicable in situations where there is an armed conflict. The situation for internally displaced can be worse than for refugees, since the internally displaced are refused the international protection granted those that are considered to be refugees. Mayotte's (1994) recent article addresses this particular topic. In a paper by Cohen (1991), strategies for how to better protect the internally displaced are presented. In a report by Amnesty International (1997a) it is discussed how to prevent population displacement and ensure the protection of refugees and internally displaced. Ward (1993) has come to the conclusion that international refugee law is unable to protect those internally displaced by environmental degradation. Elnur in 1994 wrote that internal displacement is "...almost a new area in terms of both research and publication" (Elnur, 1994:18). Recently, many initiatives concerning internally displaced have been taken. At the end of 1999, the Norwegian Refugee Council launched a new database on internally displaced and several significant books on the subject have been published lately (e.g. Cohen and Deng, 1998b, 1998c; Hampton, 1998; Korn, Cohen and Deng, 1999). Francis M. Deng is the Representative of the Secretary General on Internally Displaced Persons and he has examined the support internally displaced gain and found that there are significant areas where the protection is inadequate (Deng, 1995b). This resulted in a document entitled *Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement* which is intended to serve as a standard that can guide all actors involved with internally displaced persons (Deng, 1998, see also OCHA, 1999a and 1999b).

The issue of national sovereignty is central to the discussion of human rights. Woodward (1988:236) quotes a person displaced by the war in Uganda who did not consider himself to be a refugee or returnee but said, "ridiculous colonial borders have at least afforded us somewhere to flee". Borders are indeed very important when it comes to protection for displaced persons. Cohen and Deng (1998a) write about the problems associated with the principles of sover-

eignty and refer for example to the case of the Sudan. The Sudan was one of the first countries in Africa to legislate on the issue of refugees' rights and responsibilities. A realistic policy has, according to Rogge, emerged as a result of this legislation (Rogge, 1986:9). Nobel (1982) has written more about this Regulation of Asylum Act of 1974.

Human Rights Watch has written many reports about the human rights violations taking place in the Sudan (e.g. Human Rights Watch, 1999). Amnesty International also reports on this topic (e.g. Amnesty International, 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2000), and the U.S. Department of State frequently writes about the human rights situation in the Sudan (e.g. U.S. Department of State, 1999). African Rights has in several studies reported on the human rights situation for the displaced in the Sudan (e.g. 1995a, 1995b, 1997a and 1997b) and in one of the reports African Rights discusses how capacity building can be used for strengthening civil institutions and enhancing people's understanding of them (African Rights, 1995a). United Nations is of course also following the situation in the Sudan (e.g. United Nations, 1999, 2000a and 2000b).

Peter Verney (1999) recently wrote about oil in the Sudan and the important implications for the conflict and the human rights situation. Also Amnesty International (2000) has written about human right violations and oil in the Sudan. Harker (2000) has examined allegations of human rights violations in relation to slavery and the oil exploitation. The situation of the people in the Nuba Mountains has been analysed in several reports (e.g. African Rights, 1997a, Bradbury, 1998, Winter, 2000).

A different approach to the topic of human rights has been taken by Bajor (1997) who explores how refugees from the Sudan themselves discuss this matter. Other actors' views of the concept are often the focus and not the displaced's perceptions as is the case in this PhD. thesis. The refugees in question live in exile in Egypt, Kenya, and the United Kingdom (Bajor, 1997:1)

2. CAUSES OF THE CRISIS

Bascom claims that the research published in the 1970s was focused on "causality and patterns of flight." He refers to Kunz, 1973; Kolenic, 1974; Holborn 1975; Rogge, 1977 (Bascom, 1994:226). A significant number of studies have since focused the causes of population movements (e.g. Hamid, 1996; Rugiireheh-Runaku, 1995; Zolberg and Callamard, 1994; Keen, 1991, 1992; Crisp and Ayling, 1984; Harrell-Bond, 1982a). In general the causes of differ-

ent population movements are subscribed to drought and famine (e.g. Rugiireheh-Runaku, 1995). One should however bear in mind that the researchers are trying to explain refugee flows from different areas and during various periods of time.

2.1. War

The two civil wars experienced in the Sudan have in many ways had disastrous consequences for the

population. Elnur argues that “the pattern; sequence and direct causes of displacement in the two civil wars” are very different from each other, but in both wars there were massive population displacements (Elnur, 1994:5). There seems to be no disagreement in that the wars have played a part in causing or aggravating the situation of population displacement (e.g. Russel, Jacobsen and Stanley, 1990). Mawson (1991) reports that raids by militias have been used against groups of the population. These raids were fuelled by famine and carried out as an integral part of the war. Mayotte argues that the internal displacement and interruptions in the distribution of food are a military strategy and not a by-product of the war (Mayotte, 1994).

Zolberg and Callamard have presented military assistance as a root cause of the population displacements. They argue that the conflicts in the Horn of Africa were caused by difficulties in state building and that the situation was worsened by the superpowers direct and indirect involvement. If assistance internationally is to be made more effective and planned in order to prevent forced movement, then strategies need to incorporate all levels, the local, national, international and the UN (Zolberg and Callamard, 1994:102).

Also Bariagaber (1997) sees the presence of foreign forces as having an impact on the refugee flows. In another study Bariagaber finds support for the thesis that refugee movements vary depending on the internationalisation of the conflicts. This is because, in Bariagaber’s view, the intervention changes the scope, frequency and intensity of the violence (Bariagaber, 1994:78). Bariagaber argues that his research constitutes an important contribution to the study of conflict processes since he integrates research on refugees with political violence research (Bariagaber, 1994:78). In another article he concludes that researchers often discuss the link between refugee movements and political violence, but he says that this relationship has not been properly examined (Bariagaber, 1995:212).

Push and pull factors are often referred to when discussing the causes of refugee flows (Keen, 1992; Bariagaber, 1997). Bariagaber states that “... the African refugee environment is essentially characterized by strong forces of push”, meaning that political violence variables should be used to explain refugee flows (Bariagaber, 1997:4).

2.2. Drought and Famine

Drought and famine are together with war often put forward as the main causes of the population displacements. Devereux (2000) has identified the following two different strands in the famine literature:

One views famine as a natural disaster or economic crisis which results in food shortages that are unameliorated because of failures of policy, early warning, markets or relief interventions. The second views famine as a political pathology which should be analysed in terms of local power struggles, state repression of afflicted population groups—famine as a policy success rather than policy failure—and a refusal by the international humanitarian community to enforce the fundamental right to food (Devereux, 2000:24).

One study, by Ati, examines four different factors as causes of famine: natural conditions; government policies; response of the population and other contributive factors. Government policies are seen as the major cause of famine (Ati, 1988:271). Similarly, Prendergast has concentrated on causes of famine. He analyses four different causes of famine in the Sudan, namely: war; militia activity; agricultural policies and World Bank/IMF policies (Prendergast, 1995:114). Population movement of the size as in Dar Masalit does not need to result in famine, according to de Waal. He goes on to argue that the nature of the assistance programme was one factor in causing the famine (de Waal, 1988b:127). In a recent paper de Waal (2000) explores how democratic institutions can help to prevent famine.

Russel, Jacobsen and Stanley (1990) state that the drought in the period 1982–86 led to famine, which then resulted in enormous refugee movements. When drought and famine again occurred, a locust infestation worsened the situation, Russel, Jacobsen and Stanley report. Keen identifies the famine as causing the Dinka people to flee their homes. He claims that the famine is rooted in the north’s long exploitation of the south, and international interests are also asserted to be a factor behind the population displacement of the Dinkas (Keen, 1991). Drought is not seen as the only factor causing population displacement but it is important that drought is not seen as inevitably leading to famine.

Bariagaber refers to studies by Clay & Holcomb (1986) and Bulcha (1988) where causes of the refugee flows in 1984–85 are presented as partly drought related. Bariagaber on the other hand put a lot of emphasis on the increased levels of political violence during the period in question. He argues that drought, by itself, has never caused refugee flows (Bariagaber, 1997:3). A similar point is made by Ruggireh-Runaku (1995) who sees drought as the original cause of famine but he also acknowledges that the extent of the problem would not have been so great without the wars. Civil war in the South and drought and famine in the West are, by Magda El Sanousi, considered to be the major causes of displacement (El Sanousi, 1991).

2.3. Environment

Kibreab (1997) has observed an increased interest since the mid-1980s concerning the role of environmental factors in relation to forced migration. He argues that in a considerable part of the recent literature, environmental degradation is seen as a factor of insecurity and consequently population displacement. He mentions Molvaer, 1991; Myers, 1996; Westing, 1991; Homer-Dixon, 1991, 1995 and Libiszewski, 1992. According to Kibreab (1997) most studies do not address the multi-causality of displacement and he refers to 'environmental refugees' as a term "poorly defined and legally meaning-less". He points out two exceptions in McGregor, 1993 and Kibreab, 1994 (Kibreab, 1997:20–21).

In another publication Kibreab also claims that some researchers, for example Myers, 1986, 1989; Lazarus, 1990; Molvaer, 1991; and Homer-Dixon, 1992, see environmental degradation as a major cause of political conflicts with population displacement as a consequence of this. Kibreab, in contrast, insists that "the available empirical evidence unmistakably points in the opposite direction". He asserts that the insecurity and the conflicts result in people moving to other areas where they put strains on the resources at hand (Kibreab, 1996c:19–20).

2.4. Government Policy

The policy of the government of the Sudan has in some of the literature been presented as a cause of the population displacement, and in other research the government has been seen as aggravating an already difficult situation. There are a number of studies that to some extent concern government policy (Ati, 1988; Burr, 1990; de Waal, 1993; Winter, 1991a, 1991b; Karadawi, 1991a; African Rights, 1995). Ati (1988) argues that government policies were the "major cause both of the famine and the inability to avert it". Other studies claim that the government policies played a significant role in creating the dimension of the problem, but they do not see the government policies as cause of the famine. According to Kibreab and many others, the government of the Sudan has in general had a generous refugee policy (Kibreab, 1996a:139). This does not necessarily contradict the statements of a brutal policy towards the refugees. The government and the rebel forces have both targeted the civilian population and blocked and manipulated humanitarian relief opera-

tions, which has resulted in massive displacement and countless deaths (USCR, 1999b:91).

Burr has investigated the policies of the Sudanese governments concerning the internally displaced and then especially in the Khartoum area (Burr, 1990:2). Winter (1991a and 1991b) sees actions and inactions by the government as a major cause of the disaster. de Waal (1993:182) also identifies the government as responsible for the consequences of the famine, but he does not see its actions and aftermath as deliberate in nature. African Rights (1995b) on the other hand, reports of a "systematic and brutal policy" towards millions of displaced persons in the Sudan.

Karadawi has made an extensive study focusing on the policies and responses of the Sudanese governments. He has come to the conclusion that the actors have often had competing interests and therefore not worked together in order to solve the refugee crisis. However, this particular study has examined the period 1967–84 in the case of Ethiopian refugees in eastern Sudan (Karadawi, 1999:2). In an earlier study by Karadawi he describes the policy as having two conflicting priorities, humanitarian principles to help the refugees in contrast with principles which served to uphold the regime (Karadawi, 1991a:160).

Keen argues that there is a danger in taking a purely humanitarian perspective when analysing refugee situations. Political motives are often served and should therefore be taken into consideration (Keen, 1992). Sin (1995:22) reports that the policy of the government so far has consisted of "providing relief and expelling the displaced from destination areas". He recommends that there should be an explicit population policy in combination with legislation and freedom of action (Sin, 1995:21).

Human Rights Watch argues that there would not have been a famine in 1998 if not for the human rights abuses by all the parties of the civil war (Human Rights Watch, 1999:1). Both the SPLA and the government of the Sudan contributed to inhibiting the international relief from getting through to the people at risk of starvation (Sorenson, 1995:22). African Rights (1997b) claims that the famines that have struck in the Sudan not should be viewed as natural disasters but as crimes. They argue that politicians and generals are to be blamed for causing the famines, but they also identify political and economic factors that have significance for the development of famines.

3. DISPLACED AND REFUGEE MOVEMENTS

The Sudan and its neighbours have experienced massive flows of displaced persons. Conflict, famine and other factors have resulted in people fleeing from their homes in the region of eastern Africa and especially in the Horn of Africa. To try to establish all these different flows of displaced persons is not within the scope of this review.

I will first treat the literature available on refugees and internally displaced in the Sudan. Secondly, I will deal with the refugees from the Sudan who are coming to some of the neighbouring countries. I have not considered it to be necessary to identify refugees from and to all the neighbouring countries—but instead give a very brief overview of the research concerned with the major flows of refugees that have taken place in the region over the years.

3.1. Refugees and Internally Displaced in the Sudan

Kursany (1985) claims that the areas most affected by refugees in the Sudan, are the Red Sea Province, Kassala Province, and the Southern Region. Ruiz (1998:155) reports that in 1996 approximately 1.8 million displaced were living in the Khartoum area, 1.5 million in southern Sudan and several hundred thousand in South Kordofan and South Darfur. Deng argues that in spite of the famines that have taken place in southern Sudan during the last two decades, the area has not been examined sufficiently, empirically and analytically. This is according to Deng and de Waal (1993) probably due to the dangers involved in conducting field research under such difficult circumstances as in southern Sudan (Deng, 1999:3).

Eritrean and Ethiopian Refugees in the Sudan

Refugees coming from Eritrea and Ethiopia to the Sudan have received more attention than other flows of refugees. Gessesse argues that this is due to the fact that the Sudan has not experienced a larger flow of refugees than from Ethiopia and Eritrea. The issue of these refugees was also related to the political relationship between Ethiopia and the Sudan (Gessesse, et al., 1996:107). I have found no evidence that contradicts Gessesse's finding that Eritrea and Ethiopia have been the focus of attention. A number of studies have examined the circumstances surrounding the flows of refugees from these two countries (e.g. Johnson, 1979; Karadawi, 1999; Kibreab, 1985, 1987a, 1987b, 1996a, 1996b, 1999; Bulcha, 1987; Quick, 1990; Kebede, 1992; Luling,

1986; Tseggai, 1982; Bascom, 1994). The research has mainly been concerned with examining the situation of the settlements of Eritrean and Ethiopian refugees in the eastern region of the Sudan (e.g. Kibreab, 1985, 1987b; Quick, 1990). The situation of the refugees who have chosen to repatriate has also been the focus of some studies (e.g. Kibreab, 1999). Other studies have concentrated on the integration of those refugees into the Sudan (e.g. Weaver, 1987/88).

Ugandan Refugees in the Sudan

There has not been written as much by far on the situation of Ugandan refugees in the Sudan as on Eritrean and Ethiopian refugees. The relatively small number of refugees from Uganda could perhaps explain the small number of studies conducted on the subject. UNHCR reports that approximately 9,000 Ugandan refugees are currently residing in the south of the Sudan and the UNHCR sees voluntary repatriation as the best solution for these refugees (UNHCR, 2000f).

I have found a couple of studies with refugees from and in Uganda in focus. Pirouet (1988) has written about Ugandan refugees in and from the Sudan during the post-colonial period. The impact of Ugandan refugees on the host environment is the topic of Wilson's (1985) article, while Crisp and Ayling (1984) go on to look at the situation for those willing to return. Crisp and Ayling have written an extensive study on the voluntary repatriation programme concerning Ugandan refugees in the Sudan and Zaire.

Harrell-Bond (1986) has written a very important study which deals with UNHCR's involvement regarding emergency assistance to Ugandan refugees in the Sudan. Cater describes her criticisms of UNHCR as very harsh (Cater, 1986). In addition, Harrell-Bond has compiled a three-part series concerning Ugandan refugees in the Sudan. The first part examines the reasons behind the refugees' decision to flee (Harrell-Bond, 1982a). The second part contains information on the arrival and the quest for self-sufficiency. Harrell-Bond emphasises the importance of how to make aid agencies take into account the refugee participation at all levels. (Harrell-Bond, 1982b). The last part concerns administrative structures, which can help improve organisation and avoid the so-called 'dependency-syndrome' (Harrell-Bond, 1982c). In a doctoral thesis by Virmani (1996) the resettlement of Ugandan refugees in Southern Sudan is analysed. The period in question is 1979–86 and

the dynamics of exodus, asylum and forced repatriation are issues examined.

3.2. Sudanese Refugees

The research, which covers refugees in the Sudan, seems to be better developed than the available literature on Sudanese refugees in the neighbouring countries.

Sudanese Refugees in Uganda

There seems to be a dearth of information on Sudanese refugees in Uganda, which is surprising. There are about 170,000 Sudanese refugees in Uganda (UNHCR, 2000e) and even though the numbers are high, research on the subject is lacking. The Ikafe refugee settlement programme in Uganda is reviewed in a recently published report by Neefjes (1999). Harrell-Bond has also written about Sudanese refugees in Uganda. She has reported on a mission to Uganda and recommends to Oxfam that there should be an integrated development approach to refugee assistance (Harrell-Bond, 1994).

Sudanese Refugees in Egypt

Most of the literature I have been able to compile concerning the Sudanese refugees in Egypt comes out of a Sudan Cultural Digest Project (SCDP) workshop held in 1996. Adam, et al. (1996) have examined the Sudanese in Egypt and how they have perceived their situation with regard to factors such as security and culture. Rial, et al. (1996) have focused on the situation of Sudanese women and examined social, economic as well as political factors in respect of this issue. The role of churches and NGOs concerning the culture of the refugees in Egypt is considered by Bwolo (1996). Elikana (1996) has given considerable attention to the issue of ethnic relations among the Sudanese refugees in Egypt.

Sudanese refugees in Egypt are estimated to be 3,000 which constitutes a fairly small number in comparison to other neighbouring countries (USCR, 2000). It should be noted that there are estimates of over three million Sudanese living in Egypt—people who have not obtained refugee status—and it is not clear for what reasons they remain in Egypt. It is possible that they fear prosecution or merely stay because of economic factors (USCR, 1999b:64). Apart from the contributions from the above-mentioned workshop—not many studies have been found that deal with the situation of Sudanese refugees in Egypt. Fábos (1994) has examined Egypt's response to Sudanese refugees in Cairo. The social and economic problems affecting Sudanese refugees in Egypt and the way these have been dealt with by

Sudanese and international organisations have been addressed in a report by Sharif and Lado (1997).

Sudanese Refugees in Ethiopia

There is a lack of information on the situation of the Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia. There are estimated to be 70,000 Sudanese refugees in Ethiopia (UNHCR, 2000e). A Multi-Donor Technical Mission (1991) reports on needs and requirements of the refugees and focuses on a number of factors such as health considerations, food distribution, management problems and so forth. A study by Keen (1992) deals with the refugees that fled from south-west Sudan to Ethiopia in 1986–88, but the focus is on the factors that drove the refugees from their homes and not primarily on their situation in Ethiopia.

3.3. Rural Studies

Kibreab has eloquently described how the attention concerning rural and urban refugees has shifted and he commences his paper with this statement:

A decade and a half ago Chambers (1979) referred to African rural refugees as “What the Eye Does Not See”. This was, *inter alia*, due to the remoteness of their inhabited areas and the urban bias which then characterized the responses of the international assistance regime. If rural refugees were, in the 1970s, “what the eye did not see”, today refugees in many of the African urban centres are what the eye “refuses to see” (Kibreab, 1996a:131).

As a consequence of the increased attention given to rural refugees since the late 1970s, a number of studies directly deal with rural refugees. Despite the concentration on rural refugees many problems await to be solved. de Waal (1989a, 1989b) has analysed the 1984–85 famine of Darfur with particular reference to the rural people who suffered the consequences of the famine. Shazali and Ahmed (1999:1) argue that the even though the pastoralists “constitute the majority of the famine vulnerable groups”, the activities of both government and donors are not concentrated on livestock but on crops. They further claim that the governments' policies, in particular those on land tenure, undermine pastoralism. Fre (1992) and Bascom (1990) have written about the intensified conflict over land and other constraints on pastoralism. Unruh (1993) has in an article developed a design where farming can be used as a way to sustain pastoralists without stock. Kibreab argues that the host governments lump together the refugees in rural land settlements of different kinds regardless of their background. The immediate consequence of this is that the refugees with no rural experience flee once more—this time to urban areas (Kibreab, 1996a:132).

3.4. Urban Studies

The largest number of urban refugees in Africa can be found in the Sudan (Kibreab, 1996a: 132 and Rogge, 1986: 8). Of the internally displaced persons in the Sudan the greatest number is located in Greater Khartoum (Karim, et al., 1996:193; 196). The importance of committing research to the situation of the urban refugees in the Sudan is evident. Kibreab nevertheless reports that research on urban refugees in Africa has been neglected and that there is a scarcity of information on the subject (Kibreab, 1996a:132). Considering the fact that the Sudan hosts very large numbers of refugees and displaced in the urban areas, one could expect more research conducted on this issue. However, urban refugees have not been ignored in the literature on the Sudan.

Ahmad, Eltahir and Ali (1987) describe four different forms of migration, rural to rural; rural to urban; urban to rural; and urban to urban. Rural to urban migration is according to Ahmad, Eltahir and Ali (1987) receiving most attention in research in less developed countries. The most noticeable type is also in the Sudan the migration from rural to urban areas. They recommend that in the case of the Sudan more attention should also be given to these other types of migration (Ahmad, Eltahir and Ali, 1987:135). Rogge states that due to the change in wars from anti-colonial to internal, the dynamic of urban refugees has also changed. He claims that there has been an increase in both urban to urban refugees as well as rural to urban refugees (1986:8). The role of ACORD in relation to urban refugees who have settled in Khartoum is evaluated in a study by Karadawi (1994).

Self-reliance and integration are things the government of the Sudan and other actors have had as a goal for the refugees. An obstacle to achieving this has been that the urban refugees' presence in the cities has not been recognised by the government (Weaver, 1987/88:473, 1985:155–156; Kibreab, 1994:44; 66). Weaver sees this recognition as one of the most important measures in enabling the urban refugees to become economically integrated (Weaver, 1987/88:473). Donor agencies could in this way provide assistance that would enable the refugees to become integrated. The host society, the international agencies and the refugees have, according to

Weaver, the capacity for a relationship that could lead to this economic integration (Weaver, 1985:155–156). As a consequence of this absence of recognition from the government of the Sudan, the self-settled refugees in the cities have received almost no international assistance, Kibreab writes (1994).

Shone has concentrated on the problems of urban refugees and how well they manage to integrate in the host society. The economic activities the refugees are engaged in and different employment aspects are the focus of Shone's research (Shone, 1985:76). Post has examined different settlement forms of urban refugees and their integration in the case of Port Sudan (Post, 1983:1).

Hamid has identified that displaced households in Greater Khartoum use a number of different survival strategies. These results stand in contrast to views of the displaced as helpless and reliant on the host communities. He has also come to the conclusion that many public policies have been harmful to the living conditions of the displaced (Hamid, 1992:230). Another study with Khartoum in focus has been made by Dodge, et al. (1987), who have concentrated their efforts on no less than 800 displaced families. Similarly, Bascom (1993) has focused on the vulnerability of internally displaced in the capital of the Sudan. Russel, Jacobsen and Stanley (1990) conclude that the urban-based refugees do not receive any aid either from the government nor from the UNHCR and that they therefore are a strain on urban resources. Kibreab recommends that urban refugees should be dealt with in a way that is mutually beneficiary to both the host and the refugees (1996a:169–170). The processes and consequences of urban expansion in the Sudan are the topic of a paper by El Bakri, Wani Gore and Khameir (1987:149).

The experiences of women in an urban setting have not been entirely disregarded. Kibreab has investigated Eritrean women refugees in Khartoum during the period 1970–90 and different ways in which the refugee experience has affected them. He specifically looks at the adjustments they have had to make in their situation as refugees (Kibreab, 1995:1). Kibreab (1995:2) concludes that documentation on women urban refugees is scarce, and this also seems to be the case in the Sudan.

4. LIVELIHOOD AND EXPERIENCE

4.1. Survival Strategies

Hamid has noted that in the last decade more studies have been concerned with survival strategies in Sub-

Saharan Africa. He mentions for example Cutler (1985 and 1986) and de Waal (1989b) among these studies. Hamid's own study deals partly with this

phenomenon. He has examined what different strategies households adopt and how they cope (Hamid, 1996:48). In his study of households in Greater Khartoum, he found them to use a number of activities, for example, income diversification and exchange relations. As I pointed out earlier these results stand in contrast to those which hold that the displaced are helpless and depend on others (Hamid, 1992:230). Wilson (1994:10) has found a number of researchers that have come to the same conclusions in the case of Mozambique. These researchers argue that refugees are far from passive and helpless—they engage in networks and take an active part in trying to re-build their lives and integrate themselves.

The socio-economic strategies used by nomads in western Sudan are analysed in a paper by van Arsdale (1989:66). He recommends a multidimensional approach if survival in the long-term is to be achieved (van Arsdale, 1989:75). Also Bascom has economic factors in focus when analysing strategies used, but in contrast to van Arsdale, he is concerned with how the Sudanese economy has shaped the strategies used (Bascom, 1991:1).

Elnur's main conclusion concerning survival strategies in the literature in the Sudan is that they are concerned with pre-migration situations (1994:7). A study worth mentioning that deals with this particular phase was made by Alison Pyle (1992) who found that the households that practised more frequent strategies tended to stay on longer before migrating. The results also suggest that by taking part in intra-communal activities some households can have been better at coping with the difficult rural circumstances. Elnur argues that there is a "lack of detailed empirical evidence" concerning coping strategies and he also points out that the sample size of studies conducted is too small (1994:7–8).

4.2. Health, Nutrition and Mortality

Elnur considers the research field on health and nutrition concerning the Sudan to be fairly well developed. The reason for this is according to Elnur that the field is single-discipline in nature and has profited from, for example, standardised research methods (Elnur, 1994:13). My review of the literature regarding health, nutrition and mortality corresponds with Elnur's findings. A large number of studies are available on this subject (Eltigani, 1995a; Shears, 1985; Shears, et al., 1987; Godfrey and Kalache, 1989; de Waal, 1985, 1989; Centers for Disease Control, 1989, 1993; Action "Africa in Need", 1992; Bwogo, 1992; Mohammed, 1985; Holloway, 1989; Elamin, 1982; Toscani and Richard, 1988; Sorensen and Dissler, 1988; Nieburg, et al., 1988; Woodruff, et al., 1990; Seaman, 1992; Downing, 1989; Patel,

1994; Mercer, 1992; Girdler-Brown, 1998; Toole and Waldman, 1988, 1993; Nieburg, Person-Karell and Toole, 1991). Elnur's view of studies on health and nutrition is that they tend to be first and foremost action-oriented (Elnur, 1994:10).

The different areas of health, nutrition and mortality are of course interrelated but often the studies are more concentrated on one aspect than another. Some of the studies within this field are identifying health needs of the displaced and how best to organise health services (e.g. Godfrey and Kalache, 1989; Holloway, 1989; Centers for Disease Control, 1989; Elamin, 1982; Toscani and Richard, 1988; Bwogo, 1992; Eltigani, 1995a; Shears, 1985). Bwogo (1992) examines the advantages and disadvantages of decentralising health services. Holloway (1989) has identified several strategies that can be used to organise refugee health services for the long-term. Elamin (1982) points out some health problems and tries to assess possible solutions to them. Eltigani (1995a) also recognises health problems and how these can have been caused. Shears (1985) has made a health and nutrition assessment of Ethiopian refugees in camps in the Sudan. The disease surveillance made by the Sudan Ministry of Health is described and commented on in a paper by Woodruff (1990).

A significant number deal in one way or another with mortality data (e.g. de Waal, 1989; Centers for Disease Control, 1993; Nieburg, et al., 1988; van de Walle, Pison and Sala-Diakanda, 1992; Patel, 1994; Mercer, 1992; Toole and Waldman, 1988; Nieburg, Person-Karell and Toole, 1991). de Waal's research contains an analysis of a survey of mortality in Darfur. Patel (1994) has examined the 1990–91 famine in the Sudan and points out that famine mortality may have been over-estimated and then discusses several explanations for this. Nieburg et al. (1988) and Mercer (1992) highlight the importance of collecting and analysing mortality data.

Girdler-Brown states that in the regions of eastern and southern Africa, a lot of information is available on migration and HIV/AIDS respectively, but not much research has explored the relationship between migration and HIV/AIDS. Girdler-Brown has reviewed material on this subject from 1987 and onwards with particular focus on the risk for HIV infection among migrant populations (Girdler-Brown, 1998:513–515). Considering the extent of the problem in this region I find it notable that this issue not has been examined in closer detail.

4.3. Vulnerable groups

In this section I will examine the literature on different vulnerable groups. Children have according to Godfrey and Kalache (1989) been given priority

when it comes to targeting in health relief. Mothers are also pointed out in this respect. Jaspars and Shoham (1999) have explored whether it is feasible to target vulnerable households within a specific area. The authors give examples from targeted assistance programmes in southern Sudan. They state that the poor and malnourished are often targeted but they are sometimes not the most vulnerable, and in addition, there are difficulties involved in trying to target the poor. Jaspars and Shoham argue that if targeting is used it should be done on a geographical base and dependent on nutritional status. Chapman (1999) has examined targeting food aid based on gender in the case of the World Food Programme (WFP) in southern Sudan. The project was deemed a success but she emphasises that targeting is carried out in participation with the community and without creating conflict.

El Nagar claims that in spite of the fact that most refugees are women and children, there is a scarcity of information concerning children in conflict situations (El Nagar, 1992:15). As mentioned earlier, the demographic composition of refugees has been questioned. Elnur claims that there are a large number of studies concerned with child 'vagrancy' (Elnur, 1994:13). I would also like to mention a report by Raundalen and colleagues (1994) that to some extent deals with this, where they have studied trauma treatment of unaccompanied minors in southern Sudan. Haaseth and Innstrand (1991) have analysed the reasons for why minors in the Sudan become street children. The literature I have managed to assemble on children who are displaced or refugees is recent in nature (e.g. Human Rights Watch/Africa, 1994b; Raundalen, et al., 1994; Forojalla, and Paulino, 1995; Sesnan, Sebit and Sokiri, 1989; Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 1999; El Nagar, 1993).

A fair amount of the research deals with a very important problem in the Sudan—education. Forojalla and Paulino (1995) have looked into the issue of the performance of displaced students in Khartoum. Sesnan, Sebit and Sokiri (1989) have analysed the quality and the philosophies underlying the school system for children and young adults in Khartoum. A very recent study contains discouraging reports of whole generations that have been missing out on basic education (Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children, 1999). There is also depressing news from Human Rights Watch/Africa (1994a and 1994b) that states that the government is especially targeting boys, and that the SPLA are turning children into soldiers at a very early age. The impact of war on children is the focus of studies by Dodge and Raundalen (1991) and El Nagar (1993).

The Convention of the Rights of the Child was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1989 and had in 1998 been ratified by all countries except Somalia and the United States. The importance of the Convention has been emphasised by the former UNICEF Project Officer Iain Levine. In 1995, UNICEF held discussions with rebel groups in the Sudan and urged them to sign a commitment to abide by the Convention. This was, according to Levine, significant for UNHCR in their work against the use of child soldiers (Slavin, 1998).

Disabled refugees can be considered to be especially vulnerable and unfortunately they have not received much attention. Leach (1990) has though investigated the situation of disabled refugees in Uganda. Older adults are another vulnerable group that to a large extent has been neglected in the research on population displacement. Godfrey and Kalache (1989) have studied the health needs of older adults that fled from Ethiopia to the Sudan in 1984–85. Godfrey and Kalache have examined what socio-economic support mechanisms are available and tried to establish how morbidity and migration have affected the lives of these older adults.

4.4. Gender

UNHCR points out that not all women should be considered to be vulnerable but rather specific characteristics determine if one is considered to be vulnerable. Gender data has been collected by the UNHCR since the early 1990s (UNHCR, 2000c:1–2). It is important to clarify that gender studies do not imply that the focus should be shifted from men to women, but should take into consideration the roles of both men and women. It is not necessarily so that by adding women to the arena a gender perspective is generated (Olsson, 1999:2–4). However, the emphasis in this section is on studies focusing on women refugees since the main thrust of studies allegedly has been concerned with men. On the subject of women's and girls' visibility in refugee studies Walker (1995) quotes Tina Wallace who writes:

Even now, while there is some recognition of the particular needs of refugee women there is very little information and data about them, about their health needs, the productive work they undertake, their experience of stress, and their subjection to many kinds of violence. But at least there is growing awareness that women make up the bulk of the refugee (and displaced) populations and that they have definable needs which arise from their roles and responsibilities as refugee women (Wallace, 1991).

Mama reaffirms this position when she argues that gender divisions in societies of the Horn of Africa,

receive very little attention in research committed to examining the prospects for post-conflict development. Immense areas concerning women studies that could prove extremely important for development planners are almost totally ignored. The books that exist on the subject are, according to Mama, concerned with sexuality (Mama, 1992:72–73). Mama goes on to address the need for research, documentation and gender-sensitive methodologies. The participation of women in socio-economic and political life and in agricultural and industrial production is where research, in Mama's view, could be conducted (Mama, 1992:72–73).

There are a few studies that have investigated the way displacement has affected women (e.g. Myers, 1995; Jok, 1995; Kibreab, 1995; Habib Fully, 1995). As was previously noted, El Nagar has examined the impact of war on women. She reports that the roles of women have experienced some considerable distress (1993:112). Kebede also has discouraging findings on the experiences of women. The women suffer from serious ordeals and are sometimes abused in various ways physically and mentally. Their human rights are not sufficiently protected by the international and national legislation (Kebede, 1987:99). El Nagar has found that the roles of women have been affected to a large extent by the war in the Sudan (1993:112). Pezaro has also examined how norms and roles affect refugee women and she suggests that more comprehensive data on how refugees experience their situation can increase the understanding of their problems (Pezaro, 1987:2). The mental health of women and girls in war is the focus of a book by UNICEF and UNIFEM (1994).

There are also studies on the status of refugee women (e.g. El Sanousi, 1991; Ramaga, 1985) and a number of studies deal with income-generating activities for women (e.g. Laman, 1984; Badri, et al., 1981; Martin and Copeland, 1988). Martin and Copeland contend that increased attention should be given to the economic self-reliance of women, but they also give recommendations on how to improve efforts made so far (1988:5). The social, economic and political situation of women refugees in Egypt is addressed by Rial, et al. (1996). This suggests that more research on gender issues is needed and this can preferably be done by integrating these issues into refugee studies in general.

4.5. Education

I have already commented on research concerned with education for children (e.g. Forojalla and Paulino, 1995; Sesnan, Sebit and Sokiri, 1989; Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children,

1999) and in this section I will examine the literature available on education generally. Sesnan has investigated education for Sudanese refugees in Uganda and come to the conclusion that the opportunities for education are there and could be used if only enough funding was available (Sesnan, 1990). El Bushra (1985) and Kenyi et al. (1996) have both tried to examine the educational needs among refugees. El Bushra has especially focused on activities with three different types of education given: correspondence courses; vocational training projects; and non-formal courses. Kenyi and colleagues describe the education that does exist and assess its relevance for the needs of the refugees and the goals specified in international covenants. Uganda (1993) has examined strengths and weaknesses in the educational provisions offered to Sudanese women in camps.

4.6. Socio-Economic Research

Elnur argues that multifaceted socio-economic research is still in its early stages of development (Elnur, 1994:13). Many recent studies are, according to Salih, concerned with the socio-economic and environmental conditions of the displaced. He refers to the works by Eltigani, 1995b; Allen, 1996b; Hamid, 1996; and Kibreab, 1996c (Salih, 1999:38). All the studies mentioned by Salih have been published after Elnur's review of the literature was made. An increased interest in socio-economic factors can be noted in the literature.

In two UNRISD publications several researchers have come together and written on the subject of socio-economic factors and mass repatriation (Allen and Morsnik, 1994; Allen, ed., 1996b). In the second book the subject is explored in greater detail (Allen, ed., 1996b). A study published by the Life & Peace Institute consists of a compilation of papers concentrated on how to promote economic co-operation among the countries of the Horn of Africa (Gessesse, et al., 1996). One of these studies is written by El Hardallo and El-Battahani and deals with the socio-economic and political crises that have occurred in the Sudan. The authors point out the interdependence between the countries of the Horn. They recommend that a regional approach should be adopted and that economic co-operation should be increased through various programmes and strategies (El Hardallo and El-Battahani, 1996:118).

In a study on voluntary repatriation Kibreab found one major obstacle preventing the Eritrean refugees in the Sudan from returning home—the unfavourable socio-economic conditions in the country of origin (Kibreab, 1996b:183). In another paper by Kibreab, he argues that there is a lack of data on the socio-economic background of urban refugees

(Kibreab, 1996a:132). I have previously mentioned the works of Weaver (1987/88) and Shone (1985) in the section that deals with research on urban refugees. Weaver argues that if the urban refugees are to be economically integrated the government needs to remove the existing obstacles. The most important step the government should take is according to Weaver, to recognise the refugees (Weaver, 1987/88:473). Economic integration of urban refugees is the focus of another paper written by Shone (1985:76). Bulcha has examined the economic integration of Ethiopian refugees in the Sudan. He found integration to be far below the expectations of the host government and the UNHCR (Bulcha, 1987:81).

Kok (1989) has written a paper on Eritrean self-settled refugees and their socio-economic impact on the region of Kassala in eastern Sudan. He writes that many socio-economic studies have been made in the 1980s focusing on self-settled refugees in the Sudan, but he argues that the impact of the refugees on the local population has been neglected (Kok, 1989:419–420). The lives of spontaneously self-settled refugees in Juba in southern Sudan, are the

focus of a socio-economic study by Mageed and Ramaga (1986).

Bascom (1991) has analysed how the Sudanese economy has affected the survival strategies of the displaced. He has examined refugee resettlement in an agrarian society through a wider perspective including economic, political and regional factors. Another paper addressing survival strategies has been made by van Arsdale who has examined the socio-economic survival strategies used by Sudanese nomads (van Arsdale, 1989:66). de Waal (1988a) argues that there are several problems associated with the use of socio-economic data in famine early warning systems.

Martin and Copeland have written a study about women refugees and income generation and ways in which to enhance the economic self-reliance of these women (Martin and Copeland, 1988:5). Mama calls for more research concerning the socio-economic lives of women (Mama, 1992:74). El Nagar contends that detailed research regarding the socio-economic condition of children in the Horn has been neglected (El Nagar, 1992:15).

5. THE NATURE AND IMPACT OF ASSISTANCE PROGRAMMES

5.1. Evaluations of Programmes and Projects

A plethora of studies have been made evaluating and commenting on assistance programmes and projects to refugees carried out by a number of different actors (e.g. Harrell-Bond, 1986 and 1994; Apthorpe, et al., 1995; Action “Africa in Need”, 1992; Karadawi, 1994; O’Keefe, Kirkby and Harnmeijer, 1991; Walker, 1988; Woodrow, 1987; UNHCR, 1995; Land and Tech, 1981; Haaland, 1981; York, 1986; Graham and Borton, 1992; Woodrow, 1989; Slim and Mitchell, 1990a, 1990b).

In addition there are of course a very large number of evaluations that do not appear in this review. COWI (1997) has made an evaluation of Norwegian humanitarian assistance to the Sudan that covers a considerable number of reports. The Danish experiences concerning humanitarian assistance to the Sudan have also been evaluated recently. Likewise the evaluation of the Danish assistance comprises a large body of literature that is highly relevant for this review (Danida, 1999). Unfortunately I have not deemed it possible to go through all the agency reports and other material available on humanitarian assistance. I have concentrated my efforts on a number of issues that I have seen to be central in the literature on the Sudan.

The different programmes and projects have consisted both of humanitarian relief which has the primary goal of providing relief aid and saving lives and also humanitarian assistance intended to prevent or limit conflict. The second aspect has been the focus of a state of the art review by Hybertsen, Suhrke and Tjore (1998). The review contains policy-relevant literature regarding the relationship between humanitarian assistance and conflict and in addition, they have provided data on the experiences of Norwegian NGOs. Gundel (1999) has written a literature survey that complements the review by Hybertsen, Suhrke and Tjore. The survey concerns the debate on humanitarian assistance in complex political emergencies. The literature on this topic has, according to Gundel, flourished in recent years. Sørbo and colleagues (1998) have brought together Norwegian experiences from six countries in conflict, including the Sudan. The report concerns peace building efforts such as conflict prevention and conflict resolution. It has been argued that aid programmes and attempts to improve the conditions for conflict resolution need to be better integrated in the case of the Sudan.

Not much research has, however, concentrated on emergency assistance to the internally displaced, which Elnur rightly asserts. He argues that this is

consistent with the fact that internally displaced rarely benefit from the emergency aid flows, and he concludes that such aid is not seen as a high priority either at the national or international level. Most of the studies that had explored different actors' emergency responses to internally displaced were concerned with drought and victims of the 1984 famine (Elnur, 1994:11).

5.2. Promoting Successful Programmes

A number of researchers have tried to identify ways in which to make relief assistance programmes and projects for refugees more successful. They have elaborated on factors that are important and that can enhance the effectiveness of the programmes. An early study by Cuénod (1967) has identified some principal factors that are important in ensuring the success of rural settlement programmes. Elmugly argues that the main impediments to effective relief planning is that there are not sufficient resources available; the division between policy formulation and implementation hinders follow up; the displaced are not involved enough; and finally, financial means are lacking (Elmugly, 1995:85).

de Waal (1997) tries to explain why famine still persists and he analyses the current strategies of NGOs. He argues that international relief agencies can cause more harm than good—a view which has been heavily criticised by some. Macaskill (1999) has analysed the 1998 crisis in the Sudan and the humanitarian response. The author comes up with some discouraging findings concerning both agencies and donors involved and urges an immediate response to the flaws detected. Macaskill found the agencies to be lacking effective leadership, co-ordination and poor preparation, to mention just some of the deficiencies. Murphy and Salama (1999) also report on a lack of adequate co-ordination in the case of Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS), but they see it as an almost impossible task to co-ordinate over 40 organisations. They suggest that the humanitarian response can be improved through better strategic planning and operational co-ordination. A number of reviews concerning the OLS will be discussed further on in this report.

Babikir has examined inadequacies in aid and rehabilitation to refugees and displaced in eastern Sudan (Babikir, 1994). The main deficiency in the relief assistance in the Sudan, is by Woldegabriel attributed to bureaucratic problems. There are a number of bureaucratic procedures that set in when food aid has arrived in the Sudan. A number of institutions are according to Woldegabriel involved, which makes it easy to refrain from accepting responsibility (Woldegabriel, 1990:27). Hendrie has brought atten-

tion to an important issue—that of assisting refugees when an armed conflict is going on. She discusses forms of assistance that can be suitable when refugees return in a time of warfare (Hendrie, 1996:35).

Slim and Mitchell (1990b) have examined Oxfam's involvement with the Mundari pastoralists in southern Sudan. Oxfam has tried both community-managed and agency-managed systems in this region and Slim and Mitchell's case study showed evidence of the community-managed systems running more smoothly than the agency-managed systems. In a paper by Karadawi (1994) the situation of the displaced in Khartoum is investigated and he is also trying to assess what role ACORD can have in order to improve the situation for the displaced. The situation of Sudanese refugees in Western Ethiopia is reviewed by the Multi-Donor Technical Mission (1991). A number of factors were taken into consideration, for example health issues, food distribution, social issues, management problems and so forth. O'Keefe, Kirkby and Harnmeijer (1991) have, with sustainability in focus, reviewed Dutch rural aid projects in the Sudan. Similarly, Sida relief-aid has been evaluated by Apthorpe et al. (1995), and a number of different activities were studied including for example food distribution and peace-making efforts.

Harrell-Bond's (1986) *Imposing Aid—Emergency Assistance to Refugees*, which I mentioned earlier, is an evaluation of the emergency assistance programmes to the refugees who fled from Uganda to the Sudan in the early 1980s. Nick Cater (1986) considers the book to be very critical of UNHCR's capabilities and he states that Harrell-Bond's perspective "...exposes UNHCR in southern Sudan as a saga of missed opportunities and wasted resources that lacked, as so often in aid, any real attempt to empower the poor so they could control their own lives". Hendrie (1997) has examined the relief operation of Tigrayan refugees in eastern Sudan. The main priority in this case was, according to Hendrie, to lower the death rates, which had the consequence of subordinating wider socio-economic and political implications for the refugees (Hendrie, 1997:70). Keen (1991) has examined the 1985–88 famine among the Dinka and argues that it originated from the exploitation of the south by the north. In addition, he analyses the implications of this for relief operations.

Mahran (1995:63) argues that food aid has had negative effects on both food production and consumption. Madeley (1991) has analysed how aid projects have failed and he suggests ways in which they could succeed in reaching the poor. Duffield (1990a, 1990b) reports on a growing literature on

food security in the Sudan in recent years. He discusses the spread of poverty and the consequence of this, conflict over resources and how this relates to the decay in governance. He argues that emergency measures not should be seen in the short term.

Helen Young (1991) has written a paper about the importance of a food distribution system and how this affects the welfare of refugees. Ethiopian refugees in eastern Sudan are used as a case example. Young (1990) has also made a review of food assistance to refugees in eastern and central Sudan. In an earlier paper Young (1986) is focusing on the early stages of emergency relief and presents results of biscuits having a useful role to play in this context. In yet another paper, Young (1987) has concentrated on 34 feeding programmes in Ethiopia and east Sudan during the years of 1985–86, and she analyses feeding procedures, types of food used and other important factors. She has also made a case study of the Chadian refugees in western Sudan and the impact of a food assessment mission (Young, 1992).

5.3. Operation Lifeline Sudan

Operation Lifeline Sudan (OLS) was established in 1989 and constitutes the first humanitarian programme that in the midst of an ongoing violent conflict has assisted internally displaced and civilians affected by war (Karim, et al., 1996:1). The programme has been an umbrella for over 30 international NGOs and has become the largest air relief operation ever (van de Veen, 1999:171–172). Karim and colleagues describe their report as the first comprehensive review of the programme OLS. Their main focus is “...the relationship between OLS’s creation of humanitarian space, and the flow of assistance to war-affected populations”. They analyse the effectiveness of the programme in meeting the needs of the people. One factor that hampered the effectiveness of the OLS was the division between government and non-government controlled areas, which resulted in unevenness in providing relief to all the people. A principle of OLS has been to provide relief to everyone regardless of where they are located, but differences between the South and North have been a reality in the case of the OLS (Karim, et al., 1996:1).

Macrae et al. (1997:223) have looked into the issue of when to move from relief aid programming to development aid programming, and the article draws on the previously mentioned review of Operation Lifeline Sudan by Karim and colleagues. Macrae et al. state that three conditions have to be in place before this move towards development can occur and that these were absent in the Sudan by mid-1997. Among the factors presented as necessary are: respect

of human rights; evidence that the emergency is over; and finally that donor governments accept the legitimacy of the involved actors. The situation in the Sudan could according to Macrae et al. be described as that of a chronic political emergency, and they go on to argue that a development strategy in such circumstances could have negative effects for the displaced. African Rights (1997b) has looked at the processes that led to the creation of the OLS and they comment on the success of the relief programme.

There have also been other evaluations and reports of the programme (e.g. Burr, 1993b; van Voorhis, 1989; Levine, 1997; Aboum, et al., 1990; Minear, et al., 1991). Burr (1993) discusses the food aid programme OLS during the period 1990–92. Levine’s (1997) paper deals with how to integrate humanitarian principles when implementing relief programmes—the OLS is used to highlight the dilemmas involved. Van Voorhis evaluates Operation Lifeline Sudan and comes to the conclusion that instead of using food as a weapon in war, food has the potential of being a weapon for peace. The OLS has reduced the importance of food as a weapon in war, according to Van Voorhis (Van Voorhis, 1989: 42).

Kindermans (1999) writes that *Medicins Sans Frontières* (MSF) has called for radical changes to Operation Lifeline Sudan. They argue that the OLS has become institutionalised, which has contributed to the difficulties in reaching the vulnerable.

5.4. Humanitarian Principles

Bradbury, Leader and Mackintosh (2000:2) have observed a considerable increase in the research on humanitarian principles. Their own study has concentrated on the so-called Ground Rules, which contain principles for how to carry out the humanitarian assistance undertaken under the umbrella of OLS. Bradbury (1998) has in an article explored the international response to the war in the Nuba Mountains. He argues that the humanitarian principles are not appropriately applied and that the international community is responsible for not giving the people protection and assistance. The international community is seen as complicit because of its failure to prevent the government policies that have had disastrous consequences for the Nuba people. Leader (1999) analyses the concept of humanitarian principles and he points out that the dilemma is “maintaining the primary humanitarian principle—the right of civilians to protection and assistance—while minimising the potential for manipulation” (Leader, 1999:2). He further argues that persuading the rebels in southern Sudan to sign the

Ground Rules proved to be more effective than the use of conditionality, i.e. withholding humanitarian aid in order to change their behaviour (Leader, 1999:4).

5.5. Food as a Weapon and Goal

Duffield (1992) has in his paper shown that food can be extremely important in internal conflict and that it is indeed “both a weapon and a goal”. Duffield also emphasises the influence that NGOs can play in this. He believes that the NGOs have been drawn into the partitioning of the Sudan. The cross-border relief operations into southern Sudan are seen to recognise the SPLA and furthermore inhibit a military conclusion by the north. Luk (1992) has assessed the food needs of people in the areas controlled by the SPLA and presented ways in which food production can be increased. His paper also addresses how the social services and the infrastructure can be reconstructed. African Rights (1997b) has documented the way in which the government and rebels have used food as a weapon and contributed to creating famine.

5.6. Refugee Participation

A number of factors are presented that could improve the effectiveness of relief aid activities. The participation of the refugees in varying programmes and projects has been brought forward as an important aspect to take into consideration. The most successful programmes were, according to Walker, those that were implemented through the victims (Walker, 1988). Karadawi argues that the refugees have been disregarded throughout the decision-making process. They have increasingly been made powerless due to the relief programmes created by the aid agencies and the regulations postulated by the governments, Karadawi writes (Karadawi, 1983:537). Kibreab also commits to the important task of having the refugees participate in the process. In a study he comes to the conclusion that problems with a project of bringing livestock to returning Eritreans could have been avoided if refugee participation had been seen as an integral part of the planning process in both countries concerned (Kibreab, 1999). Clark and Lewis have in a study of the Karkora settlement in eastern Sudan concentrated their efforts on refugee participation aspects of the Save the Children Federation’s activities in this region (Clark and Lewis, 1987:1).

Ntata (1999) has investigated the work of twelve NGOs in the south of the Sudan and analysed the different ways in which the affected populations have participated. Based on the experiences of these NGOs, Ntata came up with a number of different propositions regarding participation of the people

that were supposed to benefit from the programmes. Apthorpe and Atkinson (1999) have made an extensive study on the same subject. They emphasise ‘shared social learning’ which is intended to improve the understanding of the social and cultural realities of the affected population, and thereby improve conditions for providing relief. Apthorpe and Atkinson argue that the next step should be further internationalisation followed by discussions with different agencies concerning the development of co-operative approaches (Apthorpe and Atkinson, 1999:45).

5.7. Dependency or Under-Utilised Human Resource

The dependency syndrome is a widely discussed phenomenon. Kibreab reports that a general agreement exists which states that refugees develop a dependency syndrome if they reside in camps for too long a period. The refugees are then expected to lack initiative and merely accept the help given without trying to be self-sufficient. However, Kibreab has seen no empirical evidence for this supposed dependency syndrome (Kibreab, 1991:36–39). Harrell-Bond (1998) asks why refugees are perceived to be a problem instead of people with problems. She writes that this view has not been helpful in promoting the real picture, namely that refugees can be an asset that could benefit the hosts. Quick’s research deals with the picture of refugees as a burden and questions if refugees cannot also be seen as an asset that previously has been under-utilised (Quick, 1990:1). Harrell-Bond (1984) has written a report where the integration of both assisted and unassisted refugees is in focus.

Hamid’s research findings challenge the view of displaced as helpless and instead they are seen to be using a number of subsistence activities. He comes to a more discouraging conclusion as well—public policies have been seen to have a negative effect on the lives of the refugees (Hamid, 1992:230). Cutler argues that households that were formerly economically self-sufficient have moved from this to partial dependency, and he then goes on to investigate the events behind this development (Cutler, 1986). Jallof reports on a project that has enabled refugees to go in the opposite direction, from being dependent on relief agencies to starting their own economic enterprises (Jallof, 1989:7).

Harrell-Bond has in an excellent article put forward the question of seeing refugees as too self-reliant. The whole basis for collecting money for humanitarian organisations is the view of refugees as helpless victims. She captures the essence of this dilemma with the following statement:

But, might not the *raison d'être* of relief agencies be severely undermined if this image of refugees were to be projected by the media? Who would give money to refugees to help themselves? Humanitarian agencies are in a straitjacket with little else than humanitarian misery upon which to base their appeals (Harrell-Bond, 1985b:4).

5.8. Promoting Self-Reliance

I have previously touched upon the subject of self-reliance but then in the context of urban refugees. Here the scope is somewhat wider and includes studies made on self-reliance and all displaced persons. Self-reliance for the refugees is something that has been widely proclaimed and many studies reflect in some respect on the subject.

I have found one study researching self-reliance and the role of women. The study is made by Martin and Copland, who have examined the effectiveness of attempts that have been made in order to improve the self-reliance by women. They question some of the mechanisms used, and recommend that continued efforts should be made in trying to make women more self-reliant (Martin and Copland, 1988). UNHCR/ILO have however given attention to women in their report on self-reliance. They call for long-term solutions to the refugee problem that should enable the refugees to become self-reliant. They argue that this can be achieved through income-generating activities and with particular focus on women, youth and handicapped (UNHCR/ILO, 1982:1–2). UNICEF (1991:1) states that in order to become self-reliant, notable support is needed initially. Barricklow (1992) has written an article about a self-help programme that is intended to help potential refugees in northern Sudan. In Hamid's (1992:230) study of households in Greater Khartoum, displaced are identified to be using many different survival strategies. He has also come to the conclusion that several public policies have negative effects on the livelihood of the displaced persons.

Kibreab has written a study that explores the attempts made by the government of the Sudan, UNHCR and NGOs, in helping the refugees to become self-reliant (Kibreab, 1994:44). Brown (1985) argues that a camp can become a self-supporting village and states that this can best be done through a well-planned strategy by the host government. The impediments to self-sufficiency have been investigated by Harrell-Bond (1982b) in the particular case of Ugandan refugees in the Sudan. An assessment of the rural refugee land settlements in eastern Sudan, which were intended to promote self-reliance, has been made by Kibreab (1987a). Kibreab has also detected important factors and problems related to their accomplishments. Woodrow (1987) has exam-

ined the experiences of a Save the Children Federation project in settlements in eastern Sudan, which had the aim of promoting self-reliance among the Eritrean refugees.

5.9. Different Actors Involved

There are many different views on how relief assistance should be carried out. Various actors have been questioned about the way they have handled the task of providing the refugees with what they need. NGOs have increasingly become more active in providing relief assistance and their role is something that has been commented on by various researchers. Prendergast sees the cross-border operations into Ethiopia and Eritrea as a major turning point, as the donors then started to redirect the resources from the governments to the NGOs. Prendergast argues that the scope of their activities has widened as they have gone from humanitarian assistance to also include conflict resolution and human rights issues on their agenda (Prendergast, 1997:12).

Karadawi notes that NGOs have gone from relief assistance into a more long-term involvement. In a paper he sets out to review the NGOs' involvement and examines ways in which to improve the relationship between governments and the NGOs when working with refugee aid in the Sudan (Karadawi, 1982). Humanitarian intervention is, according to Duffield, adding to the complexity of emergencies today. NGOs have taken over responsibilities that previously belonged to the state. Duffield analyses in his paper, the relationship between emergencies and international response (Duffield, 1995).

The governments' attempts at handling the massive population displacements have been the focus of some research. Karadawi (1999) has written an extensive study of the actions of the Sudanese governments in eastern Sudan during the period 1967–84 and how these have tried to resolve the refugee crisis. Unfortunately the governments have had conflicting interests instead of looking at each other as partners. Hamid (1996:4) has examined different policies used by governmental and nongovernmental institutions. Kilgour argues that the government and donors have had conflicting policies that have been counterproductive in terms of effective refugee assistance. These conflicts have resulted in the withdrawal of aid resources (Kilgour, 1990 and 1991).

Slim and Mitchell (1990a:12) have investigated agency- and community-managed relief operations and come to the conclusion that an integrated approach between the two is needed. Zolberg and Calamard (1994:101–102) argue that international assistance can be improved if all levels are embraced, the local, national and international as well as the UN.

5.10. Early Warning

Often when a new disaster sets in with famine and population displacements this seems to be no more expected than it was the last time. Early warning and other kinds of preparations could prove viable in order to be able to act before it is too late. Famine early warning systems can be defined as: “a system of data collection to monitor people’s access to food, in order to provide timely notice when a food crisis threatens and thus elicit appropriate response.” (Davies, Buchanan-Smith and Lambert, 1991:6). There was no formal early warning system in place before 1984–85 in the Sudan (Buchanan-Smith and Davies, 1995:88). Davies and colleagues (1991) have written a literature review of the famine early warning systems in the Sahel and Horn of Africa. They argue that the situation in 1984–85 when famine was not avoided showed two main points. In order to avert famine there needs to be political will and also preparedness activities that can be implemented (Davies, Buchanan-Smith and Lambert, 1991:95).

Buchanan-Smith and Davies have also written a case study that focuses on the north of the Sudan and the food crisis in the early 1990s (1995:84).

There are a couple of studies that have focused on early warning systems in the Sudan. Clark (1986) has examined questions concerning how to improve our early warning mechanisms in the particular case of the Tigrayans that entered eastern Sudan in 1984–85. Eldridge (1986) discusses a two-year project to initiate an early warning system and she analyses different indicators that can signal if a famine is likely to happen in the near future. These systems have however received criticism regarding the use of socio-economic data. de Waal (1988a) claims that this is related to many problems, and he uses the famine in Darfur in western Sudan, 1984–85, as a case in point. Eldridge and Rydjeski (1988) warn against using centralised emergency systems, since they consider them as possibly expensive and likely to fail.

6. RESETTLEMENT

Resettlement, repatriation and integration are three different forms of long term solutions used by the UNHCR in order to assist refugees. Resettlements of refugees take place when the refugees are threatened in their new environment and therefore need somewhere else to go. UNHCR can then resettle the refugees in a third country, if they agree to accept the refugees (UNHCR, 2000d). Resettlement and integration in the host societies was in focus during the 1980s. Bascom notes some research done under this period: Hansen, 1982; Harrell-Bond, 1986; Rogge, 1985; Desbarats, 1985; Conner, 1986; Kibreab, 1987 (Bascom, 1994:226).

Bariagaber argues that the research in the region focuses on different problems relating to humanitarian responses such as resettlement, integration and repatriation (Bariagaber, 1994:60–61). Bascom (1989) concentrates on the resettlement process of unassisted refugees and he claims that this is an area that consistently has been overlooked. The resettlement process could, according to Bascom, be better understood if only social differentiation was taken into consideration. I have previously mentioned Virmani’s (1996) thesis where the resettlement of Ugandan refugees in southern Sudan is examined.

7. REPATRIATION

When a refugee or an internally displaced person has returned home he or she is considered to be a returnee. Repatriations of refugees can take place in very different circumstances. Ruiz (1993) argues that: “Ideally, repatriation is fully voluntarily, fully informed, and takes place only once the conditions that give rise to the refugee’s flight no longer exist.” This is however not always the case and sometimes the repatriation is far from voluntary. Research concerned with the important issue of the displaced returning home will be discussed in this section. As was pointed out in the introduction there are many problems associated with the repatriation of refugees, for

example the refusal of some governments to allow the refugees to return home.

Bariagaber argues that the limited number of studies we have seen so far dealing with repatriation, have not advanced our understanding of the patterns and processes of the phenomenon. The studies he is referring to are Harrell-Bond 1989; Cuny & Stein 1989; Larkin et al., 1991; Bascom 1994; Allen 1996b; Zeager & Bascom 1996; Zeager 1998 (Bariagaber, 1999:606–607). I have found a considerable number of studies that are concerned with repatriation but according to Bariagaber, a lot of research remains to be done on the subject.

Bariagaber's own research is concerned with the complexity of refugee repatriations. He argues that refugee flight is a fairly simple process compared to repatriation. The decision on whether to flee or not is solely in the hands of the refugee, but the process of repatriation is dependent on at least four actors—if anticipated to be successful. The actors involved are, according to Bariagaber: the refugee; the UNHCR; the country of origin; and the hosting country (Bariagaber, 1999:598 and 608).

The literature available on repatriation is limited and the research that does exist concerns to a large extent the official programmes and not spontaneous repatriation of refugees, Bascom claims (1994:226). Cuny, Stein and Reed (1992) also report that voluntary repatriation has been researched fairly little. Allen and Morsnik refer to a study by Crisp, where he has come to the conclusion that the literature on voluntary repatriation had focused on three major themes. The themes consisted of international law, political motivations and logistics, but not many of the reports were of high quality, some large-scale repatriations had to a large extent been ignored and the refugees own experiences were examined by only a few, according to Allen and Morsnik (1994:1–2). Kibreab states that the studies made on voluntary repatriation have focused on legal issues such as safety measures upon return. He reports of an increased interest lately in issues concerned with socio-economic factors. Kibreab argues that the available literature is concerned with what happens to the refugees once they have returned to the country they fled from. He sees his own study as one of the first addressing the factors influencing the decision of the refugees to return home or not (Kibreab, 1996b:5–6). Some studies have, however, studied this phenomenon.

Bascom has studied which factors determine the decision of the refugees in eastern Sudan to return back home to Eritrea (Bascom, 1994:226). In an earlier study he analyses the factors behind the refugees' motivation to reconstruct their households and the area they return to (Bascom, 1992). Hagos (1994) has also looked into the issue of the factors behind the refugees' decision to return home. Both Hagos (1994) and Hendrie (1988) have examined the Tigrayan Refugee Repatriation from the Sudan to Ethiopia in the mid-1980s, which reportedly is one of Africa's largest repatriations (Hagos, 1994:2). Hendrie sees her report on the Tigrayan repatriation as "the first comprehensive attempt to examine the political and operational issues surrounding repatriation, focusing on the year 1985". She argues that there is a lack of systematic documentation on this particular case and

says that this can partly be explained by the unconventional features of the Tigrayan case (Hendrie, 1992:293). Hendrie (1997) has also written a paper, where she analyses the reactions of the international agencies to the spontaneous repatriation of Tigrayan refugees in eastern Sudan in 1984–85.

McSpadden (forthcoming) has made an extensive study of the extremely difficult negotiations concerning the repatriation of the Eritrean refugees in Sudan. She has analysed the national and international complexities involved with repatriation and related this to a discussion on the need for peace and stability.

Allen and Morsnik (1994) and Allen (1996b) are the editors of two publications resulting from a UNRISD programme. The books consist of a number of contributions that deal with the socio-economic factors concerning mass repatriations. Crisp and Ayling (1984) have critically evaluated a voluntary repatriation programme that has been initiated to encourage refugees in the Sudan and Zaire to return home to Uganda. In another study Crisp (1986) further analyses this repatriation programme.

Habte-Selassie has made an analysis of the causes and effects of voluntary repatriation concerning Eritrean refugees and tried to identify ways to integrate the returnees (1992:24). In another study by Habte-Selassie the repatriation of Eritrean refugees is in focus. He reports on the situation up till 1991 and comments on some of the possible socio-economic and demographic implications upon a possible return of the Eritrean refugees currently residing in the Sudan (Habte-Selassie, 1996:47). One study by Akol examines the experiences of returning refugees in southern Sudan during the 1970s and early 1980s (1994:78). In a study, Kibreab (1996b) claims that international agencies and governments need to address factors of economic vulnerability and instability if the voluntary repatriation concerning Eritrean refugees in the Sudan are to be successful. Allen (1996a) has examined the repatriation at the end of the 1980s of Ugandan refugees returning from the Sudan.

In 1984 one of the largest operations of its kind in recent history, later referred to as "Operation Moses", occurred. A number of studies have concentrated on this migration of the Ethiopian Falasha through the Sudan on their way to Israel (Wagaw, 1991a; 1991b; Karadawi, 1991b; Parfitt, 1985).

The reintegration of returnees and the role of UNHCR is the topic of a report by Macrae (1999) in which she refers to a number of earlier studies on the subject. She outlines and analyses the debate on reintegration and relief-development concerning UNHCR.

8. INTEGRATION

I have already mentioned that resettlement and integration in the host societies were in focus during the 1980s and the research noted by Bascom: Hansen, 1982; Harrell-Bond, 1986; Rogge, 1985; Desbarats, 1985; Conner, 1986; and Kibreab, 1987 (Bascom, 1994:226). I have previously reported on research concerning the integration of urban refugees (e.g. Weaver, 1985; Shone, 1985; Post, 1985; Hamid, 1992).

Some researchers have focused on the integration of the refugees into the host society, while others have concentrated their efforts on the integration of refugees returning to their country of origin. Habte-Selassie (1992:24) represents one of the latter since he has focused on the integration of the Eritreans returning from the Sudan. He has tried to assess the needs of the returnees when they are to be integrated into the area where they have resettled. Woldegabriel on the other hand, has researched the integration of refugees in the host community and he presents different measures that can be taken to increase the involvement of the refugees. Mere legislation is not recommended—but practically encouraging the refugees in economic activities, permitting them to travel and open their own businesses (Woldegabriel, 1989:52). Religion is of immense importance in the Sudan and consequently also in the integration of refugees but not many studies are concerned with religion in relation to the displaced. Nikkel reports though on how people in Ethiopia mixed with Sudanese people through Christian worship and how

barriers between these groups were broken down (Nikkel, 1992).

8.1. Organised and Spontaneous Settlement

Kibreab points out the dispute on organised versus spontaneous settlements, as the most sustained debate in African refugee studies (Kibreab, 1991:44). Bulcha has analysed three different categories of factors, namely economic, socio-cultural and socio-psychological, in the integration of Ethiopian refugees into the Sudanese society. He found the social and cultural integration to be slow and the refugees showed signs of marginalisation. An interesting finding was that the organised settlements seemed to be spatially segregated and to a greater extent socially isolated than the self-settling refugees (Bulcha, 1987:89). In another study Bulcha examined integration of refugees into the host society by particularly focusing on factors such as social interaction, inter-marriage and knowledge of Arabic, but the results showed low levels of integration (Bulcha, 1988:196).

In research conducted by Wijbrandi (1986 and 1990) the integration of rural refugees in organised settlements was compared to integration in the spontaneous settlements. He did not find any support for his hypothesis proposing organised settlements as the best form for integrating the refugees in the Sudan (Wijbrandi, 1986:118).

9. IMPACT ON THE HOSTING AREAS

The environmental impact of refugee flows on host countries has long been neglected in academic research and by international organisations. The question gained attention in the early 1990s. Kibreab argues that the environmental impact of refugees has been ignored on all levels, in government policies, international assistance programmes and in scientific research. Kibreab has however made an extensive study in which he investigated land degradation in the Qala en Nahal area. He has searched for the causes and consequences of the land degradation and tried to assess the responses made by the resource users (Kibreab, 1996c:21–22). Kuhlman also acknowledges that only a few studies have concentrated on the impact of the refugees on the host society. In his own study he assessed the consequences of the spontaneously settled refugees in the region of Kas-

sala (Kuhlman, 1990:1–2). Mageed and Ramaga (1986) contributed with a study on the impact of the spontaneously settled refugees in Juba on their host environment. Kok (1989) has examined the socio-economic impact of refugees in Kassala.

As previously mentioned, Salih has observed an increased interest in research concerning the consequences of displacement on the displaced and the impact on the hosting communities. Mass displacement's environmental impacts can, according to Salih, be divided into two categories. Firstly the effects on the immediate human environment such as food shortages, lack of water, health hazards and secondly the effects on the physical environment, for example deforestation and soil erosion (Salih, 1999:45). During the 1960s and up to the early 1980s the focus was merely on the category of refu-

gees. Salih mentions Eltigani 1995; Allen, 1996b; Hamid, 1996; and Kibreab, 1996c among the many recent studies on the environmental and socio-economic conditions of the displaced (Salih, 1999: 37–38).

Van Hear (2000) notes that there has been a considerable interest in the impact of refugees on the

hosting communities while the people left behind have been neglected. He has written on this topic and focused on households where some family members stay at home and some leave. Van Hear has concentrated on analysing the relationship between these different groups—those who stay and those who leave.

10. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is a considerable amount of literature available on population displacement in and from the Sudan. This review cannot give justice to all the research done on the subject and I have therefore concentrated my efforts on areas of research that I have deemed as central in the research on the Sudan. In this section I will summarise the findings resulting from this review.

Refugees have been at the centre of attention until the early 1990s when the internally displaced became recognised as a group worth studying. Internal displacement is indeed almost a new research area but recently an increasing interest in the subject can be observed. The internally displaced in the Sudan exceed four millions and thereby constitute the largest internally displaced group in the world. The problem is immense and even though one can recognise a positive trend in the attention the subject is given, more research is urgently needed on those displaced within the borders of a country.

The causes of displacement have been studied since the 1970s and constitute a fairly well developed area. Drought and famine are together with wars the main explanations for population displacement. In addition, the government policies, in terms of attacks on civilians, hindering of relief programmes and other activities, have been seen as a major cause of the flows of displaced persons. It should however be noted that only a few studies have examined the relationship between political violence and refugee flows in closer detail. More studies could be conducted which integrate refugee research and political violence research.

The research has to some extent been uneven geographically. In relation to the many famines that have struck in southern Sudan, more research in this region could have been expected. In addition, since there are such large numbers of displaced persons living in the cities one could have anticipated more research on urban areas than currently is the case. When research on urban displaced has been conducted the main research areas have been the integration and self-reliance of these displaced. Many stud-

ies on refugees from Ethiopia and Eritrea have been conducted, but this is in accordance with the large numbers residing in the Sudan. Research on Sudanese refugees in the neighbouring countries seems to be lacking. The many refugees that have taken flight to Uganda have not been focused on to such a large extent. Also the many Sudanese in Egypt, who not have obtained refugee status, could be given more attention in forthcoming research.

Many reports have been written on emergency assistance and several deal with issues such as self-reliance, the dependency syndrome and refugee participation. This area of research would probably benefit from a more comparative approach, rather than merely evaluating projects and programmes independent from each other. There also exist many case studies that do not reflect on the research previously undertaken on the subject.

Socio-economic research has been conducted lately, but much remains to be done. Some research concerning socio-economic factors has been carried out regarding repatriation. Repatriation is yet another issue which recently has rendered more efforts in terms of research. The patterns and processes of repatriation should however be explored further than has been done hitherto. The impact of displaced on the host community is an area of research which has been the focus of many studies lately. An area in which research is lacking is studies of the people that are left behind when other people in the same area leave their homes. Also gender issues could be given more attention in refugee research.

Even though the literature available on population displacement concerning the Sudan is vast, many areas are still far from well developed. In the 1990s there has been an increased interest in a number of different fields, for example concerning internally displaced, the process of repatriation, socio-economic research, urban displaced, and the impact of displaced on the host communities. This is an encouraging trend but a lot of work remains to be undertaken concerning population displacement from and in the Sudan.

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